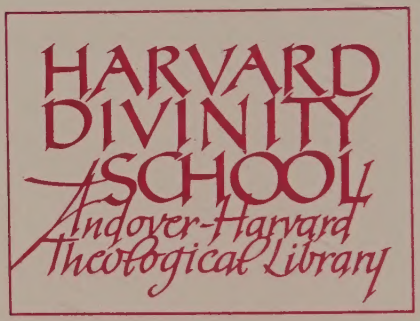

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY

EDWARD GIBBON

EDITED IN SEVEN VOLUMES

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDICES, AND INDEX

BY

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XV

The Progress of the Christian Religion, and the Sentiments, Manners, Numbers, and Condition, of the primitive Christians

Importance of the inquiry

A CANDID but rational inquiry into the progress and establishment of Christianity may be considered as a very essential part of the history of the Roman empire. While that great body was invaded by open violence, or undermined by slow decay, a pure and humble religion gently insinuated itself into the minds of men, grew up in silence and obscurity, derived new vigour from opposition, and finally erected the triumphant banner of the cross on the ruins of the Capitol. Nor was the influence of Christianity confined to the period or to the limits of the Roman empire. After a revolution of thirteen or fourteen centuries, that religion is still professed by the nations of Europe, the most distinguished portion of human kind in arts and learning as well as in arms. By the industry and zeal of the Europeans it has been widely diffused to the most distant shores of Asia and Africa; and by the means of their colonies has been firmly established from Canada to Chili, in a world unknown to the ancients.

Its difficulties

But this inquiry, however useful or entertaining, is attended with two peculiar difficulties. The scanty and suspicious materials of ecclesiastical history seldom enable us to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over the first age of the church. The great law of impartiality too often obliges us to reveal the imperfections of the uninspired teachers and believers of the gospel; and, to a careless observer, *their* faults may seem to cast a shade on the faith which they professed. But the scandal of the pious Christian, and the fallacious triumph of

the Infidel, should cease as soon as they recollect not only *by whom*, but likewise *to whom*, the Divine Revelation was given. The theologian may indulge the pleasing task of describing Religion as she descended from Heaven, arrayed in her native purity. A more melancholy duty is imposed on the historian. He must discover the inevitable mixture of error and corruption which she contracted in a long residence upon earth, among a weak and degenerate race of beings.

Five causes of the growth of Christianity

Our curiosity is naturally prompted to inquire by what means the Christian faith obtained so remarkable a victory over the established religions of the earth. To this inquiry, an obvious but satisfactory answer may be returned; that it was owing to the convincing evidence of the doctrine itself, and to the ruling providence of its great Author. But, as truth and reason seldom find so favourable a reception in the world, and as the wisdom of Providence frequently condescends to use the passions of the human heart, and the general circumstances of mankind, as instruments to execute its purpose; we may still be permitted, though with becoming submission, to ask not indeed what were the first, but what were the secondary causes of the rapid growth of the Christian church. It will, perhaps, appear that it was most effectually favoured and assisted by the five following causes: I. The inflexible, and, if we may use the expression, the intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived, it is true, from the Jewish religion, but purified from the narrow and unsocial spirit which, instead of inviting, had deterred the Gentiles from embracing the law of Moses. II. The doctrine of a future life, improved by every additional circumstance which could give weight and efficacy to that important truth. III. The miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church. IV. The pure and austere morals of the Christians. V. The union and discipline of the Christian republic, which gradually formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire.

THE FIRST CAUSE. Zeal of the Jews

I. We have already described the religious harmony of the ancient world, and the facility with which the most different and even hostile nations embraced, or at least respected, each other's superstitions. A single people refused to join in the common intercourse of mankind. The Jews, who, under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, had languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves,[1] emerged from

[1] Dum Assyrios penes, Medosque, et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima pars servientium. Tacit. Hist. v. 8. Herodotus, who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the

obscurity under the successors of Alexander; and, as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the East, and afterwards in the West, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations.[2] The sullen obstinacy with which they maintained their peculiar rites and unsocial manners seemed to mark them out a distinct species of men, who boldly professed, or who faintly disguised, their implacable hatred to the rest of human kind.[3] Neither the violence of Antiochus, nor the arts of Herod, nor the example of the circumjacent nations, could ever persuade the Jews to associate with the institutions of Moses the elegant mythology of the Greeks.[4] According to the maxims of universal toleration, the Romans protected a superstition which they despised.[5] The polite Augustus condescended to give orders that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem;[6] while the meanest of the posterity of Abraham, who should have paid the same homage to the Jupiter of the Capitol, would have been an object of abhorrence to himself and to his brethren. But the moderation of the conquerors was insufficient to appease the jealous prejudices of their subjects, who were alarmed and scandalized at the ensigns of paganism, which necessarily introduced themselves into a Roman province.[7] The mad attempt of Caligula to place his own statue in the temple of Jerusalem was defeated by the unanimous resolution of a people

last of those empires, slightly mentions the Syrians of Palestine, who, according to their own confession, had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision. See l. ii. c. 104.

[2] Diodorus Siculus, l. xl. [2 *sqq.*]. Dion Cassius, l. xxxvii. p. 121 [c. 17]. Tacit. Hist. v. 1—9. Justin, xxxvi. 2, 3.

[3] Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Moses.
Non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos. [Juvenal, xiv. 102.]
The letter of this law is not to be found in the present volume of Moses. But the wise, the humane Maimonides openly teaches that, if an idolater fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. See Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. vi. c. 28.

[4] A Jewish sect, which indulged themselves in a sort of occasional conformity, derived from Herod, by whose example and authority they had been seduced, the name of Herodians. But their numbers were so inconsiderable, and their duration so short, that Josephus has not thought them worthy of his notice. See Prideaux's Connection, vol. ii. p. 285.

[5] Cicero pro Flacco, c. 28.

[6] Philo de Legatione. Augustus left a foundation for a perpetual sacrifice. Yet he approved of the neglect which his grandson Caius expressed towards the temple of Jerusalem. See Sueton. in August. c. 93, and Casaubon's notes on that passage.

[7] See, in particular, Joseph. Antiquitat. xvii. 6 [§ 2], xviii. 3, and de Bel. Judaic. i. 33 [§ 2 *sqq.*], and ii. 9 [§ 2, 3]. Edit. Havercamp.

who dreaded death much less than such an idolatrous profanation.[8] Their attachment to the law of Moses was equal to their detestation of foreign religions. The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent.

Its gradual increase

This inflexible perseverance, which appeared so odious, or so ridiculous, to the ancient world, assumes a more awful character since Providence has deigned to reveal to us the mysterious history of the chosen people. But the devout, and even scrupulous, attachment to the Mosaic religion, so conspicuous among the Jews who lived under the second temple, becomes still more surprising, if it is compared with the stubborn incredulity of their forefathers. When the law was given in thunder from Mount Sinai; when the tides of the ocean and the course of the planets were suspended for the convenience of the Israelites; and when temporal rewards and punishments were the immediate consequences of their piety or disobedience; they perpetually relapsed into rebellion against the visible majesty of their Divine King, placed the idols of the nations in the sanctuary of Jehovah, and imitated every fantastic ceremony that was practised in the tents of the Arabs or in the cities of Phœnicia.[9] As the protection of Heaven was deservedly withdrawn from the ungrateful race, their faith acquired a proportionable degree of vigour and purity. The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld, with careless indifference, the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and, in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors than to the evidence of their own senses.[10]

[8] Jussi a Caio Cæsare, effigiem ejus in templo locare arma potius sumpsere. Tacit. Hist. v. 9. Philo and Josephus gave a very circumstantial, but a very rhetorical, account of this transaction, which exceedingly perplexed the governor of Syria. At the first mention of this idolatrous proposal, King Agrippa fainted away; and did not recover his senses till the third day.

[9] For the enumeration of the Syrian and Arabian deities, it may be observed that Milton has comprised, in one hundred and thirty very beautiful lines, the two large and learned syntagmas which Selden had composed on that abstruse subject.

[10] "How long will this people provoke me? and how long will it be ere they *believe* me, for all the *signs* which I have shewn among them?" (Numbers, xiv. 11). It would be easy, but it would be unbecoming, to justify the complaint of the Deity, from the whole tenor of the Mosaic history.

Their religion better suited to defence than to conquest

The Jewish religion was admirably fitted for defence, but it was never designed for conquest; and it seems probable that the number of proselytes was never much superior to that of apostates. The divine promises were originally made, and the distinguishing rite of circumcision was enjoined, to a single family. When the posterity of Abraham had multiplied like the sands of the sea, the Deity, from whose mouth they received a system of laws and ceremonies, declared himself the proper and, as it were, the national God of Israel; and, with the most jealous care, separated his favourite people from the rest of mankind. The conquest of the land of Canaan was accompanied with so many wonderful and with so many bloody circumstances that the victorious Jews were left in a state of irreconcilable hostility with all their neighbours. They had been commanded to extirpate some of the most idolatrous tribes; and the execution of the Divine will had seldom been retarded by the weakness of humanity. With the other nations they were forbidden to contract any marriages or alliances; and the prohibition of receiving them into the congregation, which, in some cases, was perpetual, almost always extended to the third, to the seventh, or even to the tenth generation. The obligation of preaching to the Gentiles the faith of Moses had never been inculcated as a precept of the law, nor were the Jews inclined to impose it on themselves as a voluntary duty. In the admission of new citizens, that unsocial people was actuated by the selfish vanity of the Greeks, rather than by the generous policy of Rome. The descendants of Abraham were flattered by the opinion that they alone were the heirs of the covenant; and they were apprehensive of diminishing the value of their inheritance, by sharing it too easily with the strangers of the earth. A larger acquaintance with mankind extended their knowledge without correcting their prejudices; and, whenever the God of Israel acquired any new votaries, he was much more indebted to the inconstant humour of polytheism than to the active zeal of his own missionaries.[11] The religion of Moses seems to be instituted for a particular country, as well as for a single nation; and, if a strict obedience had been paid to the order that every male, three times in the year, should present himself before the Lord Jehovah, it would have been impossible that the Jews could ever have spread themselves beyond the narrow limits of the promised

[11] All that relates to the Jewish proselytes has been very ably treated by Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 6, 7.

land.[12] That obstacle was indeed removed by the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem; but the most considerable part of the Jewish religion was involved in its destruction; and the Pagans, who had long wondered at the strange report of an empty sanctuary,[13] were at a loss to discover what could be the object, or what could be the instruments, of a worship which was destitute of temples and of altars, of priests and of sacrifices. Yet even in their fallen state, the Jews, still asserting their lofty and exclusive privileges, shunned, instead of courting, the society of strangers. They still insisted with inflexible rigour on those parts of the law which it was in their power to practise. Their peculiar distinctions of days, of meats, and a variety of trivial though burdensome observances, were so many objects of disgust and aversion for the other nations, to whose habits and prejudices they were diametrically opposite. The painful and even dangerous rite of circumcision was alone capable of repelling a willing proselyte from the door of the synagogue.[14]

More liberal zeal of Christianity

Under these circumstances, Christianity offered itself to the world, armed with the strength of the Mosaic law, and delivered from the weight of its fetters. An exclusive zeal for the truth of religion and the unity of God was as carefully inculcated in the new as in the ancient system; and whatever was now revealed to mankind, concerning the nature and designs of the Supreme Being, was fitted to increase their reverence for that mysterious doctrine. The divine authority of Moses and the prophets was admitted, and even established, as the firmest basis of Christianity. From the beginning of the world, an uninterrupted series of predictions had announced and prepared the long expected coming of the Messiah, who, in compliance with the gross apprehensions of the Jews, had been more frequently represented under the character of a King and Conqueror, than under that of a Prophet, a Martyr, and the Son of God. By his expiatory sacrifice, the imperfect sacrifices of the temple were at once consummated and abolished. The

[12] See Exod. xxiv. 23, Deut. xvi. 16, the commentators, and a very sensible note in the Universal History, vol. i. p. 603, edit. fol.

[13] When Pompey, using or abusing the right of conquest, entered into the Holy of Holies, it was observed with amazement, "Nullâ intus Deûm effigie, vacuam sedem et inania arcana". Tacit. Hist. v. 9. It was a popular saying, with regard to the Jews,

Nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorant.

[14] A second kind of circumcision was inflicted on a Samaritan or Egyptian proselyte. The sullen indifference of the Talmudists, with respect to the conversion of strangers, may be seen in Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. vi. c. 6.

ceremonial law, which consisted only of types and figures, was succeeded by a pure and spiritual worship, equally adapted to all climates, as well as to every condition of mankind; and to the initiation of blood was substituted a more harmless initiation of water. The promise of divine favour, instead of being partially confined to the posterity of Abraham, was universally proposed to the freeman and the slave, to the Greek and to the barbarian, to the Jew and to the Gentile. Every privilege that could raise the proselyte from earth to Heaven, that could exalt his devotion, secure his happiness, or even gratify that secret pride which, under the semblance of devotion, insinuates itself into the human heart, was still reserved for the members of the Christian church; but at the same time all mankind was permitted, and even solicited, to accept the glorious distinction, which was not only proffered as a favour, but imposed as an obligation. It became the most sacred duty of a new convert to diffuse among his friends and relations the inestimable blessing which he had received, and to warn them against a refusal that would be severely punished as a criminal disobedience to the will of a benevolent but all-powerful deity.

Obstinacy and reasons of the believing Jews

The enfranchisement of the church from the bonds of the synagogue was a work however of some time and of some difficulty. The Jewish converts, who acknowledged Jesus in the character of the Messiah foretold by their ancient oracles, respected him as a prophetic teacher of virtue and religion; but they obstinately adhered to the ceremonies of their ancestors, and were desirous of imposing them on the Gentiles, who continually augmented the number of believers. These Judaizing Christians seem to have argued with some degree of plausibility from the divine origin of the Mosaic law, and from the immutable perfections of its great Author. They affirmed *that*, if the Being, who is the same through all eternity, had designed to abolish those sacred rites which had served to distinguish his chosen people, the repeal of them would have been no less clear and solemn than their first promulgation: *that*, instead of those frequent declarations, which either suppose or assert the perpetuity of the Mosaic religion, it would have been represented as a provisionary scheme intended to last only till the coming of the Messiah, who should instruct mankind in a more perfect mode of faith and of worship:[15] *that* the Messiah

[15] These arguments were urged with great ingenuity by the Jew Orobio, and refuted with equal ingenuity and candour by the Christian Limborch. See the Amica Collatio (it well deserves that name) or account of the dispute between them.

himself, and his disciples who conversed with him on earth, instead of authorizing by their example the most minute observances of the Mosaic law,[16] would have published to the world the abolition of those useless and obsolete ceremonies, without suffering Christianity to remain during so many years obscurely confounded among the sects of the Jewish church. Arguments like these appear to have been used in the defence of the expiring cause of the Mosaic law; but the industry of our learned divines has abundantly explained the ambiguous language of the Old Testament, and the ambiguous conduct of the apostolic teachers. It was proper gradually to unfold the system of the Gospel, and to pronounce, with the utmost caution and tenderness, a sentence of condemnation so repugnant to the inclination and prejudices of the believing Jews.

The Nazarene church of Jerusalem

The history of the church of Jerusalem affords a lively proof of the necessity of those precautions, and of the deep impression which the Jewish religion had made on the minds of its sectaries. The first fifteen bishops of Jerusalem were all circumcised Jews; and the congregation over which they presided, united the law of Moses with the doctrine of Christ.[17] It was natural that the primitive tradition of a church which was founded only forty years after the death of Christ, and was governed almost as many years under the immediate inspection of his apostle, should be received as the standard of orthodoxy.[18] The distant churches very frequently appealed to the authority of their venerable Parent, and relieved her distresses by a liberal contribution of alms. But, when numerous and opulent societies were established in the great cities of the empire, in Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome, the reverence which Jerusalem had inspired to all the Christian colonies insensibly diminished. The Jewish converts, or, as they were afterwards called, the Nazarenes, who had laid the

[16] Jesus . . . circumcisus erat; cibis utebatur Judaicis; vestitû simili; purgatos scabie mittebat ad sacerdotes; Paschata et alios dies festos religiose observabat: si quos sanavit sabbato, ostendit non tantum ex lege, sed et ex receptis sententiis talia opera sabbato non interdicta. Grotius de veritate Religionis Christianæ, l. v. c. 7. A little afterwards (c. 12) he expatiates on the condescension of the apostles.

[17] Prænе omnes Christum Deum sub legis observatione credebant. Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. See Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. iv. c. 5.

[18] Mosheim de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum Magnum, p. 153. In this masterly performance, which I shall often have occasion to quote, he enters much more fully into the state of the primitive church than he has an opportunity of doing in his General History.

oundations of the church, soon found themselves overwhelmed y the increasing multitudes that from all the various religions f polytheism inlisted under the banner of Christ; and the entiles, who with the approbation of their peculiar apostle ad rejected the intolerable weight of Mosaic ceremonies, at ength refused to their more scrupulous brethren the same oleration which at first they had humbly solicited for their wn practice. The ruin of the temple, of the city, and of the ublic religion of the Jews, was severely felt by the Nazarenes; s in their manners, though not in their faith, they maintained o intimate a connexion with their impious countrymen, whose isfortunes were attributed by the Pagans to the contempt, nd more justly ascribed by the Christians to the wrath, of the upreme Deity. The Nazarenes retired from the ruins of erusalem to the little town of Pella beyond the Jordan, where hat ancient church languished above sixty years in solitude nd obscurity.[19] They still enjoyed the comfort of making requent and devout visits to the *Holy City*, and the hope of eing one day restored to those seats which both nature and eligion taught them to love as well as to revere. But at ength, under the reign of Hadrian, the desperate fanaticism f the Jews filled up the measure of their calamities; and the omans, exasperated by their repeated rebellions, exercised he rights of victory with unusual rigour. The emperor ounded, under the name of Ælia Capitolina, a new city on Mount Sion,[20] to which he gave the privileges of a colony; and, enouncing the severest penalties against any of the Jewish eople who should dare to approach its precincts, he fixed a igilant garrison of a Roman cohort to enforce the execution of is orders. The Nazarenes had only one way left to escape he common proscription, and the force of truth was, on this ccasion, assisted by the influence of temporal advantages. They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of

[19] Eusebius, l. iii. c. 5. Le Clerc, Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 605. [They retired before the capture.] During this occasional absence, the bishop and church of Pella still retained the title of Jerusalem. In the same manner, the Roman pontiffs resided seventy years at Avignon; and the patriarchs of Alexandria have long since transferred their episcopal seat to Cairo. [The Nazarenes still exist in the vicinity of Bussorah in Southern Babylonia. They are generally known as Mandæans. See W. Brandt, Die mandäische Religion, 1889; and Kessler's articles on Mandæans in Encycl. Britann., and in Herzog and Plitt's Encyclopädie.]

[20] Dion Cassius, l. lxix. [12]. The exile of the Jewish nation from Jerusalem is attested by Aristo of Pella (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 6), and is mentioned by several ecclesiastical writers; though some of them too hastily extend this interdiction to the whole country of Palestine.

the Gentiles, and most probably a native either of Italy or
some of the Latin provinces. At his persuasion, the mo
considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosa
law, in the practice of which they had persevered above
century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices the
purchased a free admission into the colony of Hadrian, an
more firmly cemented their union with the Catholic church.[22]

The Ebionites

When the name and honours of the church of Jerusale
had been restored to Mount Sion, the crimes of heresy an
schism were imputed to the obscure remnant of the Nazarene
which refused to accompany their Latin bishop. They sti
preserved their former habitation of Pella, spread themselve
into the villages adjacent to Damascus, and formed an incon
siderable church in the city of Berœa, or, as it is now calle
of Aleppo, in Syria.[22] The name of Nazarenes was deeme
too honourable for those Christian Jews, and they soon receive
from the supposed poverty of their understanding, as well a
of their condition, the contemptuous epithet of Ebionites.[23] H
a few years after the return of the church of Jerusalem, i
became a matter of doubt and controversy whether a ma
who sincerely acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah, but wh
still continued to observe the law of Moses, could possibl
hope for salvation. The humane temper of Justin Marty
inclined him to answer this question in the affirmative; and
though he expressed himself with the most guarded diffidence
he ventured to determine in favour of such an imperfec
Christian, if he were content to practise the Mosaic ceremonies
without pretending to assert their general use or necessity

[21] Eusebius, l. iv. c. 6. Sulpicius Severus, ii. 31. By comparing their unsatis
factory accounts, Mosheim (p. 327, &c.) has drawn out a very distinct representa
tion of the circumstances and motives of this revolution.

[22] Le Clerc (Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 477, 535) seems to have collected from Eusebius
Jerome, Epiphanius, and other writers, all the principal circumstances that relat
to the Nazarenes, or Ebionites. The nature of their opinions soon divided them
into a stricter and a milder sect; and there is some reason to conjecture that th
family of Jesus Christ remained members, at least, of the latter and more moderat
party. [The earliest mention of the Ebionites is in Irenæus, Adv. Hær. i. 22
The earlier Ebionites (= Nazarenes) must be distinguished from the later, Gnosti
Ebionites. For the former see the anti-heretical treatises of Tertullian an
Hippolytus, for the latter that of Epiphanius.]

[23] Some writers have been pleased to create an Ebion, the imaginary author o
their sect and name. But we can more safely rely on the learned Eusebius tha
on the vehement Tertullian or the credulous Epiphanius. According to Le Clerc
the Hebrew word *Ebjonim* may be translated into Latin by that of *Pauperes*
See Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 477. [The name was assumed by themselves in referenc
to the poverty of their condition; the Fathers contemptuously referred it to thei
understanding.]

ut, when Justin was pressed to declare the sentiment of the hurch, he confessed that there were very many among the rthodox Christians, who not only excluded their Judaizing rethren from the hope of salvation, but who declined any ntercourse with them in the common offices of friendship, ospitality, and social life.[24] The more rigorous opinion pre-ailed, as it was natural to expect, over the milder; and an xternal bar of separation was fixed between the disciples of Moses and those of Christ. The unfortunate Ebionites, rejected rom one religion as apostates, and from the other as heretics, ound themselves compelled to assume a more decided character; nd, although some traces of that obsolete sect may be dis-overed as late as the fourth century, they insensibly melted way either into the church or the synagogue.[25]

The Gnostics

While the orthodox church preserved a just medium between xcessive veneration and improper contempt for the law of Moses, the various heretics deviated into equal but opposite xtremes of error and extravagance. From the acknowledged ruth of the Jewish religion the Ebionites had concluded that t could never be abolished. From its supposed imperfections he Gnostics as hastily inferred that it never was instituted by he wisdom of the Deity. There are some objections against he authority of Moses and the prophets, which too readily present themselves to the sceptical mind; though they can nly be derived from our ignorance of remote antiquity, and rom our incapacity to form an adequate judgment of the livine œconomy. These objections were eagerly embraced, nd as petulantly urged, by the vain science of the Gnostics.[26]

[24] See the very curious Dialogue of Justin Martyr with the Jew Tryphon. The onference between them was held at Ephesus, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, nd about twenty years after the return of the church of Pella to Jerusalem. For his date consult the accurate note of Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. i. p. 511.

[25] Of all the systems of Christianity, that of Abyssinia is the only one which still adheres to the Mosaic rites (Geddes's Church History of Æthiopia, and Dissertations de La Grand sur la Relation du P. Lobo). The eunuch of the queen Candace might suggest some suspicions; but, as we are assured (Socrates, i. 19, Sozo-men, ii. 24, Ludolphus [Hist. Eth.], p. 281) that the Æthiopians were not converted till the fourth century, it is more reasonable to believe that they respected the Sabbath, and distinguished the forbidden meats, in imitation of the Jews, who, in a very early period, were seated on both sides of the Red Sea. Circumcision had been practised by the most ancient Æthiopians, from motives of health and cleanliness, which seem to be explained in the Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains, tom. ii. p. 117. [Cp. Art. "Ethiopic Church" in Dict. Chr. Biography.]

[26] Beausobre, Histoire du Manichéisme, l. i. c. 3, has stated their objections, particularly those of Faustus, the adversary of Augustin, with the most learned impartiality. [Perhaps the best introduction to the study of Gnosticism (and of

As those heretics were, for the most part, averse to the ple-
sures of sense, they morosely arraigned the polygamy of th
patriarchs, the gallantries of David, and the seraglio of Solomo
The conquest of the land of Canaan, and the extirpation of th
unsuspecting natives, they were at a loss how to reconcile wit
the common notions of humanity and justice. But, when the
recollected the sanguinary list of murders, of executions, an
of massacres, which stain almost every page of the Jewis
annals, they acknowledged that the barbarians of Palestin
had exercised as much compassion towards their idolatrou
enemies as they had ever shewn to their friends or countr-
men.[27] Passing from the sectaries of the law to the law itsel
they asserted that it was impossible that a religion which con
sisted only of bloody sacrifices and trifling ceremonies, an
whose rewards as well as punishments were all of a carna
and temporal nature, could inspire the love of virtue, or restrai
the impetuosity of passion. The Mosaic account of the creatio
and fall of man was treated with profane derision by th
Gnostics, who would not listen with patience to the repos
of the Deity after six days' labour, to the rib of Adam, th
garden of Eden, the trees of life and of knowledge, the speakin
serpent, the forbidden fruit, and the condemnation pronounce
against human kind for the venial offence of their first pro
genitors.[28] The God of Israel was impiously represented b
the Gnostics as a being liable to passion and to error, capriciou
in his favour, implacable in his resentment, meanly jealous o
his superstitious worship, and confining his partial providenc
to a single people and to this transitory life. In such a char

Ebionism) is the work of R. A. Lipsius, Quellenkritik des Epiphanios, and hi
article on Gnosticismus in Ersch and Gruber's Encyclopædia. The theories o
Harnack and Hilgenfeld as to the origin of Gnosticism are briefly stated in App. 2
The chief sources for early Gnosticism are: Irenæus, Adv. Hær. (esp. for th
Valentinian heresy), Tertullian, Adv. Hær. (esp. for Marcionism), and two work
of Hippolytus, of which (*a*) "Against all Heresies" is formally lost, but has bee
practically restored, by the ingenuity of Lipsius, from citations of later writers
and (*b*) the "Refutation of all Heresies," of which the greater part was recovere
in this century, in a Ms. found on Mount Athos (the authorship of Hippolytu
was finally proved by Döllinger); which discovery led to the identification of th
Philosophumena (of "Pseudo-Origen") as the first book of the same treatise. It i
to be observed that both Irenæus and Hippolytus apply the word Gnostic in
wide sense to a whole class of cognate views, not (like Epiphanius) to a special sect
Hippolytus, however, chiefly uses it of the Ophites and Syrian Gnostics.]

[27] Apud ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptû: adversus omnes alio
hostile odium. Tacit. Hist. v. 4. Surely Tacitus had seen the Jews with to
favourable an eye. The perusal of Josephus must have destroyed the antithesis.

[28] Dr. Burnet (Archæologia, l. ii. c. 7) has discussed the first chapters o
Genesis with too much wit and freedom.

ter they could discover none of the features of the wise and nnipotent father of the universe.[29] They allowed that the ligion of the Jews was somewhat less criminal than the olatry of the Gentiles; but it was their fundamental doctrine iat the Christ whom they adored as the first and brightest nanation of the Deity appeared upon earth to rescue mankind om their various errors, and to reveal a *new* system of truth id perfection. The most learned of the fathers, by a very ngular condescension, have imprudently admitted the sophistry f the Gnostics. Acknowledging that the literal sense is re- ugnant to every principle of faith as well as reason, they deem iemselves secure and invulnerable behind the ample veil of llegory, which they carefully spread over every tender part of ie Mosaic dispensation.[30]

Their sects, progress, and influence

It has been remarked, with more ingenuity than truth, that he virgin purity of the church was never violated by schism or eresy before the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, about one hundred ears after the death of Christ.[31] We may observe, with much nore propriety, that, during that period, the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude both of faith and ractice than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages. As he terms of communion were insensibly narrowed, and the piritual authority of the prevailing party was exercised with in- creasing severity, many of its most respectable adherents, who were called upon to renounce, were provoked to assert, their private opinions, to pursue the consequences of their mistaken principles, and openly to erect the standard of rebellion against the unity of the church. The Gnostics were distinguished as the most polite, the most learned, and the most wealthy of the Christian name, and that general appellation which ex- pressed a superiority of knowledge was either assumed by their own pride or ironically bestowed by the envy of their ad- versaries.[32] They were almost without exception of the race of the Gentiles, and their principal founders seem to have been

[29] The milder Gnostics considered Jehovah, the Creator, as a Being of a mixed nature between God and the Dæmon. Others confounded him with the evil principle. Consult the second century of the general history of Mosheim, which gives a very distinct, though concise, account of their strange opinions on this subject.

[30] See Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, l. i. c. 4. Origen and St. Augustin were among the Allegorists.

[31] Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. l. iii. 32, iv. 22. Clemens, Alexandrin. Stromat. vii. 17.

[32] [It is not necessary to suppose that Gnosticism is referred to in the first Epistle to Timothy, *ad fin.*]

natives of Syria or Egypt, where the warmth of the clima disposes both the mind and the body to indolent and co templative devotion. The Gnostics blended with the faith Christ many sublime but obscure tenets which they deriv from oriental philosophy, and even from the religion of Zo aster, concerning the eternity of matter, the existence of tw principles, and the mysterious hierarchy of the invisible world As soon as they launched out into that vast abyss, they deliver themselves to the guidance of a disordered imagination; an as the paths of error are various and infinite, the Gnosti were imperceptibly divided into more than fifty particular sects, of whom the most celebrated appear to have been the Basilidian the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and, in a still later perio the Manichæans. Each of these sects could boast of its bisho and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs,[35] and, instead the four gospels adopted by the church, the heretics produce a multitude of histories, in which the actions and discourses Christ and of his apostles were adapted to their respectiv tenets.[36] The success of the Gnostics was rapid and extensive. They covered Asia and Egypt, established themselves in Rom and sometimes penetrated into the provinces of the West. Fo

[33] In the account of the Gnostics of the second and third centuries, Mosheim ingenious and candid; Le Clerc dull, but exact; Beausobre almost always a apologist; and it is much to be feared that the primitive fathers are very frequentl calumniators. [Gnosticism originated in Syria, and entered upon a second stag when it passed to Egypt, and came under the influence of Greek philosoph (Basilides, for instance, was affected by the doctrines of the Stoics, Valentinus b Platonism). A later development is presented in the treatise *Pistis Sophia*, precious relic of Gnostic literature, preserved in Coptic, edited by Schwartze an Petermann, with Latin translation, in 1851. See Appendix 2.]

[34] See the catalogues of Irenæus and Epiphanius. It must indeed be allowe that those writers were inclined to multiply the number of sects which oppose the *unity* of the church.

[35] Eusebius, l. iv. c. 15. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 32. See in Bayle, in the article *Marcion*, a curious detail of a dispute on that subject. It should seem that som of the Gnostics (the Basilidians) declined, and even refused, the honour of ma tyrdom. Their reasons were singular and abstruse. See Mosheim, p. 359.

[36] See a very remarkable passage of Origen (Proem. ad Lucam). That inde fatigable writer, who had consumed his life in the study of the scriptures, relies fo their authenticity on the inspired authority of the church. It was impossible tha the Gnostics could receive our present gospels, many parts of which (particularl in the resurrection of Christ) are directly, and as it might seem designedl pointed against their favourite tenets. It is therefore somewhat singular tha Ignatius (Epist. ad Smyrn. Patr. Apostol. tom. ii. p. 34, [§ iii. 2]) should choos to employ a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimon of the evangelists.

[37] Faciunt favos et vespæ; faciunt ecclesias et Marcionitæ, is the strong e pression of Tertullian, which I am obliged to quote from memory. [Adv. Marc. i 5.] In the time of Epiphanius (advers. Hæreses, p. 302), the Marcionites we very numerous in Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and Persia.

ie most part they arose in the second century, flourished ıring the third, and were suppressed in the fourth or fifth, by ie prevalence of more fashionable controversies, and by the ıperior ascendant of the reigning power. Though they ınstantly disturbed the peace, and frequently disgraced the ame, of religion, they contributed to assist rather than to retard ie progress of Christianity. The Gentile converts, whose rongest objections and prejudices were directed against the w of Moses, could find admission into many Christian societies, hich required not from their untutored mind any belief of an ntecedent revelation. Their faith was insensibly fortified nd enlarged, and the church was ultimately benefited by the onquests of its most inveterate enemies.[38]

The dæmons considered as the gods of antiquity

But, whatever difference of opinion might subsist between the Orthodox, the Ebionites, and the Gnostics, concerning the ivinity or the obligation of the Mosaic law, they were all qually animated by the same exclusive zeal and by the same bhorrence for idolatry which had distinguished the Jews from he other nations of the ancient world. The philosopher, who onsidered the system of polytheism as a composition of human raud and error, could disguise a smile of contempt under the nask of devotion, without apprehending that either the mockery r the compliance would expose him to the resentment of any nvisible, or, as he conceived them, imaginary powers. But the stablished religions of Paganism were seen by the primitive Christians in a much more odious and formidable light. It vas the universal sentiment both of the church and of heretics hat the dæmons were the authors, the patrons, and the objects of idolatry.[39] Those rebellious spirits who had been degraded rom the rank of angels, and cast down into the infernal pit, were still permitted to roam upon earth, to torment the bodies, nd to seduce the minds, of sinful men. The dæmons soon discovered and abused the natural propensity of the human heart towards devotion, and, artfully withdrawing the adoration of mankind from their Creator, they usurped the place and honours of the Supreme Deity. By the success of their malicious contrivances, they at once gratified their own vanity

[38] Augustin is a memorable instance of this gradual progress from reason to faith. He was, during several years, engaged in the Manichæan sect.

[39] The unanimous sentiment of the primitive church is very clearly explained by Justin Martyr, Apolog. Major [c. 25], by Athenagoras Legat. c. 22 [25. πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν is the title: best ed. by E. Schwartz, 1891], &c., and by Lactantius, Institut. Divin. ii. 14—19. [See also Athanasius de incarn. v. 47.]

and revenge, and obtained the only comfort of which the were yet susceptible, the hope of involving the human speci in the participation of their guilt and misery. It was confessed or at least it was imagined, that they had distributed amon themselves the most important characters of polytheism, on dæmon assuming the name and attributes of Jupiter, another Æsculapius, a third of Venus, and a fourth perhaps of Apollo; and that, by the advantage of their long experience and aeria nature, they were enabled to execute, with sufficient skill an dignity, the parts which they had undertaken. They lurked i the temples, instituted festivals and sacrifices, invented fable pronounced oracles, and were frequently allowed to perfor miracles. The Christians, who, by the interposition of ev spirits, could so readily explain every præternatural appearance were disposed and even desirous to admit the most extravagan fictions of the Pagan mythology. But the belief of th Christian was accompanied with horror. The most trifling mark of respect to the national worship he considered as direct homage yielded to the dæmon, and as an act of rebellio against the majesty of God.

Abhorrence of the Christians for idolatry

In consequence of this opinion, it was the first but arduou duty of a Christian to preserve himself pure and undefiled b the practice of idolatry. The religion of the nations was no merely a speculative doctrine professed in the schools or preached in the temples. The innumerable deities and rites of polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business o pleasure, of public or of private life; and it seemed impossibl to escape the observance of them, without, at the same time renouncing the commerce of mankind and all the offices and

Ceremonies

amusements of society.[41] The important transactions of peace and war were prepared or concluded by solemn sacrifices, in which the magistrate, the senator, and the soldier were obliged to preside or to participate.[42] The public spectacles were an essential part of the cheerful devotion of the Pagans, and the gods were supposed to accept, as the most grateful offering, the games that the prince and people celebrated in honour of thei

[40] Tertullian (Apolog. c. 23 [22]) alleges the confession of the Dæmons themselves as often as they were tormented by the Christian exorcists.

[41] Tertullian has written a most severe treatise against idolatry, to caution his brethren against the hourly danger of incurring that guilt. Recogita silvam, e quantæ latitant spinæ. De Coronâ Militis, c. 10.

[42] The Roman senate was always held in a temple or consecrated place (Aulus Gellius, xiv. 7). Before they entered on business, every senator dropped some wine and frankincense on the altar. Sueton. in August. c. 35.

peculiar festivals.[43] The Christian, who with pious horror avoided the abomination of the circus or the theatre, found himself encompassed with infernal snares in every convivial entertainment, as often as his friends, invoking the hospitable deities, poured out libations to each other's happiness.[44] When the bride, struggling with well-affected reluctance, was forced in hymenæal pomp over the threshold of her new habitation,[45] or when the sad procession of the dead slowly moved towards the funeral pile;[46] the Christian, on these interesting occasions, was compelled to desert the persons who were the dearest to him, rather than contract the guilt inherent to those impious ceremonies. Every art and every trade that was in the least Arts concerned in the framing or adorning of idols was polluted by the stain of idolatry;[47] a severe sentence, since it devoted to eternal misery the far greater part of the community, which is employed in the exercise of liberal or mechanic professions. If we cast our eyes over the numerous remains of antiquity, we shall perceive that, besides the immediate representations of the Gods and the holy instruments of their worship, the elegant forms and agreeable fictions, consecrated by the imagination of the Greeks, were introduced as the richest ornaments of the houses, the dress, and the furniture, of the Pagans.[48] Even the arts of music and painting, of eloquence and poetry, flowed from the same impure origin. In the style of the fathers, Apollo and the Muses were the organs of the infernal spirit, Homer and Virgil were the most eminent of his servants, and the beautiful mythology which pervades and animates the compositions of their genius is destined to celebrate the glory of

[43] See Tertullian, De Spectaculis. This severe reformer shews no more indulgence to a tragedy of Euripides than to a combat of gladiators. The dress of the actors particularly offends him. By the use of the lofty buskin, they impiously strive to add a cubit to their stature, c. 23. [Cp. Nöldechen, Z.f. Kirchengesch. xv. 1895, 161 *sqq*.]

[44] The ancient practice of concluding the entertainment with libations may be found in every classic. Socrates and Seneca, in their last moments, made a noble application of this custom. Postquam [*leg*. postremo] stagnum calidæ aquæ introiit, respergens proximos servorum, additâ voce, libare se liquorem illum Jovi Liberatori, Tacit. Annal. xv. 64.

[45] See the elegant but idolatrous hymn of Catullus, on the nuptials of Manlius and Julia. O Hymen, Hymenæe iö! Quis huic Deo compararier ausit?

[46] The ancient funerals (in those of Misenus and Pallas) are no less accurately described by Virgil than they are illustrated by his commentator Servius. The pile itself was an altar, the flames were fed with the blood of victims, and all the assistants were sprinkled with lustral water.

[47] Tertullian de Idololatria, c. 11.

[48] See every part of Montfaucon's Antiquities. Even the reverses of the Greek and Roman coins were frequently of an idolatrous nature. Here indeed the scruples of the Christian were suspended by a stronger passion.

the dæmons. Even the common language of Greece and Rom abounded with familiar but impious expressions, which the im prudent Christian might too carelessly utter, or too patientl hear.[49]

Festivals

The dangerous temptations which on every side lurked i ambush to surprise the unguarded believer assailed him wit redoubled violence on the days of solemn festivals. So artfull were they framed and disposed throughout the year that super stition always wore the appearance of pleasure, and often c virtue.[50] Some of the most sacred festivals in the Roman ritua were destined to salute the new calends of January with vow of public and private felicity, to indulge the pious remembranc of the dead and living, to ascertain the inviolable bounds c property, to hail, on the return of spring, the genial powers c fecundity, to perpetuate the two memorable æras of Rome, th foundation of the city and that of the republic, and to restore during the humane license of the Saturnalia, the primitive equalit of mankind. Some idea may be conceived of the abhorrence c the Christians for such impious ceremonies, by the scrupulou delicacy which they displayed on a much less alarming occasion On days of general festivity, it was the custom of the ancient to adorn their doors with lamps and with branches of laurel and to crown their heads with a garland of flowers. This inno cent and elegant practice might, perhaps, have been tolerate as a mere civil institution. But it most unluckily happene that the doors were under the protection of the household gods that the laurel was sacred to the lover of Daphne, and tha garlands of flowers, though frequently worn as a symbol eithe of joy or mourning, had been dedicated in their first origin t the service of superstition. The trembling Christians, wh were persuaded in this instance to comply with the fashion o their country and the commands of the magistrate, laboure under the most gloomy apprehensions, from the reproaches o their own conscience, the censures of the church, and the de nunciations of divine vengeance.[51]

[49] Tertullian de Idololatria, c. 20, 21, 22. If a Pagan friend (on the occasio perhaps of sneezing) used the familiar expression of "Jupiter bless you," th Christian was obliged to protest against the divinity of Jupiter.

[50] Consult the most laboured work of Ovid, his imperfect *Fasti*. He finishe no more than the first six months of the year. The compilation of Macrobius i called the *Saturnalia*, but it is only a small part of the first book that bears an relation to the title.

[51] Tertullian has composed a defence, or rather panegyric, of the rash actio of a Christian soldier who, by throwing away his crown of laurel, had expose

Such was the anxious diligence which was required to guard the chastity of the gospel from the infectious breath of idolatry. The superstitious observances of public or private rites were carelessly practised, from education and habit, by the followers of the established religion. But, as often as they occurred, they afforded the Christians an opportunity of declaring and confirming their zealous opposition. By these frequent protestations, their attachment to the faith was continually fortified, and, in proportion to the increase of zeal, they combated with the more ardour and success in the holy war which they had undertaken against the empire of the dæmons.

Zeal for Christianity

II. The writings of Cicero [52] represent, in the most lively colours, the ignorance, the errors, and the uncertainty of the ancient philosophers, with regard to the immortality of the soul. When they are desirous of arming their disciples against the fear of death, they inculcate, as an obvious though melancholy position, that the fatal stroke of our dissolution releases us from the calamities of life, and that those can no longer suffer who no longer exist. Yet there were a few sages of Greece and Rome who had conceived a more exalted, and, in some respects, a juster idea of human nature; though it must be confessed that, in the sublime inquiry, their reason had been often guided by their imagination, and that their imagination had been prompted by their vanity. When they viewed with complacency the extent of their own mental powers when they exercised the various faculties of memory, of fancy, and of judgment, in the most profound speculations, or the most important labours, and when they reflected on the desire of fame, which transported them into future ages far beyond the bounds of death and of the grave; they were unwilling to confound themselves with the beasts of the field, or to suppose that a being, for whose dignity they entertained the most sincere admiration, could be limited to a spot of earth and to a few years of duration. With this favourable prepossession, they summoned to their aid the science, or rather the language, of

THE SECOND CAUSE. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul among the philosophers

himself and his brethren to the most imminent danger. By the mention of the *emperors* (Severus and Caracalla) it is evident, notwithstanding the wishes of M. de Tillemont, that Tertullian composed his treatise De Coronâ long before he was engaged in the errors of the Montanists. See Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. iii. p. 384. [Date rather 211; he joined Montanists, 207. Cp. Nöldechen, Brieger's Ztschr. f. Kirchengeschichte, xi. 1890, p. 352 *sqq.*]

[52] In particular, the first book of the Tusculan Questions, and the treatise De Senectute, and the Somnium Scipionis contain, in the most beautiful language, everything that Grecian philosophy, or Roman good sense, could possibly suggest on this dark but important object.

Metaphysics. They soon discovered that, as none of the properties of matter will apply to the operations of the mind, the human soul must consequently be a substance distinct from the body, pure, simple, and spiritual, incapable of dissolution, and susceptible of a much higher degree of virtue and happiness after the release from its corporeal prison. From these spacious and noble principles, the philosophers who trod in the footsteps of Plato deduced a very unjustifiable conclusion, since they asserted, not only the future immortality, but the past eternity of the human soul, which they were too apt to consider as a portion of the infinite and self-existing spirit which pervades and sustains the universe.[53] A doctrine thus removed beyond the senses and the experience of mankind might serve to amuse the leisure of a philosophic mind; or, in the silence of solitude, it might sometimes impart a ray of comfort to desponding virtue: but the faint impression which had been received in the schools was soon obliterated by the commerce and business of active life. We are sufficiently acquainted with the eminent persons who flourished in the age of Cicero, and of the first Cæsars, with their actions, their characters, and their motives, to be assured that their conduct in this life was never regulated by any serious conviction of the rewards or punishments of a future state. At the bar and in the senate of Rome the ablest orators were not apprehensive of giving offence to their hearers by exposing that doctrine as an idle and extravagant opinion which was rejected with contempt by every man of a liberal education and understanding.[54]

among the Pagans of Greece and Rome

Since, therefore, the most sublime efforts of philosophy can extend no farther than feebly to point out the desire, the hope, or at most the probability, of a future state, there is nothing except a divine revelation, that can ascertain the existence, and describe the condition, of the invisible country which is destined to receive the souls of men after their separation from the body. But we may perceive several defects inherent to the popular religions of Greece and Rome, which rendered them very unequal to so arduous a task. 1. The general system of their

[53] The pre-existence of human souls, so far at least as that doctrine is compatible with religion, was adopted by many of the Greek and Latin fathers. See Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, l. vi. c. 4.

[54] See Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61. Cæsar ap. Sallust. de Bell. Catilin. c. 50. Juvenal. Satir. ii. 149.

Esse aliquos manes, et subterranea regna,

. . . . . .

Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum ære lavantur.

mythology was unsupported by any solid proofs; and the wisest among the Pagans had already disclaimed its usurped authority. 2. The description of the infernal regions had been abandoned to the fancy of painters and of poets, who peopled them with so many phantoms and monsters, who dispensed their rewards and punishments with so little equity, that a solemn truth, the most congenial to the human heart, was oppressed and disgraced by the absurd mixture of the wildest fictions.[55] 3. The doctrine of a future state was scarcely considered among the devout polytheists of Greece and Rome as a fundamental article of faith. The providence of the gods, as it related to public communities rather than to private individuals, was principally displayed on the visible theatre of the present world. The petitions which were offered on the altars of Jupiter or Apollo expressed the anxiety of their worshippers for temporal happiness, and their ignorance or indifference concerning a future life.[56] The important truth of the immortality of the soul was inculcated with more diligence as well as success in India, in Assyria, in Egypt, and in Gaul; and, since we cannot attribute such a difference to the superior knowledge of the barbarians, we must ascribe it to the influence of an established priesthood, which employed the motives of virtue as the instrument of ambition.[57]

among the Barbarians

We might naturally expect that a principle, so essential to religion, would have been revealed in the clearest terms to the chosen people of Palestine, and that it might safely have been intrusted to the hereditary priesthood of Aaron. It is incumbent on us to adore the mysterious dispensations of Providence,[58] when we discover that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is omitted in the law of Moses; it is darkly insinuated by

among the Jews

[55] The xith book of the Odyssey gives a very dreary and incoherent account of the infernal shades. Pindar and Virgil have embellished the picture; but even those poets, though more correct than their great model, are guilty of very strange inconsistencies. See Bayle, Responses aux Questions d'un Provincial, part iii. c. 22.

[56] See the xvith epistle of the first book of Horace, the xiiith Satire of Juvenal, and the iid Satire of Persius: these popular discourses express the sentiment and language of the multitude.

[57] If we confine ourselves to the Gauls, we may observe that they intrusted, not only their lives, but even their money, to the security of another world. Vetus ille mos Gallorum occurrit (says Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6, p. 10), quos, memoria proditum est, pecunias mutuas, quæ his apud inferos redderentur, dare solitos. The same custom is more darkly insinuated by Mela, l. iii. c. 2. It is almost needless to add that the profits of trade hold a just proportion to the credit of the merchant, and that the Druids derived from their holy profession a character of responsibility which could scarcely be claimed by any other order of men.

[58] The right reverend author of the Divine Legation of Moses assigns a very curious reason for the omission, and most ingeniously retorts it on the unbelievers.

the prophets, and during the long period which elapsed between the Egyptian and the Babylonian servitudes, the hopes as well as fears of the Jews appear to have been confined within the narrow compass of the present life.[59] After Cyrus had permitted the exiled nation to return into the promised land, and after Ezra had restored the ancient records of their religion, two celebrated sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, insensibly arose at Jerusalem.[60] The former, selected from the more opulent and distinguished ranks of society, were strictly attached to the literal sense of the Mosaic law, and they piously rejected the immortality of the soul, as an opinion that received no countenance from the Divine book, which they revered as the only rule of their faith. To the authority of scripture the Pharisees added that of tradition, and they accepted, under the name of traditions, several speculative tenets from the philosophy or religion of the eastern nations. The doctrines of fate or predestination, of angels and spirits, and of a future state of rewards and punishments, were in the number of these new articles of belief; and, as the Pharisees, by the austerity of their manners, had drawn into their party the body of the Jewish people, the immortality of the soul became the prevailing sentiment of the synagogue, under the reign of the Asmonæan princes and pontiffs. The temper of the Jews was incapable of contenting itself with such a cold and languid assent as might satisfy the mind of a Polytheist; and, as soon as they admitted the idea of a future state, they embraced it with the zeal which has always formed the characteristic of the nation. Their zeal, however, added nothing to its evidence, or even probability: and it was still necessary that the doctrine of life and immortality, which had been dictated by nature, approved by reason, and received by superstition, should obtain the sanction of Divine truth from the authority and example of Christ.

among the Christians

When the promise of eternal happiness was proposed to mankind, on condition of adopting the faith and of observing the precepts of the gospel, it is no wonder that so advantageous

[59] See Le Clerc (Prolegomena ad Hist. Ecclesiast. sect. 1, c. 8). His authority seems to carry the greater weight, as he has written a learned and judicious commentary on the books of the Old Testament.

[60] Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xiii. c. 10. De Bell. Jud. ii. 8. According to the most natural interpretation of his words, the Sadducees admitted only the Pentateuch; but it has pleased some modern critics to add the prophets to their creed, and to suppose that they contented themselves with rejecting the traditions of the Pharisees. Dr. Jortin has argued that point in his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 103.

n offer should have been accepted by great numbers of every eligion, of every rank, and of every province in the Roman mpire. The ancient Christians were animated by a contempt or their present existence, and by a just confidence of immor- ality, of which the doubtful and imperfect faith of modern ages annot give us any adequate notion. In the primitive church, he influence of truth was very powerfully strengthened by an pinion which, however it may deserve respect for its usefulness nd antiquity, has not been found agreeable to experience. It vas universally believed that the end of the world and the kingdom of Heaven were at hand. The near approach of this vonderful event had been predicted by the apostles; the tradi- ion of it was preserved by their earliest disciples, and those who nderstood in their literal sense the discourses of Christ himself vere obliged to expect the second and glorious coming of the on of Man in the clouds, before that generation was totally extinguished, which had beheld his humble condition upon earth, and which might still be witness of the calamities of the Jews under Vespasian or Hadrian. The revolution of seventeen centuries has instructed us not to press too closely the mysterious language of prophecy and revelation; but, as long as, for wise purposes, this error was permitted to subsist in the church, it was productive of the most salutary effects on the faith and practice of Christians, who lived in the awful expectation of that moment when the globe itself, and all the various race of mankind, should tremble at the appearance of their divine judge.[61]

Approaching end of the world

The ancient and popular doctrine of the Millennium was intimately connected with the second coming of Christ. As the works of the creation had been finished in six days, their dura- tion in their present state, according to a tradition which was attributed to the prophet Elijah, was fixed to six thousand years.[62] By the same analogy it was inferred that this long period of labour and contention, which was now almost elapsed,[63]

Doctrine of the Millen- nium

[61] This expectation was countenanced by the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and by the first epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians. Erasmus removes the difficulty by the help of allegory and metaphor; and the learned Grotius ventures to insinuate that, for wise purposes, the pious deception was permitted to take place.

[62] See Burnet s Sacred Theory, part iii. c. 5. This tradition may be traced as high as the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, who wrote in the first century, and who seems to have been half a Jew.

[63] The primitive church of Antioch computed almost 6000 years from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. Africanus, Lactantius, and the Greek church, have reduced that number to 5500, and Eusebius has contented

would be succeeded by a joyful Sabbath of a thousand years; and that Christ, with the triumphant band of the saints and the elect who had escaped death, or who had been miraculously revived, would reign upon earth till the time appointed for the last and general resurrection. So pleasing was this hope to the mind of believers that the *New Jerusalem*, the seat of this blissful kingdom, was quickly adorned with all the gayest colours of the imagination. A felicity consisting only of pure and spiritual pleasure would have appeared too refined for its inhabitants, who were still supposed to possess their human nature and senses. A garden of Eden, with the amusements of the pastoral life, was no longer suited to the advanced state of society which prevailed under the Roman empire. A city was therefore erected of gold and precious stones, and a supernatural plenty of corn and wine was bestowed on the adjacent territory; in the free enjoyment of whose spontaneous productions the happy and benevolent people was never to be restrained by any jealous laws of exclusive property.[64] The assurance of such a Millennium was carefully inculcated by a succession of fathers from Justin Martyr[65] and Irenæus, who conversed with the immediate disciples of the apostles, down to Lactantius, who was preceptor to the son of Constantine.[66] Though it might not be universally received, it appears to have been the reigning sentiment of the orthodox believers; and it seems so well adapted to the desires and apprehensions of mankind that it must have contributed, in a very considerable degree, to the progress of the Christian faith. But, when the edifice of the church was almost completed, the temporary support was laid aside. The doctrine of Christ's reign upon earth was at first treated as a profound allegory, was considered

himself with 5200 years. These calculations were formed on the Septuagint, which was universally received during the six first centuries. The authority of the Vulgate and of the Hebrew text has determined the moderns, Protestants as well as Catholics, to prefer a period of about 4000 years; though, in the study of profane antiquity, they often find themselves straitened by those narrow limits. [Cp. App. 3.]

[64] Most of these pictures were borrowed from a misinterpretation of Isaiah, Daniel, and the Apocalypse. One of the grossest images may be found in Irenæus (l. 5, p. 455 [c. 33]), the disciple of Papias, who had seen the apostle St. John.

[65] See the second dialogue of Justin with Tryphon and the seventh book of Lactantius. It is unnecessary to allege all the intermediate fathers, as the fact is not disputed. Yet the curious reader may consult Daillé de Usu Patrum, l. iii. c. 4.

[66] The testimony of Justin, of his own faith and that of his orthodox brethren, in the doctrine of a Millennium, is delivered in the clearest and most solemn manner (Dialog. cum. Tryphonte Jud. p. 177, 178, edit. Benedictin). If in the beginning of this important passage there is anything like an inconsistency, we may impute it, as we think proper, either to the author or to his transcribers.

y degrees as a doubtful and useless opinion, and was at length ejected as the absurd invention of heresy and fanaticism.[67] A mysterious prophecy, which still forms a part of the sacred anon, but which was thought to favour the exploded senti- ient, has very narrowly escaped the proscription of the church.[68]

Conflagration of Rome and of the world

Whilst the happiness and glory of a temporal reign were romised to the disciples of Christ, the most dreadful calamities vere denounced against an unbelieving world. The edification f the new Jerusalem was to advance by equal steps with the estruction of the mystic Babylon; and, as long as the emperors vho reigned before Constantine persisted in the profession of dolatry, the epithet of Babylon was applied to the city and to he empire of Rome. A regular series was prepared of all the noral and physical evils which can afflict a flourishing nation; ntestine discord, and the invasion of the fiercest barbarians rom the unknown regions of the North; pestilence and famine, omets and eclipses, earthquakes and inundations.[69] All these vere only so many preparatory and alarming signs of the great atastrophe of Rome, when the country of the Scipios and Cæsars should be consumed by a flame from Heaven, and the ity of the seven hills, with her palaces, her temples, and her riumphal arches, should be buried in a vast lake of fire and rimstone. It might, however, afford some consolation to Roman vanity, that the period of their empire would be that

[67] Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 223, tom. ii. p. 366, and Mosheim, p. 720; though the latter of these learned divines is not altogether candid on this occasion.

[68] In the Council of Laodicea (about the year 360) the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon, by the same churches of Asia to which it is addressed; and we may learn from the complaint of Sulpicius Severus that their sentence had been ratified by the greater number of Christians of his time. From what causes, then, is the Apocalypse at present so generally received by the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant churches? The following ones may be assigned. 1. The Greeks were subdued by the authority of an impostor who, in the sixth century, assumed the character of Dionysius the Areopagite. 2. A just appre- hension, that the grammarians might become more important than the theologians, engaged the Council of Trent to fix the seal of their infallibility on all the books of Scripture, contained in the Latin Vulgate, in the number of which the Apoca- lypse was fortunately included (Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, l. ii). 3. The advantage of turning those mysterious prophecies against the See of Rome inspired the Protestants with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally. See the ingenious and elegant discourses of the present bishop of Lichfield on that unpromising subject. [It may be considered certain that the Apocalypse of "John" was composed under Domitian (as Mommsen holds), to whose persecution of Christians there are allusions. But there is nothing in the work to show that it was written by the author of the Gospel.]

[69] Lactantius (Institut. Divin. vii. 15, &c.) relates the dismal tale of futurity with great spirit and eloquence.

of the world itself; which, as it had once perished by the element of water, was destined to experience a second and a speedy destruction from the element of fire. In the opinion of a general conflagration, the faith of the Christian very happily coincided with the tradition of the East, the philosophy of the Stoics, and the analogy of Nature; and even the country which from religious motives, had been chosen for the origin and principal scene of the conflagration, was the best adapted for that purpose by natural and physical causes; by its deep caverns beds of sulphur, and numerous volcanoes, of which those of Ætna, of Vesuvius, and of Lipari, exhibit a very imperfect representation. The calmest and most intrepid sceptic could not refuse to acknowledge that the destruction of the present system of the world by fire was in itself extremely probable. The Christian, who founded his belief much less on the fallacious arguments of reason than on the authority of tradition and the interpretation of scripture, expected it with terror and confidence as a certain and approaching event; and, as his mind was perpetually filled with the solemn idea, he considered every disaster that happened to the empire as an infallible symptom of an expiring world.[70]

The Pagans devoted to eternal punishment

The condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans, on account of their ignorance or disbelief of the divine truth, seems to offend the reason and the humanity of the present age.[71] But the primitive church, whose faith was of a much firmer consistence, delivered over, without hesitation, to eternal torture the far greater part of the human species. A charitable hope might perhaps be indulged in favour of Socrates or some other sages of antiquity, who had consulted the light of reason before that of the gospel had arisen.[72] But it was

[70] On this subject every reader of taste will be entertained with the third part of Burnet's Sacred Theory. He blends philosophy, scripture, and tradition, into one magnificent system; in the description of which he displays a strength of fancy not inferior to that of Milton himself.

[71] And yet, whatever may be the language of individuals, it is still the public doctrine of all the Christian churches; nor can even our own refuse to admit the conclusions which must be drawn from the viiith and the xviiith of her Articles. The Jansenists, who have so diligently studied the works of the fathers, maintain this sentiment with distinguished zeal; and the learned M. de Tillemont never dismisses a virtuous emperor without pronouncing his damnation. Zuinglius is perhaps the only leader of a party who has ever adopted the milder sentiment, and he gave no less offence to the Lutherans than to the Catholics. See Bossuet's Histoire des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, l. ii. c. 19—22.

[72] Justin and Clemens of Alexandria allow that some of the philosophers were instructed by the Logos; confounding its double signification of the human reason and of the Divine Word.

animously affirmed that those who, since the birth or the ath of Christ, had obstinately persisted in the worship of the emons, neither deserved, nor could expect, a pardon from the itated justice of the Deity. These rigid sentiments, which d been unknown to the ancient world, appear to have infused spirit of bitterness into a system of love and harmony. The s of blood and friendship were frequently torn asunder by the fference of religious faith; and the Christians, who, in this orld, found themselves oppressed by the power of the Pagans, ere sometimes seduced by resentment and spiritual pride to elight in the prospect of their future triumph. "You are fond spectacles," exclaims the stern Tertullian; "expect the reatest of all spectacles, the last and eternal judgment of the niverse. How shall I admire, how laugh, how rejoice, how ult, when I behold so many proud monarchs, and fancied ods, groaning in the lowest abyss of darkness; so many agistrates, who persecuted the name of the Lord, liquefying fiercer fires than they ever kindled against the Christians; many sage philosophers blushing in red hot flames, with their eluded scholars; so many celebrated poets trembling before ne tribunal, not of Minos, but of Christ; so many tragedians, nore tuneful in the expression of their own sufferings; so many ancers——!" But the humanity of the reader will permit ne to draw a veil over the rest of this infernal description, which ne zealous African pursues in a long variety of affected and nfeeling witticisms.[78]

Were often converted by their fears

Doubtless there were many among the primitive Christians f a temper more suitable to the meekness and charity of their rofession. There were many who felt a sincere compassion or the danger of their friends and countrymen, and who ex- rted the most benevolent zeal to save them from the impend- ng destruction. The careless Polytheist, assailed by new and nexpected terrors, against which neither his priests nor his hilosophers could afford him any certain protection, was very requently terrified and subdued by the menace of eternal ortures. His fears might assist the progress of his faith and eason; and, if he could once persuade himself to suspect that

[78] Tertullian, De Spectaculis, c. 30. In order to ascertain the degree of author- ty which the zealous African had acquired, it may be sufficient to allege the testi- nony of Cyprian, the doctor and guide of all the western churches. (See Prudent. Hymn. xiii. 100.) As often as he applied himself to his daily study of the writings of Tertullian, he was accustomed to say, "*Da mihi magistrum;* Give me my master". (Hieronym. de Viris Illustribus, tom. i. p. 284 [c. 53; leg. *da magis- trum*].)

the Christian religion might possibly be true, it became an eas task to convince him that it was the safest and most prude party that he could possibly embrace.

THE THIRD CAUSE. Miraculous powers of the primitive church

III. The supernatural gifts, which even in this life wer ascribed to the Christians above the rest of mankind, must hav conduced to their own comfort, and very frequently to th conviction of infidels. Besides the occasional prodigies, whic might sometimes be affected by the immediate interposition c the Deity when he suspended the laws of Nature for the servic of religion, the Christian church, from the time of the apostle and their first disciples,[74] has claimed an uninterrupted succes sion of miraculous powers, the gift of tongues, of vision and c prophecy, the power of expelling dæmons, of healing the sick and of raising the dead. The knowledge of foreign language was frequently communicated to the contemporaries of Irenæus though Irenæus himself was left to struggle with the difficultie of a barbarous dialect whilst he preached the gospel to th natives of Gaul.[75] The divine inspiration, whether it was con veyed in the form of a waking or of a sleeping vision, is describe as a favour very liberally bestowed on all ranks of the faithful on women as on elders, on boys as well as upon bishops. Whe their devout minds were sufficiently prepared by a course o prayer, of fasting, and of vigils, to receive the extraordinar impulse, they were transported out of their senses, and delivered in extasy what was inspired, being mere organs of the Hol Spirit, just as a pipe or flute is of him who blows into it.[76] W may add that the design of these visions was, for the most part either to disclose the future history, or to guide the presen administration, of the church. The expulsion of the dæmons from the bodies of those unhappy persons whom they had been permitted to torment was considered as a signal, though ordinary, triumph of religion, and is repeatedly alleged by the ancient apologists as the most convincing evidence of the truth o Christianity. The awful ceremony was usually performed in a public manner, and in the presence of a great number o

[74] Notwithstanding the evasions of Dr. Middleton, it is impossible to overlook the clear traces of visions and inspiration, which may be found in the apostolic fathers.

[75] Irenæus adv. Hæres. Proem. p. 3. Dr. Middleton (Free Inquiry, p. 96, &c. observes that, as this pretension of all others was the most difficult to support by art, it was the soonest given up. The observation suits his hypothesis.

[76] Athenagoras in Legatione. Justin Martyr, Cohort. ad Gentes. Tertullian advers. Marcionit. l. iv. These descriptions are not very unlike the prophetic fury for which Cicero (de Divinat. ii. 54) expresses so little reverence.

ectators; the patient was relieved by the power or skill of e exorcist, and the vanquished dæmon was heard to con- ss that he was one of the fabled gods of antiquity, who id impiously usurped the adoration of mankind.[77] But the iraculous cure of diseases, of the most inveterate or even æternatural kind, can no longer occasion any surprise, when e recollect that in the days of Irenæus, about the end of the cond century, the resurrection of the dead was very far from eing esteemed an uncommon event; that the miracle was equently performed on necessary occasions, by great fasting nd the joint supplication of the church of the place, and that ne persons thus restored to their prayers had lived afterwards mong them many years.[78] At such a period, when faith could oast of so many wonderful victories over death, it seems diffi- ult to account for the scepticism of those philosophers who still ejected and derided the doctrine of the resurrection. A noble recian had rested on this important ground the whole contro- ersy, and promised Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, that, if he ould be gratified with the sight of a single person who had een actually raised from the dead, he would immediately mbrace the Christian religion. It is somewhat remarkable hat the prelate of the first eastern church, however anxious for he conversion of his friend, thought proper to decline this fair nd reasonable challenge.[79]

Their truth contested

The miracles of the primitive church, after obtaining the sanction of ages, have been lately attacked in a very free and ingenious inquiry;[80] which, though it has met with the most favourable reception from the Public, appears to have excited a general scandal among the divines of our own as well as of the other Protestant churches of Europe.[81] Our different sentiments on this subject will be much less influenced by any

77 Tertullian (Apolog. c. 23) throws out a bold defiance to the Pagan magistrates. Of the primitive miracles, the power of exorcising is the only one which has been assumed by Protestants.

78 Irenæus adv. Hæreses, l. ii. 56, 57; l. v. c. 6. Mr. Dodwell (Dissertat. ad Irenæum, ii. 42) concludes that the second century was still more fertile in miracles than the first.

79 Theophilus ad Autolycum, l. i. p. 345. Edit. Benedictin. Paris, 1742 [c. 13 ed Migne, vol. 7, p. 1041].

80 Dr. Middleton sent out his Introduction in the year 1747, published his Free Inquiry in 1749, and before his death, which happened in 1750, he had prepared a vindication of it against his numerous adversaries.

81 The university of Oxford conferred degrees on his opponents. From the indignation of Mosheim (p. 221), we may discover the sentiments of Lutheran divines.

particular arguments than by our habits of study and reflection and, above all, by the degree of the evidence which we have accustomed ourselves to require for the proof of a miraculous event. The duty of an historian does not call upon him to interpose his private judgment in this nice and important controversy; but he ought not to dissemble the difficulty of adopting such a theory as may reconcile the interest of religion with that of reason, of making a proper application of that theory and of defining with precision the limits of that happy period exempt from error and from deceit, to which we might be disposed to extend the gift of supernatural powers. From the first of the fathers to the last of the popes, a succession of bishops of saints, of martyrs, and of miracles is continued without interruption, and the progress of superstition was so gradual and almost imperceptible that we know not in what particular link we should break the chain of tradition. Every age bears testimony to the wonderful events by which it was distinguished and its testimony appears no less weighty and respectable than that of the preceding generation, till we are insensibly led on to accuse our own inconsistency, if in the eighth or in the twelfth century we deny to the venerable Bede, or to the holy Bernard, the same degree of confidence which, in the second century, we had so liberally granted to Justin or to Irenæus.[82] If the truth of any of those miracles is appreciated by their apparent use and propriety, every age had unbelievers to convince, heretics to confute, and idolatrous nations to convert; and sufficient motives might always be produced to justify the interposition of Heaven. And yet, since every friend to revelation is persuaded of the reality, and every reasonable man is convinced of the cessation, of miraculous powers, it is evident that there must have been *some period* in which they were either suddenly or gradually withdrawn from the Christian church. Whatever æra is chosen for that purpose, the death of the apostles, the conversion of the Roman empire, or the extinction of the Arian heresy,[83] the insensibility of the Christians who

Our perplexity in defining the miraculous period

[82] It may seem somewhat remarkable that Bernard of Clairvaux, who records so many miracles of his friend St. Malachi, never takes any notice of his own which, in their turn, however, are carefully related by his companions and disciples. In the long series of ecclesiastical history, does there exist a single instance of a saint asserting that he himself possessed the gift of miracles?

[83] The conversion of Constantine is the æra which is most usually fixed by Protestants. The more rational divines are unwilling to admit the miracles of the fourth, whilst the more credulous are unwilling to reject those of the fifth century.

ved at that time will equally afford a just matter of surprise. hey still supported their pretensions after they had lost their ower. Credulity performed the office of faith; fanaticism was ermitted to assume the language of inspiration, and the effects f accident or contrivance were ascribed to supernatural causes. he recent experience of genuine miracles should have instructed he Christian world in the ways of Providence, and habituated heir eye (if we may use a very inadequate expression) to the tyle of the divine artist. Should the most skilful painter of nodern Italy presume to decorate his feeble imitations with the ame of Raphael or of Correggio, the insolent fraud would be oon discovered and indignantly rejected.

Use of the primitive miracles

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the miracles of the primitive church since the time of the apostles, this unresisting softness of temper, so conspicuous among the believers of the second and third centuries, proved of some accidental benefit to the cause of truth and religion. In modern times, a latent, and even involuntary, scepticism adheres to the most pious dispositions. Their admission of supernatural truths is much less an active consent than a cold and passive acquiescence. Accustomed long since to observe and to respect the invariable order of Nature, our reason, or at least our imagination, is not sufficiently prepared to sustain the visible action of the Deity. But, in the first ages of Christianity, the situation of mankind was extremely different. The most curious, or the most credulous, among the Pagans were often persuaded to enter into a society which asserted an actual claim of miraculous powers. The primitive Christians perpetually trod on mystic ground, and their minds were exercised by the habits of believing the most extraordinary events. They felt, or they fancied, that on every side they were incessantly assaulted by dæmons, comforted by visions, instructed by prophecy, and surprisingly delivered from danger, sickness, and from death itself, by the supplications of the church. The real or imaginary prodigies, of which they so frequently conceived themselves to be the objects, the instruments, or the spectators, very happily disposed them to adopt, with the same ease, but with far greater justice, the authentic wonders of the evangelic history; and thus miracles that exceeded not the measure of their own experience inspired them with the most lively assurance of mysteries which were acknowledged to surpass the limits of their understanding. It is this deep impression of supernatural truths which has been so much celebrated under the name of faith; a state of mind

described as the surest pledge of the divine favour and of future felicity, and recommended as the first or perhaps the only merit of a Christian. According to the more rigid doctors, the moral virtues, which may be equally practised by infidels, are destitute of any value or efficacy in the work of our justification.

THE FOURTH CAUSE. Virtues of the first Christians

IV. But the primitive Christian demonstrated his faith by his virtues; and it was very justly supposed that the divine persuasion, which enlightened or subdued the understanding, must, at the same time, purify the heart, and direct the actions of the believer. The first apologists of Christianity who justify the innocence of their brethren, and the writers of a later period who celebrate the sanctity of their ancestors, display, in the most lively colours, the reformation of manners which was introduced into the world by the preaching of the gospel. As it is my intention to remark only such human causes as were permitted to second the influence of revelation, I shall slightly mention two motives which might naturally render the lives of the primitive Christians much purer and more austere than those of their Pagan contemporaries, or their degenerate successors; repentance for their past sins, and the laudable desire of supporting the reputation of the society in which they were engaged.

Effects of their repentance

It is a very ancient reproach, suggested by the ignorance or the malice of infidelity, that the Christians allured into their party the most atrocious criminals, who, as soon as they were touched by a sense of remorse, were easily persuaded to wash away, in the water of baptism, the guilt of their past conduct, for which the temples of the gods refused to grant them any expiation. But this reproach, when it is cleared from misrepresentation, contributes as much to the honour as it did to the increase of the church.[84] The friends of Christianity may acknowledge without a blush that many of the most eminent saints had been before their baptism the most abandoned sinners. Those persons who in the world had followed, though in an imperfect manner, the dictates of benevolence and propriety, derived such a calm satisfaction from the opinion of their own rectitude, as rendered them much less susceptible of the sudden emotions of shame, of grief, and of terror, which have given birth to so many wonderful conversions. After the example of their Divine Master, the missionaries of the gospel disdained not the

[84] The imputations of Celsus and Julian, with the defence of the fathers, are very fairly stated by Spanheim, Commentaire sur les Césars de Julian, p. 468.

ciety of men, and especially of women, oppressed by the con-
iousness, and very often by the effects, of their vices. As
ey emerged from sin and superstition to the glorious hope of
mmortality, they resolved to devote themselves to a life, not
ly of virtue, but of penitence. The desire of perfection
ecame the ruling passion of their soul; and it is well known
at, while reason embraces a cold mediocrity, our passions
rry us, with rapid violence, over the space which lies between
e most opposite extremes.

Care of their reputation.

When the new converts had been enrolled in the number of
e faithful and were admitted to the sacraments of the church,
ey found themselves restrained from relapsing into their past
isorders by another consideration of a less spiritual, but of a
ry innocent and respectable nature. Any particular society
at has departed from the great body of the nation or the
ligion to which it belonged immediately becomes the object
f universal as well as invidious observation. In proportion to
ne smallness of its numbers, the character of the society may
e affected by the virtue and vices of the persons who compose
; and every member is engaged to watch with the most
igilant attention over his own behaviour and over that of his
rethren, since, as he must expect to incur a part of the common
isgrace, he may hope to enjoy a share of the common reputa-
ion. When the Christians of Bithynia were brought before the
ribunal of the younger Pliny, they assured the proconsul that,
ar from being engaged in any unlawful conspiracy, they were
ound by a solemn obligation to abstain from the commission
f those crimes which disturb the private or public peace of
ociety, from theft, robbery, adultery, perjury, and fraud.[85]
Near a century afterwards, Tertullian, with an honest pride,
ould boast that very few Christians had suffered by the hand
f the executioner, except on account of their religion.[86] Their
erious and sequestered life, averse to the gay luxury of the age,
nsured them to chastity, temperance, economy, and all the
ober and domestic virtues. As the greater number were of
ome trade or profession, it was incumbent on them, by the
trictest integrity and the fairest dealing, to remove the
uspicions which the profane are too apt to conceive against
he appearances of sanctity. The contempt of the world
xercised them in the habits of humility, meekness, and

[85] Plin. Epist. x. 97.

[86] Tertullian, Apolog. c. 44. He adds, however, with some degree of hesitation, "Aut si [et] aliud, jam non Christianus".

patience. The more they were persecuted, the more close they adhered to each other. Their mutual charity and unsuspecting confidence has been remarked by infidels, and was too often abused by perfidious friends.[87]

Morality of the fathers

It is a very honourable circumstance for the morals of the primitive Christians, that even their faults, or rather errors, were derived from an excess of virtue. The bishops and doctors of the church, whose evidence attests, and whose authority might influence, the professions, the principles, and even the practice, of their contemporaries, had studied the scriptures with less skill than devotion, and they often received in the most literal sense, those rigid precepts of Christ and the apostles to which the prudence of succeeding commentators has applied a looser and more figurative mode of interpretation. Ambitious to exalt the perfection of the gospel above the wisdom of philosophy, the zealous fathers have carried the duties of self-mortification, of purity, and of patience, to a height which it is scarcely possible to attain, and much less to preserve, in our present state of weakness and corruption. A doctrine so extraordinary and so sublime must inevitably command the veneration of the people; but it was ill calculated to obtain the suffrage of those worldly philosophers who, in the conduct of this transitory life, consult only the feelings of nature and the interest of society.[88]

Principle of human nature

There are two very natural propensities which we may distinguish in the most virtuous and liberal dispositions, the love of pleasure and the love of action. If the former be refined by art and learning, improved by the charms of social intercourse, and corrected by a just regard to economy, to health, and to reputation, it is productive of the greatest part of the happiness of private life. The love of action is a principle of a much stronger and more doubtful nature. It often leads to anger, to ambition, and to revenge; but, when it is guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence, it becomes the parent of every virtue; and, if those virtues are accompanied with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man. To the love of pleasure we may therefore ascribe most of the agreeable, to the love of action we may attribute

[87] The philosopher Peregrinus (of whose life and death Lucian has left us so entertaining an account) imposed, for a long time, on the credulous simplicity of the Christians of Asia.

[88] See a very judicious treatise of Barbeyrac sur la Morale des Pères.

ost of the useful and respectable qualifications. The character which both the one and the other should be united and rmonized would seem to constitute the most perfect idea of man nature. The insensible and inactive disposition, which ould be supposed alike destitute of both, would be rejected, the common consent of mankind, as utterly incapable of ocuring any happiness to the individual, or any public benefit the world. But it was not in *this* world that the primitive ristians were desirous of making themselves either agreeable useful.

The primitive Christians condemn pleasure and luxury

The acquisition of knowledge, the exercise of our reason or ncy, and the cheerful flow of unguarded conversation, may nploy the leisure of a liberal mind. Such amusements, how- er, were rejected with abhorrence, or admitted with the most caution, by the severity of the fathers, who despised all nowledge that was not useful to salvation, and who considered levity of discourse as a criminal abuse of the gift of speech. our present state of existence, the body is so inseparably nnected with the soul that it seems to be our interest to taste, th innocence and moderation, the enjoyments of which that ithful companion is susceptible. Very different was the asoning of our devout predecessors ; vainly aspiring to imitate e perfection of angels, they disdained, or they affected to sdain, every earthly and corporeal delight.[89] Some of our nses indeed are necessary for our preservation, others for our bsistence, and others again for our information, and thus far it as impossible to reject the use of them. The first sensation of easure was marked as the first moment of their abuse. The un- eling candidate for Heaven was instructed, not only to resist the rosser allurements of the taste or smell, but even to view with indif- rence the most finished productions of human art. Gay apparel, agnificent houses, and elegant furniture were supposed to unite ne double guilt of pride and of sensuality: a simple and mortified ppearance was more suitable to the Christian who was certain of is sins and doubtful of his salvation. In their censures of luxury, ne fathers are extremely minute and circumstantial ;[90] and among ne various articles which excite their pious indignation, we ay enumerate false hair, garments of any colour except white,

[89] Lactant. Institut. Divin. l. vi. c. 20, 21, 22.

[90] Consult a work of Clemens of Alexandria, intitled the Pædagogue, which ntains the rudiments of ethics, as they were taught in the most celebrated of the hristian schools.

instruments of music, vases of gold or silver, downy pillows (a Jacob reposed his head on a stone), white bread, foreign wine public salutations, the use of warm baths, and the practice o shaving the beard, which, according to the expression o Tertullian, is a lie against our own faces, and an impious attemp to improve the works of the Creator.[91] When Christianity wa introduced among the rich and the polite, the observation o these singular laws was left, as it would be at present, to th few who were ambitious of superior sanctity. But it is alway easy, as well as agreeable, for the inferior ranks of mankind t claim a merit from the contempt of that pomp and pleasure which fortune has placed beyond their reach. The virtue o the primitive Christians, like that of the first Romans, was ver frequently guarded by poverty and ignorance.

Their sentiments concerning marriage and chastity

The chaste severity of the fathers, in whatever related to th commerce of the two sexes, flowed from the same principle their abhorrence of every enjoyment which might gratify th sensual, and degrade the spiritual, nature of man. It was thei favourite opinion that, if Adam had preserved his obedience t the Creator, he would have lived for ever in a state of virgi purity, and that some harmless mode of vegetation might hav peopled paradise with a race of innocent and immortal beings.[92] The use of marriage was permitted only to his fallen posterity as a necessary expedient to continue the human species, and a a restraint, however imperfect, on the natural licentiousness o desire. The hesitation of the orthodox casuists on this interest ing subject betrays the perplexity of men, unwilling to approv an institution which they were compelled to tolerate.[93] Th enumeration of the very whimsical laws, which they most circum stantially imposed on the marriage-bed, would force a smil from the young, and a blush from the fair. It was their unani mous sentiment that a first marriage was adequate to all the purposes of nature and of society. The sensual connexion wa refined into a resemblance of the mystic union of Christ wit his church, and was pronounced to be indissoluble either by divorce or by death. The practice of second nuptials wa branded with the name of a legal adultery; and the person who were guilty of so scandalous an offence against Christia

[91] Tertullian, de Spectaculis, c. 23. Clemens Alexandrin. Pædagog. l. iii. c. 8.

[92] Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, l. vii. c. 3. Justin, Gregory o Nyssa, Augustin, &c., strongly inclined to this opinion.

[93] Some of the Gnostic heretics were more consistent; they rejected the use o marriage.

urity were soon excluded from the honours, and even from the ms, of the church.[94] Since desire was imputed as a crime, nd marriage was tolerated as a defect, it was consistent with ne same principles to consider a state of celibacy as the earest approach to the divine perfection. It was with the tmost difficulty that ancient Rome could support the institution f six vestals;[95] but the primitive church was filled with a great umber of persons of either sex who had devoted themselves to ne profession of perpetual chastity.[96] A few of these, among vhom we may reckon the learned Origen, judged it the most rudent to disarm the tempter.[97] Some were insensible and ome were invincible against the assaults of the flesh. Disdain- ng an ignominious flight, the virgins of the warm climate of Africa encountered the enemy in the closest engagement; they ermitted priests and deacons to share their bed, and gloried midst the flames in their unsullied purity. But insulted Nature ometimes vindicated her rights, and this new species of martyr- lom served only to introduce a new scandal into the church.[98] Among the Christian ascetics, however (a name which they oon acquired from their painful exercise), many, as they were ess presumptuous, were probably more successful. The loss of ensual pleasure was supplied and compensated by spiritual ride. Even the multitude of Pagans were inclined to estimate he merit of the sacrifice by its apparent difficulty; and it was n the praise of these chaste spouses of Christ that the fathers ave poured forth the troubled stream of their eloquence.[99] Such are the early traces of monastic principles and institutions

[94] See a chain of tradition, from Justin Martyr to Jerome, in the Morale des Pères; c. iv. 6—26.

[95] See a very curious Dissertation on the Vestals, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. iv. p. 161—227. Notwithstanding the honours and rewards which were bestowed on those virgins, it was difficult to procure a sufficient number; nor could the dread of the most horrible death always restrain their incontinence.

[96] Cupiditatem procreandi aut unam scimus aut nullam. Minucius Felix, c. 31. Justin. Apolog. Major [29]. Athenagoras in Legat. c. 28. Tertullian de Cultu Femin. l. ii.

[97] Eusebius, l. vi. 8. Before the fame of Origen had excited envy and persecution, this extraordinary action was rather admired than censured. As it was his general practice to allegorize scripture, it seems unfortunate that, in this instance only, he should have adopted the literal sense.

[98] Cyprian Epist. 4, and Dodwell Dissertat. Cyprianic. iii. Something like this rash attempt was long afterwards imputed to the founder of the order of Fontevrault. Bayle has amused himself and his readers on that very delicate subject.

[99] Dupin (Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 195) gives a particular account of the dialogue of the ten virgins, as it was composed by Methodius, bishop of Tyre. The praises of virginity are excessive.

which, in a subsequent age, have counterbalanced all t
temporal advantages of Christianity.[100]

Their aversion to the business of war and government

The Christians were not less averse to the business than
the pleasures of this world. The defence of our persons a
property they knew not how to reconcile with the patie
doctrine which enjoined an unlimited forgiveness of past injur
and commanded them to invite the repetition of fresh insul
Their simplicity was offended by the use of oaths, by the pom
of magistracy, and by the active contention of public life, n
could their humane ignorance be convinced that it was lawf
on any occasion to shed the blood of our fellow-creatures, eith
by the sword of justice or by that of war; even though the
criminal or hostile attempts should threaten the peace and safe
of the whole community.[101] It was acknowledged that, under
less perfect law, the powers of the Jewish constitution had bee
exercised, with the approbation of Heaven, by inspired prophe
and by anointed kings. The Christians felt and confessed th
such institutions might be necessary for the present system
the world, and they cheerfully submitted to the authority
their Pagan governors. But, while they inculcated the maxim
of passive obedience, they refused to take any active part in th
civil administration or the military defence of the empire. Som
indulgence might perhaps be allowed to those persons wh
before their conversion, were already engaged in such violen
and sanguinary occupations;[102] but it was impossible that th
Christians, without renouncing a more sacred duty, could assum
the character of soldiers, of magistrates, or of princes.[103] Th
indolent, or even criminal, disregard to the public welfare ex
posed them to the contempt and reproaches of the Pagans, wh
very frequently asked, What must be the fate of the empire
attacked on every side by the barbarians, if all mankind shoul

[100] The Ascetics (as early as the second century) made a public profession
mortifying their bodies, and of abstaining from the use of flesh and wine. Moshei
p. 310.

[101] See the Morale des Pères. The same patient principles have been revive
since the Reformation by the Socinians, the modern Anabaptists, and the Quaker
Barclay, the apologist of the Quakers, has protected his brethren by the authori
of the primitive Christians, p. 542—549.

[102] Tertullian, Apolog. c. 21, De Idololatriâ, c. 17, 18. Origen contra Celsu
l. v. p. 253, [p. 1232, Migne, Patr. G. xi.,] l. vii. p. 348, [1457,] l. viii. p. 423
428, [1620, *sqq.*].

[103] Tertullian (De Coronâ Militis, c. 11) suggests to them the expedient
deserting; a counsel which, if it had been generally known, was not very prop
to conciliate the favour of the emperors towards the Christian sect.

dopt the pusillanimous sentiments of the new sect?[104] To his insulting question the Christian apologists returned obscure nd ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to reveal the ecret cause of their security; the expectation that, before the onversion of mankind was accomplished, war, government, the Roman empire and the world itself would be no more. It may e observed that, in this instance likewise, the situation of the irst Christians coincided very happily with their religious scruples, nd that their aversion to an active life contributed rather to xcuse them from the service, than to exclude them from the honours, of the state and army.

THE FIFTH CAUSE. The Christians active in the government of the church

V. But the human character, however it may be exalted or depressed by a temporary enthusiasm, will return, by degrees, to its proper and natural level, and will resume those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition. The primitive Christians were dead to the business and pleasures of the world; but their love of action, which could never be entirely extinguished, soon revived, and found a new occupation in the government of the church. A separate society, which attacked the established religion of the empire, was obliged to adopt some form of internal policy, and to appoint a sufficient number of ministers, intrusted not only with the spiritual functions, but even with the temporal direction, of the Christian commonwealth. The safety of that society, its honour, its aggrandisement, were productive, even in the most pious minds, of a spirit of patriotism, such as the first of the Romans had felt for the republic, and sometimes, of a similar indifference in the use of whatever means might probably conduce to so desirable an end. The ambition of raising themselves or their friends to the honours and offices of the church was disguised by the laudable intention of devoting to the public benefit the power and consideration which, for that purpose only, it became their duty to solicit. In the exercise of their functions, they were frequently called upon to detect the errors of heresy, or the arts of faction, to oppose the designs of perfidious brethren, to stigmatize their characters with deserved infamy, and to expel them from the bosom of a society whose peace and happiness they had attempted to disturb. The ecclesiastical governors of the Christians were taught to unite the wisdom of the serpent with the innocence of the dove; but, as the former was refined, so

[104] As well as we can judge from the mutilated representation of Origen (l. viii. p. 423 [1620]), his adversary, Celsus, had urged his objection with great force and candour.

the latter was insensibly corrupted, by the habits of government. In the church as well as in the world the persons who were placed in any public station rendered themselves considerable by their eloquence and firmness, by their knowledge of mankind and by their dexterity in business; and, while they concealed from others, and, perhaps, from themselves, the secret motives of their conduct, they too frequently relapsed into all the turbulent passions of active life, which were tinctured with an additional degree of bitterness and obstinacy from the infusion of spiritual zeal.

Its primitive freedom and equality

The government of the church has often been the subject as well as the prize, of religious contention. The hostile disputants of Rome, of Paris, of Oxford and of Geneva have alike struggled to reduce the primitive and apostolic model[105] to the respective standards of their own policy. The few who have pursued this inquiry with more candour and impartiality are of opinion[106] that the apostles declined the office of legislation, and rather chose to endure some partial scandals and divisions than to exclude the Christians of a future age from the liberty of varying their forms of ecclesiastical government according to the changes of times and circumstances. The scheme of policy, which, under their approbation, was adopted for the use of the first century may be discovered from the practice of Jerusalem, of Ephesus, or of Corinth. The societies which were instituted in the cities of the Roman empire were united only by the ties of faith and charity. Independence and equality formed the basis of their internal constitution. The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the *prophets*,[107] who were called to that function, without distinction of age, of sex, or of natural abilities, and who, as often as they felt the divine impulse, poured forth the effusions of the spirit in the assembly of the faithful. But these extraordinary gifts were frequently abused or misapplied by the prophetic teachers. They displayed them at an improper season, presumptuously disturbed the service of the assembly, and by their pride or mistaken zeal they introduced, particularly into

[105] The aristocratical party in France, as well as in England, has strenuously maintained the divine origin of bishops. But the Calvinistical presbyters were impatient of a superior; and the Roman Pontiff refused to acknowledge an equal. See Fra Paolo.

[106] In the history of the Christian hierarchy, I have, for the most part, followed the learned and candid Mosheim.

[107] For the prophets of the primitive church, see Mosheim, Dissertationes ad Hist. Eccles. pertinentes, tom. ii. p. 132—208.

e apostolic church of Corinth, a long and melancholy train of sorders.[108] As the institution of prophets became useless, and en pernicious, their powers were withdrawn and their office olished. The public functions of religion were solely in-usted to the established ministers of the church, the *bishops* id the *presbyters;* two appellations which, in their first origin, ppear to have distinguished the same office and the same order persons. The name of Presbyter was expressive of their age, rather of their gravity and wisdom. The title of Bishop enoted their inspection over the faith and manners of the hristians who were committed to their pastoral care. In pro-ortion to the respective numbers of the faithful, a larger or naller number of these *episcopal presbyters* guided each infant ongregation with equal authority and with united councils.[109]

Institution of bishops as presidents of the college of presbyters

But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the direct- g hand of a superior magistrate; and the order of public eliberations soon introduces the office of a president, invested least with the authority of collecting the sentiments, and of xecuting the resolutions, of the assembly. A regard for the ublic tranquillity, which would so frequently have been inter-upted by annual or by occasional elections, induced the primi-ve Christians to constitute an honourable and perpetual agistracy, and to choose one of the wisest and most holy mong their presbyters to execute, during his life, the duties of eir ecclesiastical governor. It was under these circumstances at the lofty title of Bishop began to raise itself above the umble appellation of presbyter; and, while the latter remained e most natural distinction for the members of every Christian nate, the former was appropriated to the dignity of its new resident.[110] The advantages of this episcopal form of govern-ent, which appears to have been introduced before the end of

[108] See the Epistles of St. Paul, and of Clemens, to the Corinthians.

[109] Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, l. vii. [On bishops and presbyters, see ppendix 4.]

[110] See Jerome ad Titum, c. 1, and Epistol. 85 (in the Benedictine edition, 101), nd the elaborate apology of Blondel, pro sententiâ Hieronymi. The ancient ate, as it is described by Jerome, of the bishop and presbyters of Alexandria ceives a remarkable confirmation from the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. 330, Vers. Pocock), whose testimony I know not how to reject, in spite of all e objections of the learned Pearson in his Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part i. c. 11. f Ignatius suffered under Trajan, and the Epistles ascribed to him are genuine, would follow that episcopal government was fully organized in some churches the East at the beginning of the second century, for those documents assume the stitution. See below, p. 98, and App. 4.]

the first century,[111] were so obvious, and so important for t
future greatness, as well as the present peace, of Christianit
that it was adopted without delay by all the societies whi
were already scattered over the empire, had acquired in a ve
early period the sanction of antiquity,[112] and is still revered
the most powerful churches, both of the East and of the We
as a primitive and even as a divine establishment.[113] It is nee
less to observe that the pious and humble presbyters who we
first dignified with the episcopal title could not possess, a
would probably have rejected, the power and pomp which no
encircles the tiara of the Roman pontiff, or the mitre of
German prelate. But we may define, in a few words, t
narrow limits of their original jurisdiction, which was chiefly
a spiritual, though in some instances of a temporal, nature.
It consisted in the administration of the sacraments and disc
pline of the church, the superintendency of religious ceremonie
which imperceptibly increased in number and variety, the co
secration of ecclesiastical ministers, to whom the bishop assigne
their respective functions, the management of the public fun
and the determination of all such differences as the faithf
were unwilling to expose before the tribunal of an idolatro
judge. These powers, during a short period, were exercise
according to the advice of the presbyteral college, and with t
consent and approbation of the assembly of Christians. T
primitive bishops were considered only as the first of the
equals, and the honourable servants of a free people. Whe
ever the episcopal chair became vacant by death, a new presider
was chosen among the presbyters by the suffrage of the who

[111] See the introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of ange
were already instituted in seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Cleme
(which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces
episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome. [The date of the first letter (the seco
is spurious) of Clement is generally admitted to be about 100 A.D.; it is
admonition addressed by the Roman to the Corinthian church. The author
supposed by some to be no other than Flavius Clemens, the cousin of Domiti
who was put to death by him for ἀθεότης, by others to be one of his freedme
(so Lightfoot, who has edited the letter in his Apostolic Fathers).]

[112] Nulla Ecclesia sine Episcopo, has been a fact as well as a maxim since t
time of Tertullian and Irenæus.

[113] After we have passed the difficulties of the first century, we find the episcopo
government universally established, till it was interrupted by the republican geni
of the Swiss and German reformers.

[114] See Mosheim in the first and second centuries. Ignatius (ad Smyrnæos,
3, &c.) is fond of exalting the episcopal dignity. Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 56
very bluntly censures his conduct. Mosheim, with a more critical judgment (
161), suspects the purity even of the smaller epistles.

ongregation, every member of which supposed himself invested ith a sacred and sacerdotal character.[115]

Provincial councils

Such was the mild and equal constitution by which the hristians were governed more than a hundred years after the eath of the apostles. Every society formed within itself a eparate and independent republic: and, although the most istant of these little states maintained a mutual as well as riendly intercourse of letters and deputations, the Christian orld was not yet connected by any supreme authority or egislative assembly. As the numbers of the faithful were gradu-lly multiplied, they discovered the advantages that might result rom a closer union of their interest and designs. Towards the nd of the second century, the churches of Greece and Asia dopted the useful institutions of provincial synods, and they nay justly be supposed to have borrowed the model of a epresentative council from the celebrated examples of their wn country, the Amphictyons, the Achæan league, or the ssemblies of the Ionian cities. It was soon established as a ustom and as a law that the bishops of the independent hurches should meet in the capital of the province at the tated periods of spring and autumn. Their deliberations were ssisted by the advice of a few distinguished presbyters, and noderated by the presence of a listening multitude.[116] Their decrees, which were styled Canons, regulated every important ontroversy of faith and discipline; and it was natural to believe hat a liberal effusion of the Holy Spirit would be poured on he united assembly of the delegates of the Christian people. The institution of synods was so well suited to private ambition nd to public interest that in the space of a few years it was eceived throughout the whole empire. A regular correspond-ence was established between the provincial councils, which mutually communicated and approved their respective proceed-ngs; and the Catholic church soon assumed the form, and acquired the strength, of a great federative republic.[117]

Union of the church

[115] Nonne et Laici sacerdotes sumus? Tertullian, Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 7. As the human heart is still the same, several of the observations which Mr. Hume has made on Enthusiasm (Essays, vol. i. p. 76, quarto edit.) may be applied even to real inspiration.

[116] Acta Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. Edit. Fell, p. 158. This council was composed of eighty-seven bishops from the provinces of Mauritania, Numidia, and Africa; some presbyters and deacons assisted at the assembly; præsente plebis maximâ parte.

[117] Aguntur præterea per Græcias illas, certis in locis concilia, &c. Tertullian de Jejuniis, c. 13. The African mentions it as a recent and foreign institution. The coalition of the Christian churches is very ably explained by Mosheim, p. 164—170.

Progress of episcopal authority

As the legislative authority of the particular churches was insensibly superseded by the use of councils, the bishops obtained by their alliance a much larger share of executive and arbitrary power; and, as soon as they were connected by a sense of their common interest, they were enabled to attack, with united vigour, the original rights of their clergy and people. The prelates of the third century imperceptibly changed the language of exhortation into that of command, scattered the seeds of future usurpations, and supplied, by scripture allegories and declamatory rhetoric, their deficiency of force and of reason. They exalted the unity and power of the church, as it was represented in the EPISCOPAL OFFICE, of which every bishop enjoyed an equal and undivided portion.[118] Princes and magistrates, it was often repeated, might boast an earthly claim to a transitory dominion; it was the episcopal authority alone which was derived from the Deity, and extended itself over this and over another world. The bishops were the vicegerents of Christ, the successors of the apostles, and the mystic substitutes of the high priest of the Mosaic law. Their exclusive privilege of conferring the sacerdotal character invaded the freedom both of clerical and of popular elections; and if, in the administration of the church, they still consulted the judgment of the presbyters or the inclination of the people, they most carefully inculcated the merit of such a voluntary condescension. The bishops acknowledged the supreme authority which resided in the assembly of their brethren; but, in the government of his peculiar diocese, each of them exacted from his *flock* the same implicit obedience as if that favourite metaphor had been literally just, and as if the shepherd had been of a more exalted nature than that of his sheep.[119] This obedience, however, was not imposed without some efforts on one side, and some resistance on the other. The democratical part of the constitution was, in many places, very warmly supported by the zealous or interested opposition of the inferior clergy. But their patriotism received the ignominious epithets of faction and schism; and the episcopal cause was indebted for its rapid progress to the labours of many active prelates, who, like Cyprian of Carthage, could reconcile the arts of the most ambitious statesman with the Christian

[118] Cyprian, in his admired treatise De Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 75—86.

[119] We may appeal to the whole tenor of Cyprian's conduct, of his doctrine, and of his Epistles. Le Clerc, in a short life of Cyprian (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xii. p. 207—378), has laid him open with great freedom and accuracy.

ues which seem adapted to the character of a saint and rtyr.[120]

The same causes which at first had destroyed the equality of presbyters introduced among the bishops a pre-eminence of k, and from thence a superiority of jurisdiction. As often in the spring and autumn they met in provincial synod, the ference of personal merit and reputation was very sensibly t among the members of the assembly, and the multitude s governed by the wisdom and eloquence of the few. But e order of public proceedings required a more regular and s invidious distinction; the office of perpetual presidents in e councils of each province was conferred on the bishops of e principal city, and these aspiring prelates, who soon acquired e lofty titles of Metropolitans and Primates, secretly prepared emselves to usurp over their episcopal brethren the same thority which the bishops had so lately assumed above the llege of presbyters.[121] Nor was it long before an emulation pre-eminence and power prevailed among the metropolitans emselves, each of them affecting to display, in the most pomp- s terms, the temporal honours and advantages of the city over nich he presided; the numbers and opulence of the Christians no were subject to their pastoral care; the saints and martyrs no had arisen among them, and the purity with which they eserved the tradition of the faith, as it had been transmitted rough a series of orthodox bishops from the apostle or the postolic disciple, to whom the foundation of their church was cribed.[122] From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesi- tical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the spect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces. he society of the faithful bore a just proportion to the capital the empire; and the Roman church was the greatest, the ost numerous, and, in regard to the West, the most ancient of l the Christian establishments, many of which had received eir religion from the pious labours of her missionaries. In- ead of *one* apostolic founder, the utmost boast of Antioch, of phesus, or of Corinth, the banks of the Tiber were supposed have been honoured with the preaching and martyrdom of

Pre-eminence of the metropolitan churches

Ambition of the Roman pontiff

[120] If Novatus, Felicissimus, &c., whom the bishop of Carthage expelled from s church, and from Africa, were not the most detestable monsters of wickedness, e zeal of Cyprian must occasionally have prevailed over his veracity. For a very st account of these obscure quarrels, see Mosheim, p. 497—512.

[121] Mosheim, p. 269, 574. Dupin, Antiquæ Eccles. Disciplin., p. 19, 20.

[122] Tertullian, in a distinct treatise, has pleaded against the heretics the right f prescription, as it was held by the apostolic churches.

the *two* most eminent among the apostles ;[123] and the bisho of Rome very prudently claimed the inheritance of whatsoev prerogatives were attributed either to the person or to th office of St. Peter.[124] The bishops of Italy and of the provinc were disposed to allow them a primacy of order and associatio (such was their very accurate expression) in the Christian arist cracy.[125] But the power of a monarch was rejected with abho rence, and the aspiring genius of Rome experienced, from th nations of Asia and Africa, a more vigorous resistance to h spiritual, than she had formerly done to her temporal, dominio The patriotic Cyprian, who ruled with the most absolute swa the church of Carthage and the provincial synods, opposed wit resolution and success the ambition of the Roman pontiff, ar fully connected his own cause with that of the eastern bishop and, like Hannibal, sought out new allies in the heart of Asia.[1] If this Punic war was carried on without any effusion of blooc it was owing much less to the moderation than to the weakne of the contending prelates. Invectives and excommunicatio were *their* only weapons ; and these, during the progress of th whole controversy, they hurled against each other with equ fury and devotion. The hard necessity of censuring either pope, or a saint and martyr, distresses the modern Catholic whenever they are obliged to relate the particulars of a disput in which the champions of religion indulged such passions a seem much more adapted to the senate or to the camp.[127]

Laity and clergy

The progress of the ecclesiastical authority gave birth to th memorable distinction of the laity and of the clergy, which ha been unknown to the Greeks and Romans.[128] The former o

[123] The journey of St. Peter to Rome is mentioned by most of the ancient (see Eusebius, ii. 25), maintained by all the Catholics, allowed by some Protestant (see Pearson and Dodwell de Success. Episcop. Roman.), but has been vigorousl attacked by Spanheim (Miscellanea Sacra, iii. 3). According to father Hardouin the monks of the thirteenth century, who composed the Æneid, represented St Peter under the allegorical character of the Trojan hero.

[124] It is in French only that the famous allusion to St. Peter's name is exact Tu es *Pierre* et sur cette *pierre*.—The same is imperfect in Greek, Latin, Italian &c., and totally unintelligible in our Teutonic languages.

[125] Irenæus adv. Hæreses, iii. 3. Tertullian de Præscription., c. 36, and Cyprian Epistol. 27, 55, 71, 75. Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 764) and Mosheim (p. 258 578) labour in the interpretation of these passages. But the loose and rhetorica style of the fathers often appears favourable to the pretensions of Rome.

[126] See the sharp epistle from Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea, to Stephen bishop of Rome, ap. Cyprian Epistol. 75.

[127] Concerning this dispute of the re-baptism of heretics, see the epistles o Cyprian, and the seventh book of Eusebius.

[128] For the origin of these words, see Mosheim, p. 141. Spanheim, Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 633. The distinction of *Clerus* and *Laicus* was established before the time of Tertullian.

ese appellations comprehended the body of the Christian
ople; the latter, according to the signification of the word,
s appropriated to the chosen portion that had been set apart
the service of religion; a celebrated order of men which has
nished the most important, though not always the most
ifying, subjects for modern history. Their mutual hostilities
metimes disturbed the peace of the infant church, but their
al and activity were united in the common cause, and the love
power, which (under the most artful disguises) could insinuate
elf into the breasts of bishops and martyrs, animated them to
crease the number of their subjects, and to enlarge the limits
the Christian empire. They were destitute of any temporal
rce, and they were for a long time discouraged and oppressed,
ther than assisted, by the civil magistrate; but they had ac-
ired, and they employed within their own society, the two
ost efficacious instruments of government, rewards and punish-
ents; the former derived from the pious liberality, the latter
om the devout apprehensions, of the faithful.

Oblations and revenue of the church

I. The community of goods, which had so agreeably amused
e imagination of Plato,[129] and which subsisted in some degree
nong the austere sect of the Essenians,[130] was adopted for a
ort time in the primitive church. The fervour of the first
roselytes prompted them to sell those worldly possessions
hich they despised, to lay the price of them at the feet of the
postles, and to content themselves with receiving an equal
are out of the general distribution.[131] The progress of the
hristian religion relaxed, and gradually abolished, this gener-
us institution, which, in hands less pure than those of the
postles, would too soon have been corrupted and abused by the
eturning selfishness of human nature; and the converts who em-
raced the new religion were permitted to retain the possession
f their patrimony, to receive legacies and inheritances, and to
ncrease their separate property by all the lawful means of trade
nd industry. Instead of an absolute sacrifice, a moderate pro-
ortion was accepted by the ministers of the gospel; and in
heir weekly or monthly assemblies, every believer, according
o the exigency of the occasion, and the measure of his wealth

129 The community instituted by Plato is more perfect than that which Sir Thomas More had imagined for his Utopia. The community of women, and that of temporal goods, may be considered as inseparable parts of the same system.

130 Joseph. Antiquitat. xviii. 2. Philo, de Vit. Contemplativ.

131 See the Acts of the Apostles, c. ii. 4, 5, with Grotius's Commentary. Mosheim, in a particular dissertation, attacks the common opinion with very inconclusive arguments.

and piety, presented his voluntary offering for the use of th common fund.[132] Nothing, however inconsiderable, was re fused; but it was diligently inculcated that, in the article o Tythes, the Mosaic law was still of divine obligation; and tha since the Jews, under a less perfect discipline, had been com manded to pay a tenth part of all that they possessed, it woul become the disciples of Christ to distinguish themselves by superior degree of liberality,[133] and to acquire some merit b resigning a superfluous treasure, which must so soon be annih lated with the world itself.[134] It is almost unnecessary t observe that the revenue of each particular church, which wa of so uncertain and fluctuating a nature, must have varied wit the poverty or the opulence of the faithful, as they were dis persed in obscure villages, or collected in the great cities o the empire. In the time of the emperor Decius, it was th opinion of the magistrates that the Christians of Rome wer possessed of very considerable wealth; that vessels of gold an silver were used in their religious worship; and that man among their proselytes had sold their lands and houses to in crease the public riches of the sect, at the expense, indeed, o their unfortunate children, who found themselves beggars because their parents had been saints.[135] We should listen wit

[132] Justin. Martyr, Apolog. Major, c. 89. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 39.

[133] Irenæus ad Hæres. l. iv. c. 27, 34. Origen in Num. Hom. ii. Cyprian d Unitat. Eccles. Constitut. Apostol. l. ii. c. 34, 35, with the notes of Cotelerius. The Constitutions introduce this divine precept by declaring that priests are a much above kings, as the soul is above the body. Among the tythable articles they enumerate corn, wine, oil, and wood. On this interesting subject, consult Prideaux's History of Tythes, and Fra Paolo delle Materie Beneficiarie; two writers of a very different character.

[134] The same opinion which prevailed about the year 1000 was productive o the same effects. Most of the donations express their motive, "appropinquante mundi fine". See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 457.

[135] Tum summa cura est fratribus,
(Ut sermo testatur loquax)
Offerre, fundis venditis
Sestertiorum millia.
Addicta avorum prædia
Fœdis sub auctionibus,
Successor exheres gemit
Sanctis egens parentibus.
Hæc occuluntur abditis
Ecclesiarum in angulis,
Et summa pietas creditur
Nudare dulces liberos.
Prudent, περὶ στεφάνων, Hymn 2.

The subsequent conduct of the deacon Laurence only proves how proper a use was made of the wealth of the Roman church; it was undoubtedly very considerable

trust to the suspicions of strangers and enemies: on this asion, however, they receive a very specious and probable our from the two following circumstances, the only ones that ve reached our knowledge, which define any precise sums, or ıvey any distinct idea. Almost at the same period, the hop of Carthage, from a society less opulent than that of me, collected a hundred thousand sesterces (above eight ndred and fifty pounds sterling), on a sudden call of charity, redeem the brethren of Numidia, who had been carried ay captives by the barbarians of the desert.[136] About an ndred years before the reign of Decius, the Roman church d received, in a single donation, the sum of two hundred ousand sesterces from a stranger of Pontus, who proposed to his residence in the capital.[137] These oblations, for the ost part, were made in money; nor was the society of ristians either desirous or capable of acquiring, to any conlerable degree, the incumbrance of landed property. It had en provided by several laws, which were enacted with the me design as our statutes of mortmain, that no real estates ould be given or bequeathed to any corporate body, without ther a special privilege or a particular dispensation from the perор or from the senate;[138] who were seldom disposed to ant them in favour of a sect, at first the object of their conmpt, and at last of their fears and jealousy. A transaction, wever, is related under the reign of Alexander Severus, hich discovers that the restraint was sometimes eluded or spended, and that the Christians were permitted to claim and possess lands within the limits of Rome itself.[139] The proess of Christianity and the civil confusion of the empire conbuted to relax the severity of the laws; and, before the ose of the third century, many considerable estates were stowed on the opulent churches of Rome, Milan, Carthage, ntioch, Alexandria, and the other great cities of Italy and the ovinces.

t Fra Paolo (c. 3) appears to exaggerate when he supposes that the successors Commodus were urged to persecute the Christians by their own avarice, or that their Prætorian præfects.

136 Cyprian, Epistol. 62.

137 Tertullian de Præscriptionibus, c. 30. [The stranger was the heretic Marcion.]

138 Diocletian gave a rescript, which is only a declaration of the old law: Collegium, si nullo speciali privilegio subnixum sit, hereditatem capere non sse, dubium non est". Fra Paolo (c. 4) thinks that these regulations had been ich neglected since the reign of Valerian.

139 Hist. August. p. 131 [xviii. 49, 6]. The ground had been public; and was w disputed between the society of Christians and that of butchers.

Distribution of the revenue

The bishop was the natural steward of the church; the public stock was intrusted to his care, without account control; the presbyters were confined to their spiritual functions, and the more dependent order of deacons was solely employed in the management and distribution of the ecclesiastical revenue.[140] If we may give credit to the vehement declamations of Cyprian, there were too many among his African brethren who, in the execution of their charge, violated every precept, not only of evangelic perfection, but even of moral virtue. By some of these unfaithful stewards, the riches of the church were lavished in sensual pleasures, by others they were perverted to the purposes of private gain, of fraudulent purchases, and of rapacious usury.[141] But, as long as the contributions of the Christian people were free and unconstrained, the abuse of their confidence could not be very frequent, and the general uses to which their liberality was applied reflected honour on the religious society. A decent portion was reserved for the maintenance of the bishop and his clergy; a sufficient sum was allotted for the expenses of the public worship, in which the feasts of love, the *agapæ*, as they were called, constituted a very pleasing part. The whole remainder was the sacred patrimony of the poor. According to the discretion of the bishop, it was distributed to support widows and orphans, the lame, the sick, and the aged of the community; to comfort strangers and pilgrims, and to alleviate the misfortunes of prisoners and captives, more especially when their suffering had been occasioned by their firm attachment to the cause of religion.[142] A generous intercourse of charity united the most distant provinces, and the smaller congregations were cheerfully assisted by the alms of their more opulent brethren.[143] Such an institution, which paid less regard to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially conduced to the progress of Christianity. The Pagans, who were actuated by a sense of humanity, while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence, of the new sect.[144] The prospect of immediate relief and of future protection allured into its hospitable bosom

[140] Constitut. Apostol. ii. 35.

[141] Cyprian. de Lapsis, p. 89, Epistol. 65. The charge is confirmed by the 19th and 20th canon of the council of Illiberis.

[142] See the apologies of Justin, Tertullian, &c.

[143] The wealth and liberality of the Romans to their most distant brethren gratefully celebrated by Dionysius of Corinth, ap. Euseb. l. iv. c. 23.

[144] See Lucian in Peregrin. Julian (Epist. 49) seems mortified that the Christian charity maintains not only their own, but likewise the heathen poor.

any of those unhappy persons whom the neglect of the world ould have abandoned to the miseries of want, of sickness, and old age. There is some reason likewise to believe that great mbers of infants who, according to the inhuman practice of e times, had been exposed by their parents were frequently scued from death, baptized, educated, and maintained by e piety of the Christians, and at the expense of the public easure.[145]

Excommunication

II. It is the undoubted right of every society to exclude from s communion and benefits such among its members as reject or olate those regulations which have been established by general nsent. In the exercise of this power, the censures of the hristian church were chiefly directed against scandalous sinners, id particularly those who were guilty of murder, of fraud, or of continence; against the authors, or the followers, of any eretical opinions which had been condemned by the judgment the episcopal order; and against those unhappy persons who, hether from choice or from compulsion, had polluted themselves ter their baptism by any act of idolatrous worship. The nsequences of excommunication were of a temporal as well as spiritual nature. The Christian against whom it was pro- unced was deprived of any part in the oblations of the faithful. he ties both of religious and of private friendship were dis- lved; he found himself a profane object of abhorrence to the ersons whom he the most esteemed, or by whom he had been ie most tenderly beloved; and, as far as an expulsion from a spectable society could imprint on his character a mark of isgrace, he was shunned or suspected by the generality of man- ind. The situation of these unfortunate exiles was in itself ery painful and melancholy; but, as it usually happens, their pprehensions far exceeded their sufferings. The benefits of ie Christian communion were those of eternal life, nor could ney erase from their minds the awful opinion, that to those cclesiastical governors by whom they were condemned the Deity had committed the keys of Hell and of Paradise. The eretics, indeed, who might be supported by the consciousness f their intentions, and by the flattering hope that they alone ad discovered the true path of salvation, endeavoured to egain, in their separate assemblies, those comforts, temporal as

145 Such, at least, has been the laudable conduct of more modern missionaries, nder the same circumstances. Above three thousand new-born infants are nnually exposed in the streets of Pekin. See Le Comte, Mémoires sur la Chine, nd the Recherches sur les Chinois et les Egyptiens, tom. i. p. 61.

well as spiritual, which they no longer derived from the gre
society of Christians. But almost all those who had reluctantl
yielded to the power of vice or idolatry were sensible of the
fallen condition, and anxiously desirous of being restored to th
benefits of the Christian communion.

With regard to the treatment of these penitents, two opposit
opinions, the one of justice, the other of mercy, divided th
primitive church. The more rigid and inflexible casuists refuse
them for ever, and without exception, the meanest place in th
holy community, which they had disgraced or deserted, an
leaving them to the remorse of a guilty conscience, indulge
them only with a faint ray of hope that the contrition of the
life and death might possibly be accepted by the Suprem
Being.[146] A milder sentiment was embraced, in practice a
well as in theory, by the purest and most respectable of th
Christian churches.[147] The gates of reconciliation and of Heave
were seldom shut against the returning penitent; but a seve
and solemn form of discipline was instituted, which, while
served to expiate his crime, might powerfully deter the spectato
from the imitation of his example. Humbled by a publ
Public penance confession, emaciated by fasting, and clothed in sackcloth, th
penitent lay prostrate at the door of the assembly, imploring
with tears, the pardon of his offences, and soliciting the praye
of the faithful.[148] If the fault was of a very heinous natur
whole years of penance were esteemed an inadequate satisfactio
to the Divine Justice; and it was always by slow and painfu
gradations that the sinner, the heretic, or the apostate wa
re-admitted into the bosom of the church. A sentence o
perpetual excommunication was, however, reserved for som
crimes of an extraordinary magnitude, and particularly for th
inexcusable relapses of those penitents who had already ex
perienced and abused the clemency of their ecclesiastical superior
According to the circumstances or the number of the guilty, th
exercise of the Christian discipline was varied by the discretio
of the bishops. The councils of Ancyra and Illiberis were held
about the same time, the one in Galatia, the other in Spain
but their respective canons, which are still extant, seem t

[146] The Montanists and the Novatians, who adhered to this opinion with th
greatest rigour and obstinacy, found *themselves* at last in the number of excom
municated heretics. See the learned and copious Mosheim, Secul. ii. and iii.

[147] Dionysius ap. Euseb. iv. 23. Cyprian, de Lapsis.

[148] Cave's Primitive Christianity, part iii. c. 5. The admirers of antiquity regr
the loss of this public penance.

eathe a very different spirit. The Galatian, who after his ptism had repeatedly sacrificed to idols, might obtain his rdon by a penance of seven years, and, if he had seduced hers to imitate his example, only three years more were ded to the term of his exile. But the unhappy Spaniard, no had committed the same offence, was deprived of the hope reconciliation, even in the article of death; and his idolatry as placed at the head of a list of seventeen other crimes, ainst which a sentence, no less terrible, was pronounced. mong these we may distinguish the inexpiable guilt of lumniating a bishop, a presbyter, or even a deacon.[149]

The dignity of episcopal government

The well-tempered mixture of liberality and rigour, the dicious dispensation of rewards and punishments, according to e maxims of policy as well as justice, constituted the *human* rength of the church. The bishops, whose paternal care xtended itself to the government of both worlds, were sensible f the importance of these prerogatives, and, covering their mbition with the fair pretence of the love of order, they were alous of any rival in the exercise of a discipline so necessary to revent the desertion of those troops which had inlisted themselves nder the banner of the cross, and whose numbers every day ecame more considerable. From the imperious declamations f Cyprian we should naturally conclude that the doctrines of xcommunication and penance formed the most essential part of eligion; and that it was much less dangerous for the disciples f Christ to neglect the observance of the moral duties than to espise the censures and authority of their bishops. Sometimes e might imagine that we were listening to the voice of Moses, hen he commanded the earth to open, and to swallow up, in onsuming flames, the rebellious race which refused obedience o the priesthood of Aaron; and we should sometimes suppose hat we heard a Roman consul asserting the majesty of the epublic, and declaring his inflexible resolution to enforce the igour of the laws. "If such irregularities are suffered with mpunity (it is thus that the bishop of Carthage chides the enity of his colleague), if such irregularities are suffered, there s an end of EPISCOPAL VIGOUR;[150] an end of the sublime and

[149] See in Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. ii. p. 304—313, a short but ational exposition of the canons of those councils, which were assembled in the irst moments of tranquillity after the persecution of Diocletian. This persecution had been much less severely felt in Spain than in Galatia; a difference which may, n some measure, account for the contrast of their regulations.

[150] Cyprian. Epist. 69 [59].

divine power of governing the church, an end of Christianity itself." Cyprian had renounced those temporal honours which it is probable he would never have obtained; but the acquisition of such absolute command over the consciences and understandings of a congregation, however obscure or despised by the world, is more truly grateful to the pride of the human heart than the possession of the most despotic power imposed by arms and conquest on a reluctant people.

Recapitulation of the five causes

In the course of this important, though perhaps tedious inquiry, I have attempted to display the secondary causes which so efficaciously assisted the truth of the Christian religion. If among these causes we have discovered any artificial ornaments, any accidental circumstances, or any mixture of error and passion, it cannot appear surprising that mankind should be the most sensibly affected by such motives as were suited to their imperfect nature. It was by the aid of these causes, exclusive zeal, the immediate expectation of another world, the claim of miracles, the practice of rigid virtue, and the constitution of the primitive church, that Christianity spread itself with so much success in the Roman empire. To the first of these the Christians were indebted for their invincible valour, which disdained to capitulate with the enemy whom they were resolved to vanquish. The three succeeding causes supplied their valour with the most formidable arms. The last of these causes united their courage, directed their arms, and gave their efforts that irresistible weight which even a small band of well-trained and intrepid volunteers has so often possessed over an undisciplined multitude, ignorant of the subject, and careless of the event of the war. In the various religions of Polytheism, some wandering fanatics of Egypt and Syria, who addressed themselves to the credulous superstition of the populace, were perhaps the only order of priests[151] that derived their whole support and credit from their sacerdotal profession, and were very deeply affected by a personal concern for the safety or prosperity of their tutelar deities. The ministers of Polytheism, both in Rome and in the provinces, were, for the most part, men of a noble birth, and of an affluent fortune, who received, as an honourable distinction, the care of a celebrated temple, or of a public sacrifice, exhibited, very frequently at their own expense, the sacred games,[152] and with cold indifference performed the

Weakness of Polytheism

[151] The arts, the manners, and the vices of the priests of the Syrian goddess are very humorously described by Apuleius, in the eighth book of his Metamorphoses.

[152] The office of Asiarch was of this nature, and it is frequently mentioned in

cient rites, according to the laws and fashion of their country. they were engaged in the ordinary occupations of life, their al and devotion were seldom animated by a sense of interest, by the habits of an ecclesiastical character. Confined to eir respective temples and cities, they remained without any nnexion of discipline or government; and, whilst they knowledged the supreme jurisdiction of the senate, of the llege of pontiffs, and of the emperor, those civil magistrates ntented themselves with the easy task of maintaining, in ace and dignity, the general worship of mankind. We have eady seen how various, how loose, and how uncertain were e religious sentiments of Polytheists. They were abandoned, most without control, to the natural workings of a superitious fancy. The accidental circumstances of their life and tuation determined the object, as well as the degree, of their evotion; and, as long as their adoration was successively ostituted to a thousand deities, it was scarcely possible that eir hearts could be susceptible of a very sincere or lively assion for any of them.

When Christianity appeared in the world, even these faint hd imperfect impressions had lost much of their original bwer. Human reason, which, by its unassisted strength, is capable of perceiving the mysteries of faith, had already btained an easy triumph over the folly of Paganism; and, hen Tertullian or Lactantius employ their labours in exposing s falsehood and extravagance, they are obliged to transcribe he eloquence of Cicero or the wit of Lucian. The contagion of hese sceptical writings had been diffused far beyond the umber of their readers. The fashion of incredulity was ommunicated from the philosopher to the man of pleasure or usiness, from the noble to the plebeian, and from the master to he menial slave who waited at his table, and who eagerly istened to the freedom of his conversation. On public occaions the philosophic part of mankind affected to treat with espect and decency the religious institutions of their country; ut their secret contempt penetrated through the thin and wkward disguise; and even the people, when they discovered hat their deities were rejected and derided by those whose

The scepticism of the Pagan world proved favourable to the new religion

Aristides, the Inscriptions, &c. It was annual and elective. None but the vainest citizens could desire the honour; none but the most wealthy could support the expense. See in the Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 200, with how much indifference Philip the Asiarch conducted himself in the martyrdom of Polycarp. There were likewise Bithyniarchs, Lyciarchs, &c. [Cp. Pauly-Wissowa, Encycl., *sub* Asiarches.]

rank or understanding they were accustomed to reverence, were filled with doubts and apprehensions concerning the truth of those doctrines to which they had yielded the most implicit belief. The decline of ancient prejudice exposed a very numerous portion of human kind to the danger of a painful and comfortless situation. A state of scepticism and suspense may amuse a few inquisitive minds. But the practice of superstition is so congenial to the multitude that, if they are forcibly awakened, they still regret the loss of their pleasing vision. Their love of the marvellous and supernatural, their curiosity with regard to future events, and their strong propensity to extend their hopes and fears beyond the limits of the visible world, were the principal causes which favoured the establishment of Polytheism. So urgent on the vulgar is the necessity of believing that the fall of any system of mythology will most probably be succeeded by the introduction of some other mode of superstition. Some deities of a more recent and fashionable cast might soon have occupied the deserted temples of Jupiter and Apollo, if, in the decisive moment, the wisdom of Providence had not interposed a genuine revelation, fitted to inspire the most rational esteem and conviction, whilst, at the same time, it was adorned with all that could attract the curiosity, the wonder, and the veneration of the people. In their actual disposition, as many were almost disengaged from their artificial prejudices, but equally susceptible and desirous of a devout attachment; an object much less deserving would have been sufficient to fill the vacant place in their hearts, and to gratify the uncertain eagerness of their passions. Those who are inclined to pursue this reflection, instead of viewing with astonishment the rapid progress of Christianity, will perhaps be surprised that its success was not still more rapid and still more universal.

as well as the peace and union of the Roman empire

It has been observed, with truth as well as propriety, that the conquests of Rome prepared and facilitated those of Christianity. In the second chapter of this work we have attempted to explain in what manner the most civilized provinces of Europe, Asia, and Africa were united under the dominion of one sovereign, and gradually connected by the most intimate ties of laws, of manners, and of language. The Jews of Palestine, who had fondly expected a temporal deliverer, gave so cold a reception to the miracles of the divine prophet that it was found unnecessary to publish, or at least to preserve, any Hebrew gospel.[153] The authentic histories of the actions of Christ were

[153] The modern critics are not disposed to believe what the fathers almost un-

omposed in the Greek language, at a considerable distance rom Jerusalem, and after the Gentile converts were grown xtremely numerous.[154] As soon as those histories were trans- ated into the Latin tongue, they were perfectly intelligible to ll the subjects of Rome, excepting only to the peasants of yria and Egypt, for whose benefit particular versions were fterwards made. The public highways, which had been con- tructed for the use of the legions, opened an easy passage for he Christian missionaries from Damascus to Corinth, and from taly to the extremity of Spain or Britain; nor did those piritual conquerors encounter any of the obstacles which usually etard or prevent the introduction of a foreign religion into a listant country. There is the strongest reason to believe that efore the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the empire; but the foundation of the several congregations, the numbers of the faithful who composed them, and their proportion to the unbelieving multitude, are now buried in obscurity, or disguised by fiction and declamation. Such imperfect circumstances, however, as have reached our knowledge concerning the increase of the Christian name in Asia and Greece, in Egypt, in Italy, and in the West, we shall now proceed to relate, without neglecting the real or imaginary acquisitions which lay beyond the frontiers of the Roman empire.

Historical view of the progress of Christianity

The rich provinces that extend from the Euphrates to the Ionian sea were the principal theatre on which the apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seeds of the gospel, which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it should seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted in Syria, none were more ancient or more illustrious than those of Damascus, of Berœa or Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has

In the East

animously assert, that St. Matthew composed a Hebrew gospel, of which only the Greek translation is extant. It seems, however, dangerous to reject their testimony. Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, Papias ap. Euseb., H. E., iii., 39 and 16. Our Greek Matthew is not a translation of this, but may have been compiled from it and Mark, which is generally believed now to be the earliest of the four gospels.]

154 Under the reigns of Nero and Domitian, and in the cities of Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Ephesus. See Mill, Prolegomena ad Nov. Testament, and Dr. Lardner's fair and extensive collection, vol. xv.

described and immortalized the seven churches of Asia:—Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira,[155] Sardes, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favourable reception to the new religion; and Christian republics were soon founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens.[156] The antiquity of the Greek and Asiatic churches allowed a sufficient space of time for their increase and multiplication, and even the swarms of Gnostics and other heretics serve to display the flourishing condition of the orthodox church, since the appellation of heretics has always been applied to the less numerous party. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the Gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colours, we may learn that, under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with Epicureans and *Christians*.[157] Within fourscore years after the death of Christ,[158] the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his very curious epistle to the emperor Trajan, he affirms that the temples were almost deserted, that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers, and that the superstition had not only infected the cities, but had even spread itself into the villages and the open country of Pontus and Bithynia.[159]

[155] The Alogians (Epiphanius de Hæres. 51) disputed the genuineness of the Apocalypse, because the church of Thyatira was not yet founded. Epiphanius, who allows the fact, extricates himself from the difficulty by ingeniously supposing that St. John wrote in the spirit of prophecy. See Abauzit, Discours sur l'Apocalypse.

[156] The epistles of Ignatius and Dionysius (ap. Euseb. iv. 23) point out many churches in Asia and Greece. That of Athens seems to have been one of the least flourishing.

[157] Lucian in Alexandro, c. 25. Christianity, however, must have been very unequally diffused over Pontus; since in the middle of the third century there were no more than seventeen believers in the extensive diocese of Neo-Cæsarea. See M. de Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. iv. p. 675, from Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who were themselves natives of Cappadocia.

[158] According to the ancients, Jesus Christ suffered under the consulship of the two Gemini, in the year 29 of our present æra. Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110. [The evening on which the moon was first visible began the Jewish month; and by astronomical calculation of the times of conjunction we can determine that the 15th of Nisan might have fallen on Friday in the years 27, 30, 33 and 34 A.D. (29 is excluded). But the question is complicated by the uncertainty at what time the Jewish day began. See Wieseler, Synopsis, p. 407.]

[159] Plin. Epist. x. 97.

Without descending into a minute scrutiny of the expressions, of the motives of those writers who either celebrate or lament the progress of Christianity in the East, it may in general be observed that none of them have left us any grounds from whence a just estimate might be formed of the real numbers of the faithful in those provinces. One circumstance, however, has been fortunately preserved, which seems to cast a more distinct light on this obscure but interesting subject. Under the reign of Theodosius, after Christianity had enjoyed, during more than sixty years, the sunshine of Imperial favour, the ancient and illustrious church of Antioch consisted of one hundred thousand persons, three thousand of whom were supported out of the public oblations.[160] The splendour and dignity of the queen of the East, the acknowledged populousness of Cæsarea, Seleucia, and Alexandria, and the destruction of two hundred and fifty thousand souls in the earthquake which afflicted Antioch under the elder Justin,[161] are so many convincing proofs that the whole number of its inhabitants was not less than half a million, and that the Christians, however multiplied by zeal and power, did not exceed a fifth part of that great city. How different a proportion must we adopt when we compare the persecuted with the triumphant church, the West with the East, remote villages with populous towns, and countries recently converted to the faith with the place where the believers first received the appellation of Christians! It must not, however, be dissembled that, in another passage, Chrysostom, to whom we are indebted for this useful information, computes the multitude of the faithful as even superior to that of the Jews and Pagans.[162] But the solution of this apparent difficulty is easy and obvious. The eloquent preacher draws a parallel between the civil and the ecclesiastical constitution of Antioch; between the list of Christians who had acquired Heaven by baptism and the list of citizens who had a right to share the public liberality. Slaves, strangers, and infants were comprised in the former; they were excluded from the latter. The church of Antioch

The extensive commerce of Alexandria, and its proximity to Palestine, gave an easy entrance to the new religion. It was at In Egypt

[160] Chrysostom. Opera, tom. vii. p. 658, 810.

[161] John Malala, tom. ii. p. 144 [p. 420, ed. Bonn]. He draws the same conclusion with regard to the populousness of Antioch.

[162] Chrysostom. tom. i. p. 592. I am indebted for these passages, though not for my inference, to the learned Dr. Lardner. Credibility of the Gospel History, vol. xii. p. 370.

first embraced by great numbers of the Therapeutæ, or Essenians of the lake Mareotis, a Jewish sect which had abated much of its reverence for the Mosaic ceremonies. The austere life of the Essenians, their fasts and excommunications, the community of goods, the love of celibacy, their zeal for martyrdom, and the warmth though not the purity of their faith, already offered a very lively image of the primitive discipline.[163] It was in the school of Alexandria that the Christian theology appears to have assumed a regular and scientifical form; and, when Hadrian visited Egypt, he found a church, composed of Jews and of Greeks, sufficiently important to attract the notice of that inquisitive prince.[164] But the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony, and, till the close of the second century, the predecessors of Demetrius were the only prelates [A.D. 180-232] of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty [233-249] by his successor Heraclas.[165] The body of the natives, a people distinguished by a sullen inflexibility of temper,[166] entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country.[167] As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.

In Rome

A perpetual stream of strangers and provincials flowed into the capacious bosom of Rome. Whatever was strange or odious,

[163] Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. 2, c. 20, 21, 22, 23, has examined, with the most critical accuracy, the curious treatise of Philo which describes the Therapeutæ. By proving that it was composed as early as the time of Augustus, Basnage has demonstrated, in spite of Eusebius (l. ii. c. 17), and a crowd of modern Catholics, that the Therapeutæ were neither Christians nor monks. It still remains probable that they changed their name, preserved their manners, adopted some new articles of faith, and gradually became the fathers of the Egyptian Ascetics. [The Therapeutæ were not Essenes (for whom see Grätz Gesch. der Juden. vol. 3), for they did not secede from the synagogues. P. C. Lucius (Die Therapeuten. 1879) tried to prove that they did not exist, and that Philo's treatise (to which the earliest reference is in Eusebius) is a forgery, c. 300, A.D. The genuineness is defended by Mr. Conybeare in his recent ed. and P. Wendland, die Therapeuten, 1896.]

[164] See a letter of Hadrian, in the Augustan History, p. 245 [xxix. 8, 1].

[165] For the succession of Alexandrian bishops, consult Renaudot's History, p. 24, &c. This curious fact is preserved by the patriarch Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 334, Vers. Pocock [date 10th century]), and its internal evidence would alone be a sufficient answer to all the objections which Bishop Pearnos has urged in the Vindiciæ Ignatianæ.

[166] Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 16.

[167] Origen contra Celsum, l. i. p. 40 [p. 757, Migne].

hoever was guilty or suspected, might hope, in the obscurity
f that immense capital, to elude the vigilance of the law. In
ıch a various conflux of nations, every teacher, either of truth
r of falsehood, every founder, whether of a virtuous or a
riminal association, might easily multiply his disciples or
ccomplices. The Christians of Rome, at the time of the
ccidental persecution of Nero, are represented by Tacitus as
lready amounting to a very great multitude,[168] and the language
f that great historian is almost similar to the style employed by
ivy, when he relates the introduction and the suppression of
he rites of Bacchus. After the Bacchanals had awakened the
everity of the senate, it was likewise apprehended that a very
reat multitude, as it were *another people*, had been initiated
nto those abhorred mysteries. A more careful inquiry soon
lemonstrated that the offenders did not exceed seven thousand;
number, indeed, sufficiently alarming, when considered as the
bject of public justice.[169] It is with the same candid allowance
hat we should interpret the vague expressions of Tacitus, and
n a former instance of Pliny, when they exaggerate the crowds
of deluded fanatics who had forsaken the established worship of
the gods. The church of Rome was undoubtedly the first and
most populous of the empire; and we are possessed of an
authentic record which attests the state of religion in that city,
about the middle of the third century, and after a peace of
thirty-eight years. The clergy, at that time, consisted of a
bishop, forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, as many sub-deacons,
forty-two acolytes, and fifty readers, exorcists, and porters.
The number of widows, of the infirm, and of the poor, who
were maintained by the oblations of the faithful, amounted to
fifteen hundred.[170] From reason, as well as from the analogy
of Antioch, we may venture to estimate the Christians of Rome
at about fifty thousand. The populousness of that great capital
cannot, perhaps, be exactly ascertained; but the most modest
calculation will not surely reduce it lower than a million of
inhabitants, of whom the Christians might constitute at the
most a twentieth part.[171]

[168] Ingens multitudo is the expression of Tacitus, xv. 44.

[169] T. Liv. xxxix. 13, 15, 16, 17. Nothing could exceed the horror and consternation of the senate on the discovery of the Bacchanalians, whose depravity is described, and perhaps exaggerated, by Livy.

[170] Eusebius, l. vi. c. 43. The Latin translator (M. de Valois) has thought proper to reduce the number of presbyters to forty-four.

[171] This proportion of the presbyters and of the poor to the rest of the people was originally fixed by Burnet (Travels into Italy, p. 168), and is approved by Moyle

In Africa and the western provinces

The western provincials appeared to have derived the knowledge of Christianity from the same source which had diffused among them the language, the sentiments, and the manners of Rome. In this more important circumstance, Africa, as well as Gaul, was gradually fashioned to the imitation of the capital. Yet, notwithstanding the many favourable occasions which might invite the Roman missionaries to visit their Latin provinces, it was late before they passed either the sea or the Alps;[172] nor can we discover in those great countries any assured traces either of faith or of persecution that ascend higher than the reign of the Antonines.[173] The slow progress of the gospel in the cold climate of Gaul was extremely different from the eagerness with which it seems to have been received on the burning sands of Africa. The African Christians soon formed one of the principal members of the primitive church. The practice introduced into that province of appointing bishops to the most inconsiderable towns, and very frequently to the most obscure villages, contributed to multiply the splendour and importance of their religious societies, which during the course of the third century were animated by the zeal of Tertullian, directed by the abilities of Cyprian, and adorned by the eloquence of Lactantius. But if, on the contrary, we turn our eyes towards Gaul, we must content ourselves with discovering, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, the feeble and united congregations of Lyons and Vienna; and, even as late as the reign of Decius, we are assured that in a few cities only, Arles, Narbonne, Toulouse, Limoges, Clermont, Tours, and Paris, some scattered churches were supported by the devotion of a small number of Christians.[174] Silence is indeed very consistent

(vol. ii. p. 151). They were both unacquainted with the passage of Chrysostom, which converts their conjecture almost into a fact [see above, p. 59. Cp. App. 5].

[172] Serius trans Alpes, religione Dei susceptâ. Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. [32, 1]. These were the celebrated martyrs of Lyons. See Eusebius, v. 1. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. p. 316. According to the Donatists, whose assertion is confirmed by the tacit acknowledgment of Augustin, Africa was the last of the provinces which received the gospel. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. i. p. 754.

[173] Tum primum intra Gallias martyria visa. Sulp. Severus, l. ii. [*ib.*]. With regard to Africa, see Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. 3. It is imagined that the Scyllitan martyrs were the first (Acta Sincera Ruinart. p. 34). One of the adversaries of Apuleius seems to have been a Christian. Apolog. p. 496, 497, edit. Delphin.

[174] Raræ in aliquibus civitatibus ecclesiæ, paucorum Christianorum devotione, resurgerent. Acta Sincera, p. 130. Gregory of Tours, l. i. c. 28. Mosheim, p. 207, 449. There is some reason to believe that, in the beginning of the fourth century, the extensive dioceses of Liège, of Treves, and of Cologne composed a single bishopric, which had been very recently founded. See Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. vi. part i. p. 43, 411. [Duchesne, Mémoires sur l'origine des diocèses episc. dans l'ancienne Gaule, 1890.]

with devotion, but, as it is seldom compatible with zeal, we may perceive and lament the languid state of Christianity in those provinces which had exchanged the Celtic for the Latin tongue; since they did not, during the three first centuries, give birth to a single ecclesiastical writer. From Gaul, which claimed a just pre-eminence of learning and authority over all the countries on this side of the Alps, the light of the gospel was more faintly reflected on the remote provinces of Spain and Britain; and, if we may credit the vehement assertions of Tertullian, they had already received the first rays of the faith when he addressed his apology to the magistrates of the emperor Severus.[175] But the obscure and imperfect origin of the western churches of Europe has been so negligently recorded that, if we would relate the time and manner of their foundation, we must supply the silence of antiquity by those legends which avarice or superstition long afterwards dictated to the monks in the lazy gloom of their convents.[176] Of these holy romances, that of the apostle St. James can alone, by its single extravagance, deserve to be mentioned. From a peaceful fisherman of the lake of Gennesareth, he was transformed into a valorous knight, who charged at the head of the Spanish chivalry in their battles against the Moors. The gravest historians have celebrated his exploits; the miraculous shrine of Compostella displayed his power; and the sword of a military order, assisted by the terrors of the Inquisition, was sufficient to remove every objection of profane criticism.[177]

Beyond the limits of the Roman empire

The progress of Christianity was not confined to the Roman empire; and, according to the primitive fathers, who interpret facts by prophecy, the new religion within a century after the death of its divine author, had already visited every part of the globe. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or agriculture, whether they dwell under

[175] The date of Tertullian's Apology is fixed, in a dissertation of Mosheim, to the year 198. [197-8. His Ad Nationes, written either just before or just after, or partly before and partly after, the Apologeticum, covers the same ground briefly.]

[176] In the fifteenth century, there were few who had either inclination or courage to question, whether Joseph of Arimathea founded the monastery of Glastonbury, and whether Dionysius the Areopagite preferred the residence of Paris to that of Athens.

[177] The stupendous metamorphosis was performed in the ninth century. See Mariana (Hist. Hispan. l. vii. c. 13, tom. i. p. 285, edit. Hag. Com. 1733), who, in every sense, imitates Livy, and the honest detection of the legend of St. James by Dr. Geddes, Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 221.

tents, or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."[178] But this splendid exaggeration, which even at present it would be extremely difficult to reconcile with the real state of mankind, can be considered only as the rash sally of a devout but careless writer, the measure of whose belief was regulated by that of his wishes. But neither the belief nor the wishes of the fathers can alter the truth of history. It will still remain an undoubted fact, that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany who afterwards subverted the Roman monarchy were involved in the darkness of paganism; and that even the conversion of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox emperor.[179] Before that time the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect knowledge of the gospel among the tribes of Caledonia,[180] and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates.[181] Beyond the last-mentioned river, Edessa was distinguished by a firm and early adherence to the faith.[182] From Edessa the principles of Christianity were easily introduced into the Greek and Syrian cities which obeyed the successors of Artaxerxes;

[178] Justin Martyr, Dialog. cum Tryphon. p. 341. Irenæus adv. Hæres. l. i. c. 10. Tertullian adv. Jud. c. 7. See Mosheim, p. 203.

[179] See the fourth century of Mosheim's History of the Church. Many, though very confused circumstances, that relate to the conversion of Iberia and Armenia, may be found in Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 78—89. [Milman notes that Gibbon "had expressed his intention of withdrawing the words 'of Armenia,' from the text of future editions" (Vindication, Works, iv. 577). Christianity spread at an early time in Armenia, but its beginnings are enveloped in obscurity, and the traditions are largely legendary. The history of the Armenian church begins with Gregory Lusavoritch (Illuminator), consecrated bishop by Leontius of Cappadocia, to which see the Armenian bishopric was at first subject. The main source for Gregory is an early Life incorporated in the history of Tiridates by Agathangelus (translated by Langlois, Fr. Hist. Graec. vol. v.). See further Appendix 18.]

[180] According to Tertullian, the Christian faith had penetrated into parts of Britain inaccessible to the Roman arms. About a century afterwards, Ossian, the son of Fingal, is *said* to have disputed, in his extreme old age, with one of the foreign missionaries, and the dispute is still extant, in verse, and in the Erse language. See Mr. Macpherson's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Ossian's Poems, p. 10.

[181] The Goths, who ravaged Asia in the reign of Gallienus, carried away great numbers of captives; some of whom were Christians, and became missionaries. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. iv. p. 44.

[182] The legend of Abgarus, fabulous as it is, affords a decisive proof that, many years before Eusebius wrote his history, the greatest part of the inhabitants of Edessa had embraced Christianity. Their rivals, the citizens of Carrhæ, adhered, on the contrary, to the cause of Paganism, as late as the sixth century.

but they do not appear to have made any deep impression on the minds of the Persians, whose religious system, by the labours of a well-disciplined order of priests, had been constructed with much more art and solidity than the uncertain mythology of Greece and Rome.[183]

General proportion of Christians and Pagans

From this impartial, though imperfect, survey of the progress of Christianity, it may, perhaps, seem probable that the number of its proselytes has been excessively magnified by fear on the one side and by devotion on the other. According to the irreproachable testimony of Origen,[184] the proportion of the faithful was very inconsiderable when compared with the multitude of an unbelieving world; but, as we are left without any distinct information, it is impossible to determine, and it is difficult even to conjecture, the real numbers of the primitive Christians. The most favourable calculation, however, that can be deduced from the examples of Antioch and of Rome will not permit us to imagine that more than a twentieth part of the subjects of the empire had enlisted themselves under the banner of the cross before the important conversion of Constantine. But their habits of faith, of zeal, and of union seemed to multiply their numbers; and the same causes which contributed to their future increase served to render their actual strength more apparent and more formidable.

Whether the first Christians were mean and ignorant

Such is the constitution of civil society that, whilst a few persons are distinguished by riches, by honours, and by knowledge, the body of the people is condemned to obscurity, ignorance, and poverty. The Christian religion, which addressed itself to the whole human race, must consequently collect a far greater number of proselytes from the lower than from the superior ranks of life. This innocent and natural circumstance has been improved into a very odious imputation, which seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists than it is urged by the adversaries of the faith; that the new sect of Christians was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace, of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves; the last of whom might sometimes introduce the missionaries into the rich and noble families to which they belonged.

[183] According to Bardesanes (ap. Euseb. Præpar. Evangel.), there were some Christians in Persia before the end of the second century. In the time of Constantine (see his Epistle to Sapor, Vit. l. iv. c. 13), they composed a flourishing church. Consult Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 180, and the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani.

[184] Origen contra Celsum, l. viii. p. 424 [p. 1621, (πάνυ ὀλίγοι). Cp. App. 5.]

These obscure teachers (such was the charge of malice and infidelity) are as mute in public as they are loquacious and dogmatical in private. Whilst they cautiously avoid the dangerous encounter of philosophers, they mingle with the rude and illiterate crowd, and insinuate themselves into those minds whom their age, their sex, or their education has the best disposed to receive the impression of superstitious terrors.[185]

Some exceptions with regard to learning

This unfavourable picture, though not devoid of a faint resemblance, betrays, by its dark colouring and distorted features, the pencil of an enemy. As the humble faith of Christ diffused itself through the world, it was embraced by several persons who derived some consequence from the advantages of nature or fortune. Aristides, who presented an eloquent apology to the emperor Hadrian, was an Athenian philosopher.[186] Justin Martyr had sought divine knowledge in the schools of Zeno, of Aristotle, of Pythagoras, and of Plato, before he fortunately was accosted by the old man, or rather the angel, who turned his attention to the study of the Jewish prophets.[187] Clemens of Alexandria had acquired much various reading in the Greek, and Tertullian in the Latin, language. Julius Africanus and Origen possessed a very considerable share of the learning of their times; and although the style of Cyprian is very different from that of Lactantius, we might almost discover that both those writers had been public teachers of rhetoric. Even the study of philosophy was at length introduced among the Christians, but it was not always productive of the most salutary effects; knowledge was as often the parent of heresy as of devotion, and the description which was designed for the followers of Artemon may, with equal propriety, be applied to the various sects that resisted the successors of the apostles. "They presume to alter the holy scriptures, to abandon the ancient rule of faith, and to

[185] Minucius Felix, c. 8, with Wowerus's notes. Celsus ap. Origen., l. iii. p. 138, 142, [p. 984, *sqq.*]. Julian ap. Cyril. l. vi. p. 206. Edit. Spanheim.

[186] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. 3. Hieronym. Epist. 83, [*leg.* 84. But in Migne's arrangement, ep. 70, vol. i. p. 667. Since Gibbon wrote there have been discovered, not the Apology of Aristides in its original form, but materials for reconstructing it. These consist of (1) a Syriac version or paraphrase found on Mount Sinai by Mr. J. Rendel Harris (published in Robinson's Texts and Studies, 1891), (2) a fragment of an Armenian translation (published at Venice by the Mechitarists, 1878), (3) a loose Greek reproduction, incorporated in the Tale of Barlaam and Josaphat (see Robinson, *loc. cit.*). In the second superscription of the Syriac version, the work is addressed to Antoninus Pius, which is inconsistent with the statement of Eusebius, who, however, had not seen the book.]

[187] The story is prettily told in Justin's Dialogues. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. p. 334), who relates it after him, is sure that the old man was a disguised angel.

form their opinions according to the subtile precepts of logic. The science of the church is neglected for the study of geometry, and they lose sight of Heaven while they are employed in measuring the earth. Euclid is perpetually in their hands. Aristotle and Theophrastus are the objects of their admiration; and they express an uncommon reverence for the works of Galen. Their errors are derived from the abuse of the arts and sciences of the infidels, and they corrupt the simplicity of the Gospel by the refinements of human reason." [188]

with regard to rank and fortune

Nor can it be affirmed with truth that the advantages of birth and fortune were always separated from the profession of Christianity. Several Roman citizens were brought before the tribunal of Pliny, and he soon discovered that a great number of persons of *every order* of men in Bithynia had deserted the religion of their ancestors.[189] His unsuspected testimony may, in this instance, obtain more credit than the bold challenge of Tertullian, when he addresses himself to the fears as well as to the humanity of the proconsul of Africa, by assuring him that, if he persists in his cruel intentions, he must decimate Carthage, and that he will find among the guilty many persons of his own rank, senators and matrons of noblest extraction, and the friends or relations of his most intimate friends.[190] It appears, however, that about forty years afterwards the emperor Valerian was persuaded of the truth of this assertion, since in one of his rescripts he evidently supposes that senators, Roman knights, and ladies of quality were engaged in the Christian sect.[191] The church still continued to increase its outward splendour as it lost its internal purity; and in the reign of Diocletian the palace, the courts of justice, and even the army concealed a multitude of Christians who endeavoured to reconcile the interests of the present with those of a future life.

Christianity most favourably received by the poor and simple

And yet these exceptions are either too few in number, or too recent in time, entirely to remove the imputation of ignorance and obscurity which has been so arrogantly cast on the first proselytes of Christianity. Instead of employing in our defence

[188] Eusebius, v. 28. It may be hoped that none, except the heretics, gave occasion to the complaint of Celsus (ap. Origen., l. ii. p. 77) that the Christians were perpetually correcting and altering their Gospels.

[189] Plin. Epist. x. 97. Fuerunt alii similis amentiæ, cives Romani . . . Multi enim omnis ætatis, *omnis ordinis*, utriusque sexûs, etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur.

[190] Tertullian ad Scapulam. Yet even his rhetoric rises no higher than to claim a *tenth* part of Carthage.

[191] Cyprian. Epist. 79 [80].

the fictions of later ages, it will be more prudent to convert the occasion of scandal into a subject of edification. Our serious thoughts will suggest to us that the apostles themselves were chosen by providence among the fishermen of Galilee, and that the lower we depress the temporal condition of the first Christians the more reason we shall find to admire their merit and success. It is incumbent on us diligently to remember that the kingdom of heaven was promised to the poor in spirit, and that mind afflicted by calamity and the contempt of mankind cheerfully listen to the divine promise of future happiness; while, on the contrary, the fortunate are satisfied with the possession of this world; and the wise abuse in doubt and dispute their vain superiority of reason and knowledge.

Rejected by some eminent men of the first and second centuries

We stand in need of such reflections to comfort us for the loss of some illustrious characters, which in our eyes might have seemed the most worthy of the heavenly present. The names of Seneca, of the elder and the younger Pliny, of Tacitus, of Plutarch, of Galen, of the slave Epictetus, and of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, adorn the age in which they flourished, and exalt the dignity of human nature. They filled with glory their respective stations, either in active or contemplative life; their excellent understandings were improved by study; Philosophy had purified their minds from the prejudices of the popular superstition; and their days were spent in the pursuit of truth and the practice of virtue. Yet all these sages (it is no less an object of surprise than of concern) overlooked or rejected the perfection of the Christian system. Their language or their silence equally discover their contempt for the growing sect which in their time had diffused itself over the Roman empire. Those among them who condescend to mention the Christians consider them only as obstinate and perverse enthusiasts, who exacted an implicit submission to their mysterious doctrines without being able to produce a single argument that could engage the attention of men of sense and learning.[192]

Their neglect of prophecy

It is at least doubtful whether any of these philosophers perused the apologies which the primitive Christians repeatedly published in behalf of themselves and of their religion; but it is much to be lamented that such a cause was not defended by

[192] Dr. Lardner, in his first and second volume of Jewish and Christian testimonies, collects and illustrates those of Pliny the younger, of Tacitus, of Galen, of Marcus Antoninus, and perhaps of Epictetus (for it is doubtful whether that philosopher means to speak of the Christians). The new sect is totally unnoticed by Seneca, the elder Pliny, and Plutarch [and Dion Chrysostom].

ıbler advocates. They expose with superfluous wit and eloquence the extravagance of Polytheism. They interest our compassion by displaying the innocence and sufferings of their injured brethren. But, when they would demonstrate the divine origin of Christianity, they insist much more strongly on the predictions which announced, than on the miracles which accompanied, the appearance of the Messiah. Their favourite argument might serve to edify a Christian or to convert a Jew, since both the one and the other acknowledge the authority of those prophecies, and both are obliged, with devout reverence, to search for their sense and their accomplishment. But this mode of persuasion loses much of its weight and influence, when it is addressed to those who neither understand nor respect the Mosaic dispensation and the prophetic style.[193] In the unskilful hands of Justin and of the succeeding apologists, the sublime meaning of the Hebrew oracles evaporates in distant types, affected conceits, and cold allegories; and even their authenticity was rendered suspicious to an unenlightened Gentile by the mixture of pious forgeries, which, under the names of Orpheus, Hermes, and the Sibyls,[194] were obtruded on him as of equal value with the genuine inspirations of Heaven. The adoption of fraud and sophistry in the defence of revelation too often reminds us of the injudicious conduct of those poets who load their *invulnerable* heroes with a useless weight of cumbersome and brittle armour.

and of miracles

But how shall we excuse the supine inattention of the Pagan and philosophic world to those evidences which were presented by the hand of Omnipotence, not to their reason, but to their senses? During the age of Christ, of his apostles, and of their first disciples, the doctrine which they preached was confirmed by innumerable prodigies. The lame walked, the blind saw, the sick were healed, the dead were raised, dæmons were expelled, and the laws of Nature were frequently suspended

General silence concerning the darkness of the passion

[193] If the famous prophecy of the Seventy Weeks had been alleged to a Roman philosopher, would he not have replied in the words of Cicero, "Quæ tandem ista auguratio est, annorum potius quam aut mensium aut dierum?" De Divinatione, ii. 30. Observe with what irreverence Lucian (in Alexandro, c. 13), and his friend Celsus ap. Origen. (l. vii. p. 327, [p. 1440, Migne]), express themselves concerning the Hebrew prophets.

[194] The Philosophers, who derided the more ancient predictions of the Sibyls, would easily have detected the Jewish and Christian forgeries, which have been so triumphantly quoted by the fathers, from Justin Martyr to Lactantius. When the Sibylline verses had performed their appointed task, they, like the system of the millennium, were quietly laid aside. The Christian Sibyl had unluckily fixed the ruin of Rome for the year 195, A.U.C. 948.

for the benefit of the church. But the sages of Greece and Rome turned aside from the awful spectacle, and, pursuing their ordinary occupations of life and study, appeared unconscious of any alterations in the moral or physical government of the world. Under the reign of Tiberius, the whole earth,[195] or at least a celebrated province of the Roman empire,[196] was involved in a præternatural darkness of three hours. Even this miraculous event, which ought to have excited the wonder, the curiosity, and the devotion of mankind, passed without notice in an age of science and history.[197] It happened during the lifetime of Seneca and the elder Pliny, who must have experienced the immediate effects, or received the earliest intelligence, of the prodigy. Each of these philosophers, in a laborious work, has recorded all the great phenomena of Nature, earthquakes, meteors, comets, and eclipses, which his indefatigable curiosity could collect.[198] Both the one and the other have omitted to mention the greatest phenomenon to which the mortal eye has been witness since the creation of the globe. A distinct chapter of Pliny[199] is designed for eclipses of an extraordinary nature and unusual duration; but he contents himself with describing the singular defect of light which followed the murder of Cæsar, when, during the greatest part of the year, the orb of the sun appeared pale and without splendour. This season of obscurity, which cannot surely be compared with the præternatural darkness of the Passion, had been already celebrated by most of the poets[200] and historians of that memorable age.[201]

[195] The fathers, as they are drawn out in battle array by Dom Calmet (Dissertations sur la Bible, tom. iii. p. 295—308), seem to cover the whole earth with darkness, in which they are followed by most of the moderns.

[196] Origen ad Matth. c. 27, and a few modern critics, Beza, Le Clerc, Lardner, &c., are desirous of confining it to the land of Judea.

[197] The celebrated passage of Phlegon is now wisely abandoned. When Tertullian assures the Pagans that the mention of the prodigy is found in Arcanis (not Archivis) vestris (see his Apology, c. 21), he probably appeals to the Sibylline verses, which relate it exactly in the words of the gospel [*archiuis* is in all the Mss. except one, which has *arcanis*, and is certainly right. See Bindley's ed. p. 78. The official report of Pilate is said to be meant.]

[198] Seneca Quæst. Natur. i. 1, 15, vi. 1, vii. 17. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii.

[199] Plin. Hist. Natur. ii. 30 [a chapter remarkable for its brevity].

[200] Virgil. Georgic. i. 466. Tibullus, l. i. [*leg.* ii.]. Eleg. v. ver. 75. Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 782. Lucan. Pharsal. i. 540. The last of these poets places this prodigy before the civil war.

[201] See a public epistle of M. Antony in Joseph. Antiquit. xiv. 12. Plutarch in Cæsar. p. 471 [c. 69]. Appian. Bell. Civil. l. iv. Dion Cassius, l. xlv. p. 431 [c. 17]. Julius Obsequens, c. 128. His little treatise is an abstract of Livy's prodigies.

CHAPTER XVI

The Conduct of the Roman Government towards the Christians, from the Reign of Nero to that of Constantine

Christianity persecuted by the Roman emperors

If we seriously consider the purity of the Christian religion, the sanctity of its moral precepts, and the innocent as well as austere lives of the greater number of those who, during the first ages, embraced the faith of the gospel, we should naturally suppose that so benevolent a doctrine would have been received with due reverence, even by the unbelieving world; that the learned and the polite, however they might deride the miracles, would have esteemed the virtues of the new sect; and that the magistrates, instead of persecuting, would have protected an order of men who yielded the most passive obedience to the laws, though they declined the active cares of war and government. If, on the other hand, we recollect the universal toleration of Polytheism, as it was invariably maintained by the faith of the people, the incredulity of philosophers, and the policy of the Roman senate and emperors, we are at a loss to discover what new offence the Christians had committed, what new provocation could exasperate the mild indifference of antiquity, and what new motives could urge the Roman princes, who beheld, without concern, a thousand forms of religion subsisting in peace under their gentle sway, to inflict a severe punishment on any part of their subjects, who had chosen for themselves a singular, but an inoffensive, mode of faith and worship.

The religious policy of the ancient world seems to have assumed a more stern and intolerant character, to oppose the progress of Christianity. About fourscore years after the death of Christ, his innocent disciples were punished with death, by the sentence of a proconsul of the most amiable and philosophic character, and, according to the laws of an emperor, distinguished by the wisdom and justice of his general administration. The apologies which were repeatedly addressed to the successors of Trajan, are filled with the most pathetic complaints, that the Christians, who obeyed the dictates, and solicited the liberty, of conscience, were alone, among all the subjects of the Roman

empire, excluded from the common benefits of their auspicious government. The deaths of a few eminent martyrs have been recorded with care; and from the time that Christianity was invested with the supreme power, the governors of the church have been no less diligently employed in displaying the cruelty, than in imitating the conduct, of their Pagan adversaries. To separate (if it be possible) a few authentic, as well as interesting, facts, from an undigested mass of fiction and error, and to relate, in a clear and rational manner, the causes, the extent, the duration, and the most important circumstances of the persecutions to which the first Christians were exposed, is the design of the present Chapter.

Inquiry into their motives

The sectaries of a persecuted religion, depressed by fear, animated with resentment, and perhaps heated by enthusiasm, are seldom in a proper temper of mind calmly to investigate, or candidly to appreciate, the motives of their enemies, which often escape the impartial and discerning view even of those who are placed at a secure distance from the flames of persecution. A reason has been assigned for the conduct of the emperors towards the primitive Christians, which may appear the more specious and probable as it is drawn from the acknowledged genius of Polytheism. It has already been observed that the religious concord of the world was principally supported by the implicit assent and reverence which the nations of antiquity expressed for their respective traditions and ceremonies. It might therefore be expected that they would unite with indignation against any sect of people which should separate itself from the communion of mankind, and, claiming the exclusive possession of divine knowledge, should disdain every form of worship, except its own, as impious and idolatrous. The rights of toleration were held by mutual indulgence; they were justly forfeited by a refusal of the accustomed tribute. As the payment of this tribute was inflexibly refused by the Jews, and by them alone, the consideration of the treatment which they experienced from the Roman magistrates will serve to explain how far these speculations are justified by facts, and will lead us to discover the true causes of the persecution of Christianity.

Rebellious spirit of the Jews

Without repeating what has been already mentioned of the reverence of the Roman princes and governors for the temple of Jerusalem, we shall only observe that the destruction of the temple and city was accompanied and followed by every circumstance that could exasperate the minds of the conquerors, and authorize religious persecution by the most specious arguments

f political justice and the public safety. From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce mpatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke ut in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity s shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they ommitted in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, vhere they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the unsuspect-ng natives;[1] and we are tempted to applaud the severe etaliation which was exercised by the arms of the legions gainst a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition eemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but of human kind.[2] The enthusiasm of he Jews was supported by the opinion that it was unlawful for hem to pay taxes to an idolatrous master; and by the flattering promise which they derived from their ancient oracles, that a conquering Messiah would soon arise, destined to break their fetters and to invest the favourites of heaven with the empire of the earth. It was by announcing himself as their long-expected deliverer, and by calling on all the descendants of Abraham to assert the hope of Israel, that the famous Barchochebas collected a formidable army, with which he resisted, during two years, the power of the emperor Hadrian.[3]

Toleration of the Jewish religion

Notwithstanding these repeated provocations, the resentment of the Roman princes expired after the victory; nor were their apprehensions continued beyond the period of war and danger. By the general indulgence of polytheism, and by the mild temper of Antoninus Pius, the Jews were restored to their ancient privileges, and once more obtained the permission of circumcising their children, with the easy restraint that they should never confer on any foreign proselyte that distinguishing mark of the Hebrew race.[4] The numerous remains of that

[1] In Cyrene they massacred 220,000 Greeks; in Cyprus, 240,000; in Egypt, a very great multitude. Many of these unhappy victims were sawed asunder, according to a precedent to which David had given the sanction of his example. The victorious Jews devoured the flesh, licked up the blood, and twisted the entrails like a girdle round their bodies. See Dion Cassius, l. lxviii. p. 1145 [c. 32].

[2] Without repeating the well-known narratives of Josephus, we may learn from Dion (l. lxix. p. 1162 [c. 14]) that in Hadrian's war 580,000 Jews were cut off by the sword, besides an infinite number which perished by famine, by disease, and by fire.

[3] For the sect of the Zealots, see Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. i. c. 17, for the characters of the Messiah, according to the Rabbis, l. v. c. 11, 12, 13, for the actions of Barchochebas, l. vii. c. 12.

[4] It is to Modestinus, a Roman lawyer (l. vi. regular.), that we are indebted for a distinct knowledge of the Edict of Antoninus. See Casaubon ad Hist. August. p. 27.

people, though they were still excluded from the precincts of Jerusalem, were permitted to form and to maintain considerable establishments both in Italy and in the provinces, to acquire the freedom of Rome, to enjoy municipal honours, and to obtain, at the same time, an exemption from the burdensome and expensive offices of society. The moderation or the contempt of the Romans gave a legal sanction to the form of ecclesiastical police which was instituted by the vanquished sect. The patriarch, who had fixed his residence at Tiberias, was empowered to appoint his subordinate ministers and apostles, to exercise a domestic jurisdiction, and to receive from his dispersed brethren an annual contribution.[5] New synagogues were frequently erected in the principal cities of the empire; and the sabbaths, the fasts, and the festivals, which were either commanded by the Mosaic law or enjoined by the traditions of the Rabbis, were celebrated in the most solemn and public manner.[6] Such gentle treatment insensibly assuaged the stern temper of the Jews. Awakened from their dream of prophecy and conquest, they assumed the behaviour of peaceable and industrious subjects. Their irreconcileable hatred of mankind, instead of flaming out in acts of blood and violence, evaporated in less dangerous gratifications. They embraced every opportunity of over-reaching the idolaters in trade; and they pronounced secret and ambiguous imprecations against the haughty kingdom of Edom.[7]

The Jews were a people which followed, the Christians a sect which deserted, the religion of their fathers

Since the Jews, who rejected with abhorrence the deities adored by their sovereign and by their fellow-subjects, enjoyed, however, the free exercise of their unsocial religion; there must have existed some other cause, which exposed the disciples of Christ to those severities from which the posterity of Abraham was exempt. The difference between them is simple and obvious; but, according to the sentiments of antiquity, it was of the highest importance. The Jews were a *nation;* the Christians were a *sect;* and, if it was natural for every community to respect the sacred institutions of their neighbours, it was incumbent on them to persevere in those of their ancestors. The voice of

[5] See Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. iii. c. 2, 3. The office of Patriarch was suppressed by Theodosius the younger.

[6] We need only mention the purim, or deliverance of the Jews from the rage of Haman, which, till the reign of Theodosius, was celebrated with insolent triumph and riotous intemperance. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 17, l. viii. c. 6.

[7] According to the false Josephus, Tsepho, the grandson of Esau, conducted into Italy the army of Æneas, king of Carthage. Another colony of Idumæans, flying from the sword of David, took refuge in the dominions of Romulus. For these, or for other reasons of equal weight, the name of Edom was applied by the Jews to the Roman empire.

racles, the precepts of philosophers and the authority of the ws unanimously enforced this national obligation. By their fty claim of superior sanctity, the Jews might provoke the olytheists to consider them as an odious and impure race. y disdaining the intercourse of other nations they might deserve ieir contempt. The laws of Moses might be for the most part ivolous or absurd; yet, since they had been received during iany ages by a large society, his followers were justified by the xample of mankind; and it was universally acknowledged iat they had a right to practise what it would have been riminal in them to neglect. But this principle which protected he Jewish synagogue afforded not any favour or security to the rimitive church. By embracing the faith of the Gospel, the Christians incurred the supposed guilt of an unnatural and npardonable offence. They dissolved the sacred ties of custom nd education, violated the religious institutions of their country, nd presumptuously despised whatever their fathers had believed s true, or had reverenced as sacred. Nor was this apostacy (if ve may use the expression) merely of a partial or local kind; ince the pious deserter who withdrew himself from the temples f Egypt or Syria would equally disdain to seek an asylum in hose of Athens or Carthage. Every Christian rejected with contempt the superstitions of his family, his city, and his province. The whole body of Christians unanimously refused to iold any communion with the gods of Rome, of the empire, and f mankind. It was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted he inalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could iever reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of he believing part of the Pagan world. To their apprehensions, t was no less a matter of surprise that any individuals should entertain scruples against complying with the established mode of worship, than if they had conceived a sudden abhorrence to the manners, the dress, or the language of their native country.[8]

Christianity accused of atheism, and mistaken by the people and philosophers

The surprise of the Pagans was soon succeeded by resentment; and the most pious of men were exposed to the unjust but dangerous imputation of impiety. Malice and prejudice con-

[8] From the arguments of Celsus, as they are represented and refuted by Origen (l. v. p. 247—259 [p. 1276, *sqq.*]), we may clearly discover the distinction that was made between the Jewish *people* and the Christian *sect*. See in the Dialogue of Minucius Felix (c. 5, 6) a fair and not inelegant description of the popular sentiments, with regard to the desertion of the established worship.

curred in representing the Christians as a society of atheists, who by the most daring attack on the religious constitution of the empire, had merited the severest animadversion of the civil magistrate. They had separated themselves (they gloried in the confession) from every mode of superstition which was received in any part of the globe by the various temper of polytheism; but it was not altogether so evident what deity or what form of worship they had substituted to the gods and temples of antiquity. The pure and sublime idea which they entertained of the Supreme Being escaped the gross conception of the Pagan multitude, who were at a loss to discover a spiritual and solitary God, that was neither represented under any corporeal figure or visible symbol, nor was adored with the accustomed pomp of libations and festivals, of altars and sacrifices.[9] The sages of Greece and Rome, who had elevated their minds to the contemplation of the existence and attributes of the First Cause, were induced, by reason or by vanity, to reserve for themselves and their chosen disciples the privilege of this philosophical devotion.[10] They were far from admitting the prejudices of mankind as the standard of truth; but they considered them as flowing from the original disposition of human nature; and they supposed that any popular mode of faith and worship which presumed to disclaim the assistance of the senses would, in proportion as it receded from superstition, find itself incapable of restraining the wanderings of the fancy and the visions of fanaticism. The careless glance which men of wit and learning condescended to cast on the Christian revelation served only to confirm their hasty opinion, and to persuade them that the principle, which they might have revered, of the divine unity was defaced by the wild enthusiasm, and annihilated by the airy speculations, of the new sectaries. The author of a celebrated dialogue which has been attributed to Lucian, whilst he affects to treat the mysterious subject of the Trinity in a style of ridicule and contempt, betrays his own ignorance of the weakness of human reason, and of the inscrutable nature of the divine perfections.[11]

[9] Cur nullas aras habent? templa nulla? nulla nota simulacra? . . . Unde autem, vel quis ille, aut ubi, Deus unicus, solitarius, destitutus? Minucius Felix, c. 10. The Pagan interlocutor goes on to make a distinction in favour of the Jews, who had once a temple, altars, victims, &c.

[10] It is difficult (says Plato) to attain, and dangerous to publish, the knowledge of the true God. See the Théologie des Philosophes, in the Abbé d'Olivet's French translation of Tully de Naturâ Deorum, tom. i. p. 275.

[11] The author of the Philopatris [a much later work; cp. App. 1, *ad init.*] perpetu-

It might appear less surprising that the founder of Christianity should not only be revered by his disciples as a sage and a prophet, but that he should be adored as a God. The Polytheists were disposed to adopt every article of faith which seemed to offer any resemblance, however distant or imperfect, with the popular mythology; and the legends of Bacchus, of Hercules, and of Æsculapius had, in some measure, prepared their imagination for the appearance of the Son of God under a human form.[12] But they were astonished that the Christians should abandon the temples of those ancient heroes who, in the infancy of the world, had invented arts, instituted laws, and vanquished the tyrants or monsters who infested the earth; in order to choose, for the exclusive object of their religious worship, an obscure teacher who, in a recent age, and among a barbarous people, had fallen a sacrifice either to the malice of his own countrymen or to the jealousy of the Roman government. The Pagan multitude, reserving their gratitude for temporal benefits alone, rejected the inestimable present of life and immortality which was offered to mankind by Jesus of Nazareth. His mild constancy in the midst of cruel and voluntary sufferings, his universal benevolence, and the sublime simplicity of his actions and character were insufficient, in the opinion of those carnal men, to compensate for the want of fame, of empire, and of success; and, whilst they refused to acknowledge his stupendous triumph over the powers of darkness and of the grave, they misrepresented, or they insulted, the equivocal birth, wandering life, and ignominious death of the divine Author of Christianity.[13]

The union and assemblies of the Christians considered as a dangerous conspiracy

The personal guilt which every Christian had contracted, in thus preferring his private sentiment to the national religion,

ally treats the Christians as a company of dreaming enthusiasts, δαιμόνιοι αἰθέριοι αἰθεροβατοῦντες ἀεροβατοῦντες, &c., and in one place manifestly alludes to the vision, in which St. Paul was transported to the third heaven. In another place, Triephon, who personates a Christian, after deriding the Gods of Paganism, proposes a mysterious oath,

Ὑψιμέδοντα θεὸν, μέγαν, ἄμβροτον, οὐρανίωνα,
Υἱὸν πατρὸς, πνεῦμα ἐκ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον
Ἓν ἐκ τριῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς τρία.

Ἀριθμέειν με διδάσκεις (is the profane answer of Critias) καὶ ὅρκος ἡ ἀριθμητικὴ οὐκ οἶδα γὰρ τί λέγεις· ἓν τρία, τρία ἕν!

[12] According to Justin Martyr (Apolog. Major, c. 70—85), the dæmon, who had gained some imperfect knowledge of the prophecies, purposely contrived this resemblance, which might deter, though by different means, both the people and the philosophers from embracing the faith of Christ.

[13] In the first and second books of Origen, Celsus treats the birth and character of our Saviour with the most impious contempt. The orator Libanius praises Porphyry and Julian for confuting the folly of a sect which styled a dead man of Palestine God, and the Son of God. Socrates, Hist. Ecclesiast. iii. 23.

was aggravated, in a very high degree, by the number an union of the criminals. It is well known, and has been alread observed, that Roman policy viewed with the utmost jealous and distrust any association among its subjects; and that th privileges of private corporations, though formed for the mos harmless or beneficial purposes, were bestowed with a ver sparing hand.[14] The religious assemblies of the Christians, wh had separated themselves from the public worship, appeared o a much less innocent nature: they were illegal in their principl and in their consequences might become dangerous; nor wer the emperors conscious that they violated the laws of justice when, for the peace of society, they prohibited those secre and sometimes nocturnal meetings.[15] The pious disobedienc of the Christians made their conduct, or perhaps their designs appear in a much more serious and criminal light; and th Roman princes, who might perhaps have suffered themselves t be disarmed by a ready submission, deeming their honour con cerned in the execution of their commands, sometimes attempte by rigorous punishments to subdue this independent spirit which boldly acknowledged an authority superior to that of th magistrate. The extent and duration of this spiritual conspirac seemed to render it every day more deserving of his animadver sion. We have already seen that the active and successful zea of the Christians had insensibly diffused them through ever province and almost every city of the empire. The new convert seemed to renounce their family and country, that they migh connect themselves in an indissoluble band of union with a peculiar society, which everywhere assumed a different characte from the rest of mankind. Their gloomy and austere aspect their abhorrence of the common business and pleasures of life and their frequent predictions of impending calamities,[16] inspire the Pagans with the apprehension of some danger which woul arise from the new sect, the more alarming as it was the more obscure. "Whatever," says Pliny, "may be the principle o

[14] The emperor Trajan refused to incorporate a company of 150 firemen, fo the use of the city of Nicomedia. He disliked all associations. See Plin. Epist x. 42, 43.

[15] The proconsul Pliny had published a general edict against unlawful meetings The prudence of the Christians suspended their Agapæ; but it was impossible for them to omit the exercise of public worship.

[16] As the prophecies of the Antichrist, approaching conflagration, &c., provoke those Pagans whom they did not convert, they were mentioned with caution an reserve; and the Montanists were censured for disclosing too freely the danger ou secret. See Mosheim, p. 413.

heir conduct, their inflexible obstinacy appeared deserving of unishment." [17]

Their manners calumniated

The precautions with which the disciples of Christ performed he offices of religion were at first dictated by fear and necessity; ut they were continued from choice. By imitating the awful ecrecy which reigned in the Eleusinian mysteries, the Christians ad flattered themselves that they should render their sacred nstitutions more respectable in the eyes of the Pagan world.[18] But the event, as it often happens to the operations of subtile olicy, deceived their wishes and their expectations. It was oncluded that they only concealed what they would have lushed to disclose. Their mistaken prudence afforded an pportunity for malice to invent, and for suspicious credulity to elieve, the horrid tales which described the Christians as the most wicked of human kind, who practised in their dark recesses every abomination that a depraved fancy could suggest, and who solicited the favour of their unknown God by the sacrifice of every moral virtue. There were many who pretended to confess or to relate the ceremonies of this abhorred society. It was asserted, "that a new-born infant, entirely covered over with flour, was presented, like some mystic symbol of initiation, to the knife of the proselyte, who unknowingly inflicted many a secret and mortal wound on the innocent victim of his error; that, as soon as the cruel deed was perpetrated, the sectaries drank up the blood, greedily tore asunder the quivering members, and pledged themselves to eternal secrecy, by a mutual consciousness of guilt. It was as confidently affirmed that this inhuman sacrifice was succeeded by a suitable entertainment, in which intemperance served as a provocative to brutal lust; till, at the appointed moment, the lights were suddenly extinguished, shame was banished, nature was forgotten; and, as accident might direct, the darkness of the night was polluted by the incestuous commerce of sisters and brothers, of sons and of mothers." [19]

Their imprudent defence

But the perusal of the ancient apologies was sufficient to remove even the slightest suspicion from the mind of a candid

[17] Neque enim dubitabam, quodcunque esset quod faterentur (such are the words of Pliny), pervicaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri.

[18] See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 101, and Spanheim, Remarques sur les Césars de Julien, p. 468, &c.

[19] See Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 35 [c. 26, *sqq.*], ii. 14 [12]. Athenagoras in Legatione, c. 27. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 7, 8, 9. Minucius Felix, c. 9, 10, 30, 31. The last of these writers relates the accusation in the most elegant and circumstantial manner. The answer of Tertullian is the boldest and most vigorous.

adversary. The Christians, with the intrepid security of innocence, appeal from the voice of rumour to the equity of the magistrates. They acknowledge that, if any proof can be produced of the crimes which calumny has imputed to them, they are worthy of the most severe punishment. They provoke the punishment, and they challenge the proof. At the same time they urge, with equal truth and propriety, that the charge is not less devoid of probability than it is destitute of evidence: they ask whether any one can seriously believe that the pure and holy precepts of the Gospel, which so frequently restrain the use of the most lawful enjoyments, should inculcate the practice of the most abominable crimes; that a large society should resolve to dishonour itself in the eyes of its own members; and that a great number of persons of either sex, and every age and character, insensible to the fear of death or infamy, should consent to violate those principles which nature and education had imprinted most deeply in their minds.[20] Nothing, it should seem, could weaken the force or destroy the effect of so unanswerable a justification, unless it were the injudicious conduct of the apologists themselves, who betrayed the common cause of religion, to gratify their devout hatred to the domestic enemies of the church. It was sometimes faintly insinuated, and sometimes boldly asserted, that the same bloody sacrifices, and the same incestuous festivals, which were so falsely ascribed to the orthodox believers, were in reality celebrated by the Marcionites, by the Carpocratians, and by several other sects of the Gnostics, who, notwithstanding they might deviate into the paths of heresy, were still actuated by the sentiments of men, and still governed by the precepts of Christianity.[21] Accusations of a similar kind were retorted upon the church by the schismatics who had departed from its communion;[22] and it was confessed on all sides that the most

[20] In the persecution of Lyons, some Gentile slaves were compelled, by the fear of tortures, to accuse their Christian master. The church of Lyons, writing to their brethren of Asia, treat the horrid charge with proper indignation and contempt. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 1.

[21] See Justin Martyr, Apolog. i. 35 [26]. Irenæus adv. Hæres. i. 24. Clemens Alexandrin., Stromat. l. iii. p. 438 [ed. Paris; ed. Migne, vol. 6, p. 1136]. Euseb. iv. 8. It would be tedious and disgusting to relate all that the succeeding writers have imagined, all that Epiphanius has received, and all that Tillemont has copied. M. de Beausobre (Hist. du Manichéisme, l. ix. c. 8, 9) has exposed, with great spirit, the disingenuous arts of Augustin and Pope Leo I.

[22] When Tertullian became a Montanist, he aspersed the morals of the church which he had so resolutely defended. "Sed majoris est Agape, quia per hanc adolescentes tui cum sororibus dormiunt, appendices scilicet gulæ lascivia et luxuria." De Jejuniis, c. 17. The 35th canon of the council of Illiberis provides

candalous licentiousness of manners prevailed among great numbers of those who affected the name of Christians. A Pagan magistrate, who possessed neither leisure nor abilities to discern the almost imperceptible line which divides the orthodox faith from heretical pravity, might easily have imagined that their mutual animosity had extorted the discovery of their common guilt. It was fortunate for the repose, or at least for the reputation, of the first Christians, that the magistrates sometimes proceeded with more temper and moderation than is usually consistent with religious zeal, and that they reported, as the impartial result of their judicial inquiry, that the sectaries who had deserted the established worship appeared to them sincere in their professions and blameless in their manners; however they might incur, by their absurd and excessive superstition, the censure of the laws.[23]

Idea of the conduct of the emperors towards the Christians

History, which undertakes to record the transactions of the past, for the instruction of future, ages, would ill deserve that honourable office, if she condescended to plead the cause of tyrants, or to justify the maxims of persecution. It must, however, be acknowledged that the conduct of the emperors who appeared the least favourable to the primitive church is by no means so criminal as that of modern sovereigns who have employed the arm of violence and terror against the religious opinions of any part of their subjects. From their reflections, or even from their own feelings, a Charles V. or a Louis XIV. might have acquired a just knowledge of the rights of conscience, of the obligation of faith, and of the innocence of error. But the princes and magistrates of ancient Rome were strangers to those principles which inspired and authorized the inflexible obstinacy of the Christians in the cause of truth, nor could they themselves discover in their own breasts any motive which would have prompted them to refuse a legal, and as it were a natural, submission to the sacred institutions of their country. The same reason which contributes to alleviate the guilt, must have tended to abate the rigour, of their persecutions. As they were actuated, not by the furious zeal of bigots, but by the temperate policy of legislators, contempt must often have relaxed, and humanity must frequently have suspended, the execution of those laws which they enacted against the humble and obscure

against the scandals which too often polluted the vigils of the church, and disgraced the Christian name in the eyes of unbelievers.

[23] Tertullian (Apolog. c. 2) expatiates on the fair and honourable testimony of Pliny, with much reason, and some declamation.

followers of Christ. From the general view of their charact and motives we might naturally conclude: I. That a considerab time elapsed before they considered the new sectaries as object deserving of the attention of government. II. That, the conviction of any of their subjects who were accused of very singular a crime, they proceeded with caution and r luctance. III. That they were moderate in the use of punis ments; and IV. That the afflicted church enjoyed many interv of peace and tranquillity. Notwithstanding the careless ind ference which the most copious and the most minute of t Pagan writers have shewn to the affairs of the Christians,[24] may still be in our power to confirm each of these probab suppositions by the evidence of authentic facts.

They neglected the Christians as a sect of Jews

I. By the wise dispensation of Providence, a mysterious v was cast over the infancy of the church, which, till the faith the Christians was matured and their numbers were multiplie served to protect them not only from the malice, but even fro the knowledge, of the Pagan world. The slow and gradu abolition of the Mosaic ceremonies afforded a safe and innoce disguise to the more early proselytes of the Gospel. As th were far the greater part of the race of Abraham, they we distinguished by the peculiar mark of circumcision, offered their devotions in the Temple of Jerusalem till its final destru tion, and received both the Law and the Prophets as t genuine inspirations of the Deity. The Gentile converts, w by a spiritual adoption had been associated to the hope of Isra were likewise confounded under the garb and appearance Jews,[25] and, as the Polytheists paid less regard to articles faith than to the external worship, the new sect, which carefu concealed, or faintly announced, its future greatness and am tion, was permitted to shelter itself under the general tolerati which was granted to an ancient and celebrated people in t Roman empire. It was not long, perhaps, before the Je themselves, animated with a fiercer zeal and a more jealo faith, perceived the gradual separation of their Nazare brethren from the doctrine of the synagogue; and they wou gladly have extinguished the dangerous heresy in the blood its adherents. But the decrees of heaven had already disarm

[24] In the various compilation of the Augustan History, (a part of which composed under the reign of Constantine), there are not six lines which relate the Christians; nor has the diligence of Xiphilin discovered their name in the la history of Dion Cassius.

[25] An obscure passage of Suetonius (in Claud. c. 25) may seem to offer a pr how strangely the Jews and Christians of Rome were confounded with each oth

heir malice; and, though they might sometimes exert the centious privilege of sedition, they no longer possessed the dministration of criminal justice; nor did they find it easy to nfuse into the calm breast of a Roman magistrate the rancour of heir own zeal and prejudice. The provincial governors declared hemselves ready to listen to any accusation that might affect he public safety; but, as soon as they were informed that it vas a question not of facts but of words, a dispute relating only o the interpretation of the Jewish laws and prophecies, they leemed it unworthy of the majesty of Rome seriously to discuss he obscure differences which might arise among a barbarous nd superstitious people. The innocence of the first Christians vas protected by ignorance and contempt; and the tribunal of he Pagan magistrate often proved their most assured refuge gainst the fury of the synagogue.[26] If, indeed, we were lisposed to adopt the traditions of a too credulous antiquity, we night relate the distant peregrinations, the wonderful achieve- nents, and the various deaths, of the twelve apostles; but a nore accurate inquiry will induce us to doubt whether any of hose persons who had been witnesses to the miracles of Christ vere permitted, beyond the limits of Palestine, to seal with heir blood the truth of their testimony.[27] From the ordinary erm of human life, it may very naturally be presumed that nost of them were deceased before the discontent of the Jews oroke out into that furious war which was terminated only by he ruin of Jerusalem. During a long period, from the death of Christ to that memorable rebellion, we cannot discover any races of Roman intolerance, unless they are to be found in the sudden, the transient, but the cruel persecution, which was exercised by Nero against the Christians of the capital, thirty- ive years after the former, and only two years before the latter of those great events. The character of the philosophic historian, to whom we are principally indebted for the knowledge of this singular transaction, would alone be sufficient to recommend it to our most attentive consideration.

The fire of Rome under the reign of Nero

In the tenth year of the reign of Nero, the capital of the

[26] See in the xviiith and xxvth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, the behaviour of Gallio, proconsul of Achaia, and of Festus, procurator of Judæa.

[27] In the time of Tertullian and Clemens of Alexandria, the glory of martyrdom was confined to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. James. It was gradually bestowed on the rest of the apostles, by the more recent Greeks, who prudently selected for the theatre of their preaching and sufferings, some remote country beyond the limits of the Roman empire. See Mosheim p. 81, and Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. i. part iii.

[A.D. 65] empire was afflicted by a fire which raged beyond the memo
or example of former ages.[28] The monuments of Grecian
and of Roman virtue, the trophies of the Punic and Gallic wa
the most holy temples, and the most splendid palaces we
involved in one common destruction. Of the fourteen regio
or quarters into which Rome was divided, four only subsist
entire, three were levelled with the ground, and the remaini
seven, which had experienced the fury of the flames, displa
a melancholy prospect of ruin and desolation. The vigila
of government appears not to have neglected any of t
precautions which might alleviate the sense of so dreadfu
calamity. The Imperial gardens were thrown open to t
distressed multitude, temporary buildings were erected for th
accommodation, and a plentiful supply of corn and provisions w
distributed at a very moderate price.[29] The most gener
policy seemed to have dictated the edicts which regulated
disposition of the streets and the construction of private hous
and, as it usually happens in an age of prosperity, the conflag
tion of Rome, in the course of a few years, produced a new c
more regular and more beautiful than the former. But
the prudence and humanity affected by Nero on this occas
were insufficient to preserve him from the popular suspici
Every crime might be imputed to the assassin of his wife a
mother; nor could the prince who prostituted his person a
dignity on the theatre be deemed incapable of the m
extravagant folly. The voice of rumour accused the emperor
the incendiary of his own capital; and, as the most incredi
stories are the best adapted to the genius of an enraged peo
it was gravely reported, and firmly believed, that Nero, enjoy
the calamity which he had occasioned, amused himself w
singing to his lyre the destruction of ancient Troy.[30] To div
a suspicion which the power of despotism was unable to supp
the emperor resolved to substitute in his own place so
fictitious criminals. "With this view (continues Tacitus)
inflicted the most exquisite tortures on those men, who, un
Cruel punishment of the Christians as the incendiaries of the city
the vulgar appellation of Christians, were already branded w
deserved infamy. They derived their name and origin fi

[28] Tacit. Annal. xv. 38—44. Sueton. in Neron. c. 38. Dion Cassius, l. lxi
1014 [c. 16]. Orosius, vii. 7.

[29] The price of wheat (probably of the *modius*) was reduced as low as a
nummi; which would be equivalent to about fifteen shillings the English qua

[30] We may observe, that the rumour is mentioned by Tacitus with a
becoming distrust and hesitation, whilst it is greedily transcribed by Sueto
and solemnly confirmed by Dion.

hrist, who, in the reign of Tiberius, had suffered death, by the ntence of the procurator Pontius Pilate.[31] For a while this re superstition was checked ; but it again burst forth, and not ıly spread itself over Judæa, the first seat of this mischievous ct, but was even introduced into Rome, the common asylum hich receives and protects whatever is impure, whatever is rocious. The confessions of those who were seized, discovered great multitude of their accomplices, and they were all onvicted, not so much for the crime of setting fire to the city, for their hatred of human kind.[32] They died in torments, nd their torments were embittered by insult and derision. ome were nailed on crosses ; others sewn up in the skins of ild beasts, and exposed to the fury of dogs ; others again, neared over with combustible materials, were used as torches o illuminate the darkness of the night. The gardens of Nero ere destined for the melancholy spectacle, which was ac- ompanied with a horse race, and honoured with the presence of ıe emperor, who mingled with the populace in the dress and ttitude of a charioteer. The guilt of the Christians deserved, ndeed, the most exemplary punishment, but the public abhor- ence was changed into commiseration, from the opinion that hose unhappy wretches were sacrificed, not so much to the ublic welfare, as to the cruelty of a jealous tyrant."[33] Those ho survey, with a curious eye, the revolutions of mankind may bserve that the gardens and circus of Nero on the Vatican, hich were polluted with the blood of the first Christians, have

[31] This testimony is alone sufficient to expose the anachronism of the Jews, ho place the birth of Christ near a century sooner (Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, v. c. 14, 15). We may learn from Josephus (Antiquitat. xviii. 3), that the pro- uratorship of Pilate corresponded with the last ten years of Tiberius, A.D. 27—37. s to the particular time of the death of Christ, a very early tradition fixed it to ıe 25th of March, A.D. 29, under the consulship of the two Gemini (Tertullian dv. Judæos, c. 8). This date, which is adopted by Pagi, cardinal Noris, and .e Clerc, seems at least as probable as the vulgar æra, which is placed (I know ot from what conjectures) four years later. [See above, p. 58, n. 158.]

[32] *Odio humani generis convicti.* These words may either signify the hatred of ıankind towards the Christians, or the hatred of the Christians towards mankind. have preferred the latter sense, as the most agreeable to the style of Tacitus, and o the popular error, of which a precept of the Gospel (see Luke xiv. 26) had been, erhaps, the innocent occasion. My interpretation is justified by the authority of ipsius ; of the Italian, the French, and the English translators of Tacitus ; of Mosheim (p. 102), of Le Clerc (Historia Ecclesiast. p. 427), of Dr. Lardner Testimonies, vol. i. p. 345), and of the bishop of Gloucester (Divine Legation, vol. i. p. 38). But as the word *convicti* does not unite very happily with the rest of he sentence, James Gronovius has preferred the reading of *conjuncti*, which is uthorized by the valuable Ms. of Florence. [The interpretation adopted by Gibbon s certainly correct, but there is no reason to question the reading *convicti*.]

[33] Tacit. Annal. xv. 44.

been rendered still more famous by the triumph and by the abuse of the persecuted religion. On the same spot,[34] a temple which far surpasses the ancient glories of the Capitol, has been since erected by the Christian Pontiffs, who, deriving their claim of universal dominion from an humble fisherman of Galilee, have succeeded to the throne of the Cæsars, given laws to the barbarian conquerors of Rome, and extended their spiritual jurisdiction from the coast of the Baltic to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

But it would be improper to dismiss this account of Nero's persecution, till we have made some observations, that may serve to remove the difficulties with which it is perplexed and to throw some light on the subsequent history of the church.

Remarks on the passage of Tacitus, relative to the persecution of the Christians by Nero

1. The most sceptical criticism is obliged to respect the truth of this extraordinary fact, and the integrity of this celebrated passage of Tacitus. The former is confirmed by the diligent and accurate Suetonius, who mentions the punishments which Nero inflicted on the Christians, a sect of men who had embraced a new and criminal superstition.[35] The latter may be proved by the consent of the most ancient manuscripts; by the inimitable character of the style of Tacitus; by his reputation which guarded his text from the interpolations of pious fraud; and by the purport of his narration, which accused the first Christians of the most atrocious crimes, without insinuating that they possessed any miraculous or even magical powers above the rest of mankind.[36] 2. Notwithstanding it is probable that

[34] Nardini Roma Antica, p. 487. Donatus de Româ Antiquâ, l. iii. p. 449.

[35] Sueton. in Nerone, c. 16. The epithet of *malefica*, which some sagacious commentators have translated *magical*, is considered by the more rational Mosheim as only synonymous to the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus.

[36] The passage concerning Jesus Christ, which was inserted into the text of Josephus between the time of Origen and that of Eusebius, may furnish an example of no vulgar forgery. The accomplishment of the prophecies, the virtues, miracles and resurrection of Jesus are distinctly related. Josephus acknowledges that he was the Messiah, and hesitates whether he should call him a man. If any doubt can still remain concerning this celebrated passage, the reader may examine the pointed objections of Le Fevre (Havercamp. Joseph. tom. ii. p. 267—273), the laboured answers of Daubuz (p. 187—232), and the masterly reply (Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. vii. p. 237—288) of an anonymous critic, whom I believe to have been the learned Abbé de Longuerue. [Most unluckily book xviii. of the Antiquities, in which the passage occurs (c. 3, 3), is not contained in the Palatinus, the best Ms. of the work. It has found defenders in recent times, and Ewald has given reasons for regarding it as not entirely spurious but tainted with interpolations. There is another noteworthy passage in xx. 9, 1, about the death of St. James, "brother of Jesus, called the Christ".]

acitus was born some years before the fire of Rome,[37] he could erive only from reading and conversation the knowledge of an vent which happened during his infancy. Before he gave imself to the Public, he calmly waited till his genius had attained s full maturity, and he was more than forty years of age, when grateful regard for the memory of the virtuous Agricola ex- orted from him the most early of those historical compositions hich will delight and instruct the most distant posterity. fter making a trial of his strength in the life of Agricola and ne description of Germany, he conceived, and at length xecuted, a more arduous work; the history of Rome, in thirty ooks, from the fall of Nero to the accession of Nerva. The dministration of Nerva introduced an age of justice and pros- erity, which Tacitus had destined for the occupation of his ld age;[38] but, when he took a nearer view of his subject, udging, perhaps, that it was a more honourable or a less in- idious office to record the vices of past tyrants than to celebrate he virtues of a reigning monarch, he chose rather to relate, nder the form of annals, the actions of the four immediate uccessors of Augustus. To collect, to dispose, and to adorn a eries of fourscore years in an immortal work, every sentence of vhich is pregnant with the deepest observations and the most ively images, was an undertaking sufficient to exercise the genius of Tacitus himself during the greatest part of his life. n the last years of the reign of Trajan, whilst the victorious monarch extended the power of Rome beyond its ancient limits, he historian was describing, in the second and fourth books of his annals, the tyranny of Tiberius;[39] and the emperor Hadrian must have succeeded to the throne, before Tacitus, in the regular prosecution of his work, could relate the fire of the capital and the cruelty of Nero towards the unfortunate Christians. At the distance of sixty years, it was the duty of the annalist to adopt the narratives of contemporaries; but it was natural for the philosopher to indulge himself in the de- scription of the origin, the progress, and the character of the new sect, not so much according to the knowledge or prejudices of the age of Nero, as according to those of the time of Hadrian. 3. Tacitus very frequently trusts to the curiosity or reflection

[37] See the lives of Tacitus, by Lipsius and the Abbé de la Bléterie, Dictionnaire de Bayle à l'article TACITE, and Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. tom. ii. p. 386, edit. Ernest.

[38] Principatum Divi Nervæ et imperium Trajani, uberiorem securioremque materiam senectuti seposui. Tacit. Hist. i. [1].

[39] See Tacit. Annal. ii, 61, iv. 4.

of his readers to supply those intermediate circumstances and ideas which, in his extreme conciseness, he has thought proper to suppress. We may, therefore, presume to imagine some probable cause which could direct the cruelty of Nero against the Christians of Rome, whose obscurity, as well as innocence, should have shielded them from his indignation, and even from his notice. The Jews, who were numerous in the capital, and oppressed in their own country, were a much fitter object for the suspicions of the emperor and of the people; nor did it seem unlikely that a vanquished nation, who already discovered their abhorrence of the Roman yoke, might have recourse to the most atrocious means of gratifying their implacable revenge. But the Jews possessed very powerful advocates in the palace, and even in the heart of the tyrant; his wife and mistress, the beautiful Poppæa, and a favourite player of the race of Abraham, who had already employed their intercession in behalf of the obnoxious people.[40] In their room it was necessary to offer some other victims, and it might easily be suggested, that, although the genuine followers of Moses were innocent of the fire of Rome, there had arisen among them a new and pernicious sect of GALILÆANS, which was capable of the most horrid crimes. Under the appellation of GALILÆANS, two distinctions of men were confounded, the most opposite to each other in their manners and principles; the disciples who had embraced the faith of Jesus of Nazareth,[41] and the zealots who had followed the standard of Judas the Gaulonite.[42] The former were the friends, and the latter were the enemies, of human kind; and the only resemblance between them consisted in the same inflexible constancy which, in the defence of their cause, rendered them insensible of death and tortures. The followers of Judas, who impelled their countrymen into rebellion, were soon buried under the ruins of Jerusalem; whilst those of Jesus, known by the more celebrated name of Christians, diffused

[40] The player's name was Aliturus. Through the same channel, Josephus (De Vitâ suâ, c. 3) about two years before, had obtained the pardon and release of some Jewish priests, who were prisoners at Rome.

[41] The learned Dr. Lardner (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 102, 103), has proved that the name of Galilæans was a very ancient and, perhaps, the primitive appellation of the Christians.

[42] Joseph. Antiquitat. xviii. 1, 2. Tillemont, Ruine des Juifs, p. 742. The sons of Judas were crucified in the time of Claudius. His grandson Eleazar, after Jerusalem was taken, defended a strong fortress with 960 of his most desperate followers. When the battering ram had made a breach, they turned their swords against their wives, their children, and at length against their own breasts. They died to the last man.

themselves over the Roman empire. How natural was it for Tacitus, in the time of Hadrian, to appropriate to the Christians the guilt and the sufferings which he might, with far greater truth and justice, have attributed to a sect whose odious memory was almost extinguished! 4. Whatever opinion may be entertained of this conjecture (for it is no more than a conjecture), it is evident that the effect, as well as the cause, of Nero's persecution were confined to the walls of Rome;[43] that the religious tenets of the Galilæans, or Christians, were never made a subject of punishment or even of inquiry; and that, as the idea of their sufferings was, for a long time, connected with the idea of cruelty and injustice, the moderation of succeeding princes inclined them to spare a sect, oppressed by a tyrant whose rage had been usually directed against virtue and innocence.

Oppression of the Jews and Christians by Domitian

It is somewhat remarkable that the flames of war consumed almost at the same time the temple of Jerusalem and the Capitol of Rome;[44] and it appears no less singular that the tribute which devotion had destined to the former should have been converted by the power of an assaulting victor to restore and adorn the splendour of the latter.[45] The emperors levied a general capitation tax on the Jewish people; and, although the sum assessed on the head of each individual was inconsiderable, the use for which it was designed, and the severity with which it was exacted, were considered as an intolerable grievance.[46] Since the officers of the revenue extended their unjust claim to many persons who were strangers to the blood or religion of the Jews, it was impossible that the Christians, who had so often

[43] See Dodwell. Paucitat. Mart. l. xiii. The Spanish Inscription in Gruter, p. 238, No. 9, is a manifest and acknowledged forgery, contrived by that noted impostor Cyriacus of Ancona, to flatter the pride and prejudices of the Spaniards. See Ferreras, Histoire d Espagne, tom. i. p. 192. [Gibbon's conjecture is not happy, and need not be considered seriously.]

[44] The Capitol was burnt during the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian, the 19th of December, A.D. 69. On the 10th of August, A.D. 70, the Temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the hands of the Jews themselves, rather than by those of the Romans.

[45] The new Capitol was dedicated by Domitian. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 5. Plutarch in Poplicola, tom. i. p. 230, edit. Bryan. The gilding alone cost 12,000 talents (above two millions and a half). It was the opinion of Martial (l. ix. Epigram 3) that, if the emperor had called in his debts, Jupiter himself, even though he had made a general auction of Olympus, would have been unable to pay two shillings in the pound.

[46] With regard to the tribute, see Dion Cassius, l. lxvi. p. 1082 [c. 7] with Reimarus's notes. Spanheim, de Usú Numismatum, tom. ii. p. 571, and Basnage, Histoire des Juifs, l. vii. c. 2.

sheltered themselves under the shade of the synagogue, should now escape this rapacious persecution. Anxious as they were to avoid the slightest infection of idolatry, their conscience forbade them to contribute to the honour of that dæmon who had assumed the character of the Capitoline Jupiter. As a very numerous, though declining, party among the Christians still adhered to the law of Moses, their efforts to dissemble their Jewish origin were detected by the decisive test of circumcision,[47] nor were the Roman magistrates at leisure to inquire into the difference of their religious tenets. Among the Christians who were brought before the tribunal of the emperor, or, as it seems more probable, before that of the procurator of Judæa, two persons are said to have appeared, distinguished by their extraction, which was more truly noble than that of the greatest monarchs. These were the grandsons of St. Jude the apostle, who himself was the brother of Jesus Christ.[48] Their natural pretensions to the throne of David might perhaps attract the respect of the people, and excite the jealousy of the governor; but the meanness of their garb and the simplicity of their answers soon convinced him that they were neither desirous nor capable of disturbing the peace of the Roman empire. They frankly confessed their royal origin and their near relation to the Messiah; but they disclaimed any temporal views, and professed that his kingdom, which they devoutly expected, was purely of a spiritual and angelic nature. When they were examined concerning their fortune and occupation, they shewed their hands hardened with daily labour, and declared that they derived their whole subsistence from the cultivation of a farm near the village of Cocaba, of the extent of about twenty-four English acres,[49] and of the value of

[47] Suetonius (in Domitian. c. 12) had seen an old man of ninety publicly examined before the procurator's tribunal. This is what Martial calls, Mentula tributis damnata.

[48] This appellation was at first understood in the most obvious sense, and it was supposed that the brothers of Jesus were the lawful issue of Joseph and of Mary. A devout respect for the virginity of the Mother of God suggested to the Gnostics, and afterwards to the orthodox Greeks, the expedient of bestowing a second wife on Joseph. The Latins (from the time of Jerome) improved on that hint, asserted the perpetual celibacy of Joseph, and justified, by many similar examples, the new interpretation that Jude, as well as Simon and James, who are styled the brothers of Jesus Christ, were only his first cousins. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. i. part iii. and Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, l. ii. c. 2.

[49] Thirty-nine πλέθρα, squares of an hundred feet each, which, if strictly computed, would scarcely amount to nine acres. But the probability of circumstances, the practice of other Greek writers, and the authority of M. de Valois, inclined me to believe that the πλέθρον is used to express the Roman jugerum.

ine thousand drachms, or three hundred pounds sterling. The randsons of St. Jude were dismissed with compassion and con-empt.[50]

But, although the obscurity of the house of David might pro- Execution of Clemens the consul
ect them from the suspicions of a tyrant, the present greatness f his own family alarmed the pusillanimous temper of Domitian, [A.D. 95] vhich could only be appeased by the blood of those Romans vhom he either feared, or hated, or esteemed. Of the two ons of his uncle Flavius Sabinus,[51] the elder was soon convicted f treasonable intentions, and the younger, who bore the name f Flavius Clemens, was indebted for his safety to his want of ourage and ability.[52] The emperor, for a long time, distin-guished so harmless a kinsman by his favour and protection, estowed on him his own niece Domitilla, adopted the children f that marriage to the hope of the succession, and invested heir father with the honours of the consulship. But he had scarcely finished the term of his annual magistracy, when, on a slight pretence, he was condemned and executed; Domitilla was banished to a desolate island on the coast of Campania;[53] and sentences either of death or of confiscation were pronounced against a great number of persons who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge was that of *Atheism* and *Jewish manners;*[54] a singular association of ideas, which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and by the writers of that period. On the strength of so probable an interpretation, and too eagerly ad-mitting the suspicions of a tyrant as an evidence of their honourable crime, the church has placed both Clemens and Domitilla among its first martyrs, and has branded the cruelty of Domitian with the name of the second persecution. But

[50] Eusebius, iii. 20. The story is taken from Hegesippus.

[51] See the death and character of Sabinus in Tacitus (Hist. iii. 74, 75). Sabinus was the elder brother, and, till the accession of Vespasian, had been considered as the principal support of the Flavian family.

[52] Flavium Clementem patruelem suum *contemptissimæ inertiæ* . . . ex ten-uissimâ suspicione interemit. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 15.

[53] The isle of Pandataria, according to Dion. Bruttius Præsens (apud Euseb. iii. 18) banishes her to that of Pontia, which was not far distant from the other. That difference, and a mistake, either of Eusebius or of his transcribers, have given occasion to suppose two Domitillas, the wife and the niece of Clemens. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. ii. p. 224.

[54] Dion, l. lxvii. p. 1112 [c. 14]. If the Bruttius Præsens, from whom it is probable that he collected this account, was the correspondent of Pliny (Epistol. vii. 3), we may consider him as a contemporary writer.

this persecution (if it deserves that epithet) was of no long duration. A few months after the death of Clemens and the banishment of Domitilla, Stephen, a freedman belonging to the latter, who had enjoyed the favour, but who had not surely embraced the faith, of his mistress, assassinated the emperor in his palace.[55] The memory of Domitian was condemned by the senate; his acts were rescinded; his exiles recalled; and under the gentle administration of Nerva, while the innocent were restored to their rank and fortunes, even the most guilty either obtained pardon or escaped punishment.[56]

[A.D 96, Sept. 18]

Ignorance of Pliny concerning the Christians [Appointed legatus A.D. 111]

II. About ten years afterwards, under the reign of Trajan, the younger Pliny was intrusted by his friend and master with the government of Bithynia and Pontus. He soon found himself at a loss to determine by what rule of justice or of law he should direct his conduct in the execution of an office the most repugnant to his humanity. Pliny had never assisted at any judicial proceedings against the Christians, with whose name alone he seems to be acquainted; and he was totally uninformed with regard to the nature of their guilt, the method of their conviction, and the degree of their punishment. In this perplexity he had recourse to his usual expedient, of submitting to the wisdom of Trajan an impartial and, in some respects, a favourable account of the new superstition, requesting the emperor that he would condescend to resolve his doubts and to instruct his ignorance.[57] The life of Pliny had been employed in the acquisition of learning, and in the business of the world. Since the age of nineteen he had pleaded with distinction in the tribunals of Rome,[58] filled a place in the senate, had been invested with the honours of the consulship, and had formed very numerous connexions with every order of men, both in Italy and in the provinces. From *his* ignorance, therefore, we may derive some useful information. We may assure ourselves that when he accepted the government of Bithynia there were no general laws or decrees of the senate in force against the Christians; that neither Trajan nor any of his virtuous predecessors, whose edicts were received into the civil

[A.D. 112]

[55] Suet. in Domit. c. 17. Philostratus in Vit. Apollon. l. viii.

[56] Dion, l. lxviii. p. 1118 [c. 1]. Plin. Epistol. iv. 22.

[57] Plin. Epistol. x. 97. The learned Mosheim expresses himself (p. 147, 232) with the highest approbation of Pliny's moderate and candid temper. Notwithstanding Dr. Lardner's suspicions (see Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. ii. p. 46), I am unable to discover any bigotry in his language or proceedings.

[58] Plin. Epist. v. 8. He pleaded his first cause A.D. 81; the year after the famous eruptions of Mount Vesuvius, in which his uncle lost his life.

and criminal jurisprudence, had publicly declared their intentions concerning the new sect; and that, whatever proceedings had been carried on against the Christians, there were none of sufficient weight and authority to establish a precedent for the conduct of a Roman magistrate.

Trajan and his successors establish a legal mode of proceeding against them [A.D. 112].

The answer of Trajan, to which the Christians of the succeeding age have frequently appealed, discovers as much regard for justice and humanity as could be reconciled with his mistaken notions of religious policy.[59] Instead of displaying the implacable zeal of an inquisitor, anxious to discover the most minute particles of heresy and exulting in the number of his victims, the emperor expresses much more solicitude to protect the security of the innocent than to prevent the escape of the guilty. He acknowledges the difficulty of fixing any general plan; but he lays down two salutary rules, which often afforded relief and support to the distressed Christians. Though he directs the magistrates to punish such persons as are legally convicted, he prohibits them, with a very humane inconsistency, from making any inquiries concerning the supposed criminals. Nor was the magistrate allowed to proceed on every kind of information. Anonymous charges the emperor rejects, as too repugnant to the equity of his government; and he strictly requires, for the conviction of those to whom the guilt of Christianity is imputed, the positive evidence of a fair and open accuser. It is likewise probable that the persons who assumed so invidious an office were obliged to declare the grounds of their suspicions, to specify (both in respect to time and place) the secret assemblies which their Christian adversary had frequented, and to disclose a great number of circumstances which were concealed with the most vigilant jealousy from the eye of the profane. If they succeeded in their prosecution, they were exposed to the resentment of a considerable and active party, to the censure of the more liberal portion of mankind, and to the ignominy which, in every age and country, has attended the character of an informer. If, on the contrary, they failed in their proofs, they incurred the severe, and perhaps capital, penalty which, according to a law published by the emperor Hadrian, was inflicted on those who falsely attributed to their fellow-citizens the crime of Christianity. The violence of

[59] Plin. Epist. x. 98. [Tillemont's date, 104; Mommsen's, 112.] Tertullian (Apolog. c. 5) considers this rescript as a relaxation of the ancient penal laws, "quas Trajanus ex parte frustratus est"; and yet Tertullian, in another part of his Apology, exposes the inconsistency of prohibiting inquiries and enjoining punishments.

personal or superstitious animosity might sometimes prevail over the most natural apprehensions of disgrace and danger; but it cannot surely be imagined that accusations of so unpromising an appearance were either lightly or frequently undertaken by the Pagan subjects of the Roman empire.[60]

Popular clamours

The expedient which was employed to elude the prudence of the laws affords a sufficient proof how effectually they disappointed the mischievous designs of private malice or superstitious zeal. In a large and tumultuous assembly, the restraints of fear and shame, so forcible on the minds of individuals, are deprived of the greatest part of their influence. The pious Christian, as he was desirous to obtain or to escape the glory of martyrdom, expected, either with impatience or with terror, the stated returns of the public games and festivals. On those occasions, the inhabitants of the great cities of the empire were collected in the circus of the theatre, where every circumstance of the place, as well as of the ceremony, contributed to kindle their devotion and to extinguish their humanity. Whilst the numerous spectators, crowned with garlands, perfumed with incense, purified with the blood of victims, and surrounded with the altars and statues of their tutelar deities, resigned themselves to the enjoyment of pleasures which they considered as an essential part of their religious worship; they recollected that the Christians alone abhorred the gods of mankind, and by their absence and melancholy on these solemn festivals seemed to insult or to lament the public felicity. If the empire had been afflicted by any recent calamity, by a plague, a famine, or an unsuccessful war; if the Tiber had, or if the Nile had not risen beyond its banks; if the earth had shaken, or if the temperate order of the seasons had been interrupted, the superstitious Pagans were convinced that the crimes and the impiety of the Christians, who were spared by the excessive lenity of the government, had at length provoked the Divine Justice. It was not among a licentious and exasperated populace that the forms of legal proceedings could be observed; it was not in an amphitheatre, stained with the blood of wild beasts and gladiators, that the voice of compassion could be heard. The impatient clamours of the multitude denounced the Christians

[60] Eusebius (Hist. Ecclesiast. l. iv. c. 9) has preserved the edict of Hadrian. He has likewise (c. 13) given us one still more favourable under the name of Antoninus; the authenticity of which is not so universally allowed. [See Appendix 6.] The second Apology of Justin contains some curious particulars relative to the accusations of Christians.

as the enemies of gods and men, doomed them to the severest tortures, and, venturing to accuse by name some of the most distinguished of the new sectaries, required, with irresistible vehemence, that they should be instantly apprehended and cast to the lions.[61] The provincial governors and magistrates who presided in the public spectacles were usually inclined to gratify the inclinations, and to appease the rage, of the people by the sacrifice of a few obnoxious victims. But the wisdom of the emperors protected the church from the danger of these tumultuous clamours and irregular accusations, which they justly censured as repugnant both to the firmness and to the equity of their administration. The edicts of Hadrian and of Antoninus Pius expressly declared that the voice of the multitude should never be admitted as legal evidence to convict or to punish those unfortunate persons who had embraced the enthusiasm of the Christians.[62]

Trials of the Christians

III. Punishment was not the inevitable consequence of conviction, and the Christians, whose guilt was the most clearly proved by the testimony of witnesses, or even by their voluntary confession, still retained in their own power the alternative of life or death. It was not so much the past offence, as the actual resistance, which excited the indignation of the magistrate. He was persuaded that he offered them an easy pardon, since, if they consented to cast a few grains of incense upon the altar, they were dismissed from the tribunal in safety and with applause. It was esteemed the duty of a humane judge to endeavour to reclaim, rather than to punish, those deluded enthusiasts. Varying his tone according to the age, the sex, or the situation of the prisoners, he frequently condescended to set before their eyes every circumstance which could render life more pleasing, or death more terrible; and to solicit, nay, to intreat them, that they would show some compassion to themselves, to their families, and to their friends.[63] If threats and persuasions proved ineffectual, he had often recourse to violence; the scourge and the rack were called in to supply the deficiency of argument, and every art of cruelty was employed to subdue such inflexible and, as it appeared to the Pagans,

[61] See Tertullian (Apolog. c. 40). The acts of the martyrdom of Polycarp exhibit a lively picture of these tumults, which were usually fomented by the malice of the Jews.

[62] These regulations are inserted in the above-mentioned edicts of Hadrian and Pius. See the apology of Melito (apud Euseb. l. iv. c. 26).

[63] See the rescript of Trajan, and the conduct of Pliny. The most authentic acts of the martyrs abound in these exhortations.

such criminal obstinacy. The ancient apologists of Christianit have censured, with equal truth and severity, the irregul conduct of their persecutors, who, contrary to every princip of judicial proceeding, admitted the use of torture, in order t obtain not a confession but a denial of the crime which was th object of their inquiry.[64] The monks of succeeding ages, wh in their peaceful solitudes, entertained themselves with divers fying the death and sufferings of the primitive martyrs, hav frequently invented torments of a much more refined and in genious nature. In particular, it has pleased them to suppos that the zeal of the Roman magistrates, disdaining every co sideration of moral virtue or public decency, endeavoured t seduce those whom they were unable to vanquish, and that by their orders, the most brutal violence was offered to thos whom they found it impossible to seduce. It is related tha pious females, who were prepared to despise death, were some times condemned to a more severe trial, and called upon t determine whether they set a higher value on their religion o on their chastity. The youths to whose licentious embrace they were abandoned received a solemn exhortation from th judge to exert their most strenuous efforts to maintain th honour of Venus against the impious virgin who refused to burn incense on her altars. Their violence, however, was commonly disappointed; and the seasonable interposition of some miracu lous power preserved the chaste spouses of Christ from th dishonour even of an involuntary defeat. We should not, in deed, neglect to remark that the more ancient, as well a authentic, memorials of the church are seldom polluted wit these extravagant and indecent fictions.[65]

Humanity of the Roman magistrates

The total disregard of truth and probability in the representa tion of these primitive martyrdoms was occasioned by a very natural mistake. The ecclesiastical writers of the fourth o fifth centuries ascribed to the magistrates of Rome the sam degree of implacable and unrelenting zeal which filled thei own breasts against the heretics or the idolaters of their own times. It is not improbable that some of those persons wh

[64] In particular, see Tertullian (Apolog. c. 2, 3), and Lactantius (Institut. Divin v. 9). Their reasonings are almost the same; but we may discover that one o these apologists had been a lawyer and the other a rhetorician.

[65] See two instances of this kind of torture in the Acta Sincera Martyrum published by Ruinart, p. 160, 399. Jerome, in his Legend of Paul the Hermit tells a strange story of a young man, who was chained naked on a bed of flowers and assaulted by a beautiful and wanton courtezan. He quelled the rising tempta tion by biting off his tongue.

were raised to the dignities of the empire might have imbibed the prejudices of the populace, and that the cruel disposition of others might occasionally be stimulated by motives of avarice or of personal resentment.[66] But it is certain, and we may appeal to the grateful confessions of the first Christians, that the greatest part of those magistrates who exercised in the provinces the authority of the emperor, or of the senate, and to whose hands alone the jurisdiction of life and death was intrusted, behaved like men of polished manners and liberal educations, who respected the rules of justice, and who were conversant with the precepts of philosophy. They frequently declined the odious task of persecution, dismissed the charge with contempt, or suggested to the accused Christian some legal evasion by which he might elude the severity of the laws.[67] Whenever they were invested with a discretionary power,[68] they used it much less for the oppression than for the relief and benefit of the afflicted church. They were far from condemning all the Christians who were accused before their tribunal, and very far from punishing with death all those who were convicted of an obstinate adherence to the new superstition. Contenting themselves, for the most part, with the milder chastisements of imprisonment, exile, or slavery in the mines,[69] they left the unhappy victims of their justice some reason to hope that a prosperous event, the accession, the marriage, or the triumph of an emperor might speedily restore them, by a general pardon, to their former state. The martyrs, devoted to immediate execution by the Roman magistrates, appear to have been selected from the most opposite extremes. They were either bishops and presbyters, the persons the most distinguished among the Christians by their rank and influence, and whose example might strike terror into the whole sect;[70] or else they were

Inconsiderable number of martyrs

[66] The conversion of his wife provoked Claudius Herminianus, governor of Cappadocia, to treat the Christians with uncommon severity. Tertullian ad Scapulam, c. 3.

[67] Tertullian, in his epistle to the governor of Africa, mentions several remarkable instances of lenity and forbearance which had happened within his knowledge.

[68] Neque enim in universum aliquid quod quasi certam formam habeat constitui potest: an expression of Trajan which gave a very great latitude to the governors of provinces.

[69] In metalla damnamur, in insulas relegamur. Tertullian, Apolog. c. 12. The mines of Numidia contained nine bishops, with a proportionable number of their clergy and people, to whom Cyprian addressed a pious epistle of praise and comfort. See Cyprian, Epistol. 76, 77.

[70] Though we cannot receive with entire confidence either the epistles or the acts of Ignatius (they may be found in the 2d volume of the Apostolic Fathers), yet we may quote that bishop of Antioch as one of those *exemplary* martyrs. He was sent in chains to Rome as a public spectacle; and, when he arrived at Troas, he

the meanest and most abject among them, particularly those of the servile condition, whose lives were esteemed of little value, and whose sufferings were viewed by the ancients with too careless an indifference.[71] The learned Origen, who, from his experience as well as reading, was intimately acquainted with the history of the Christians, declares, in the most express terms, that the number of martyrs was very inconsiderable. His authority would alone be sufficient to annihilate that formidable army of martyrs whose relics, drawn for the most part from the catacombs of Rome, have replenished so many churches,[73] and whose marvellous achievements have been the subject of so many volumes of holy romance.[74] But the general assertion of Origen may be explained and confirmed by the particular testimony of his friend Dionysius, who, in the immense city of Alexandria, and under the rigorous persecution of Decius, reckons only ten men and seven women who suffered for the profession of the Christian name.[75]

received the pleasing intelligence that the persecution of Antioch was already at an end. [The Acts are certainly spurious; the Epistles are doubtless genuine, though some German critics still question Lightfoot's conclusions. The question is closely connected with the origin of episcopacy which is assumed in the Letters. They are edited by Lightfoot in his "Apostolic Fathers". Cp. App. 4.]

[71] Among the martyrs of Lyons (Euseb. l. v. c. 1), the slave Blandina was distinguished by more exquisite tortures. Of the five martyrs so much celebrated in the acts of Felicitas and Perpetua, two were of a servile, and two others of a very mean, condition. [Acts of the Martyrdom of Perp. and Felic., Harris and Gifford, 1890.]

[72] Origen. advers. Celsum. l. iii. p. 116 [p. 929]. His words deserve to be transcribed. "'Ολίγοι κατὰ καιροὺς, καὶ σφόδρα εὐαρίθμητοι περὶ [*leg.* ὑπὲρ] τῶν Χριστιανῶν θεοσεβείας τεθνήκασι."

[73] If we recollect that *all* the Plebeians of Rome were not Christians, and that all the Christians were not saints and martyrs, we may judge with how much safety religious honours can be ascribed to bones or urns indiscriminately taken from the public burial-place. After ten centuries of a very free and open trade, some suspicions have arisen among the more learned Catholics. They now require, as a proof of sanctity and martyrdom, the letters B. M., a vial full of red liquor, supposed to be blood, or the figure of a palm tree. But the two former signs are of little weight, and with regard to the last it is observed by the critics, 1. That the figure, as it is called, of a palm is perhaps a cypress, and perhaps only a stop, the flourish of a comma, used in the monumental inscriptions. 2. That the palm was the symbol of victory among the Pagans. 3. That among the Christians it served as the emblem, not only of martyrdom, but in general of a joyful resurrection. See the epistle of P. Mabillon, on the worship of unknown saints, and Muratori sopra le Antichità Italiane, Dissertat. lviii.

[74] As a specimen of these legends, we may be satisfied with 10'000 Christian soldiers crucified in one day, either by Trajan or Hadrian, on Mount Ararat. See Baronius ad Martyrologium Romanum; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. ii. part ii. p. 438; and Geddes's Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 203. The abbreviation of MT which may signify either *soldiers* or thousands is said to have occasioned some extraordinary mistakes.

[75] Dionysius ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 41. One of the seventeen was likewise accused of robbery [falsely].

During the same period of persecution, the zealous, the Example of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage
oquent, the ambitious Cyprian, governed the church, not only
Carthage, but even of Africa. He possessed every quality
ich could engage the reverence of the faithful or provoke
e suspicions and resentment of the Pagan magistrates. His
aracter as well as his station seemed to mark out that holy
elate as the most distinguished object of envy and of danger.[76]
ie experience, however, of the life of Cyprian is sufficient to
ove that our fancy has exaggerated the perilous situation of
Christian bishop; and that the dangers to which he was
posed were less imminent than those which temporal ambition
always prepared to encounter in the pursuit of honours. Four
oman emperors, with their families, their favourites, and their
herents, perished by the sword in the space of ten years,
uring which the bishop of Carthage guided, by his authority [Consecrated 248-9 A.D.]
id eloquence, the counsels of the African church. It was
ly in the third year of his administration that he had reason,
uring a few months, to apprehend the severe edicts of Decius,
e vigilance of the magistrate, and the clamours of the multi-
de, who loudly demanded that Cyprian, the leader of the
hristians, should be thrown to the lions. Prudence suggested His danger and flight
ie necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence
as obeyed. He withdrew himself into an obscure solitude,
om whence he could maintain a constant correspondence with
ie clergy and people of Carthage; and, concealing himself
ll the tempest was past, he preserved his life, without relin-
uishing either his power or his reputation. His extreme
ution did not, however, escape the censure of the more rigid
hristians who lamented, or the reproaches of his personal
nemies who insulted, a conduct which they considered as a
usillanimous and criminal desertion of the most sacred duty.[77]
he propriety of reserving himself for the future exigencies of
ie church, the example of several holy bishops,[78] and the

[76] The letters of Cyprian exhibit a very curious and original picture both of the *man* and of the *times*. See likewise the two lives of Cyprian, composed with equal accuracy, though with very different views; the one by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque universelle, tom. xii. p. 208—378), the other by Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. iv. part i. p. 76—459. [His name was Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus. The best ed. of his works is that of Hartel in the Vienna Corpus Script. eccl. Lat.]

[77] See the polite but severe epistle of the clergy of Rome to the bishop of Carthage Cyprian, Epist. 8, 9). Pontius labours with the greatest care and diligence to justify his master against the general censure.

[78] In particular those of Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory Thaumaturgus Neo-Cæsarea. See Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 40, and Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. iv. part. ii. p. 685.

divine admonitions which, as he declares himself, he frequent
received in visions and ecstacies, were the reasons alleged in h
justification.[79] But his best apology may be found in tl
cheerful resolution with which, about eight years afterwards, l
suffered death in the cause of religion. The authentic histo
of his martyrdom has been recorded with unusual candour an
impartiality. A short abstract, therefore, of its most importa
circumstances will convey the clearest information of the spir
and of the forms, of the Roman persecutions.[80]

A.D. 257. His banishment

When Valerian was consul for the third, and Gallienus f
the fourth, time, Paternus, proconsul of Africa, summone
Cyprian to appear in his private council-chamber. He the
acquainted him with the Imperial mandate which he had ju
received,[81] that those who had abandoned the Roman religio
should immediately return to the practice of the ceremonies
their ancestors. Cyprian replied without hesitation that h
was a Christian and a bishop, devoted to the worship of th
true and only Deity, to whom he offered up his daily supplic
tions for the safety and prosperity of the two emperors, h
lawful sovereigns. With modest confidence he pleaded th
privilege of a citizen, in refusing to give any answer to son
invidious and, indeed, illegal questions which the procons
had proposed. A sentence of banishment was pronounced
the penalty of Cyprian's disobedience; and he was conducte

[Col. Iulia; now Kurba]

without delay, to Curubis, a free and maritime city of Zeugitan
in a pleasant situation, a fertile territory, and at the distance
about forty miles from Carthage.[82] The exiled bishop enjoye
the conveniencies of life and the consciousness of virtue. H

[79] See Cyprian, Epist. 16, and his life by Pontius. [Cp. Epp. 7, 12, 14, 43.]

[80] We have an original life of Cyprian by the deacon Pontius, the companion
his exile, and the spectator of his death; and we likewise possess the ancient pr
consular acts of his martyrdom. These two relations are consistent with each oth
and with probability; and, what is somewhat remarkable, they are both unsulli
by any miraculous circumstances.

[81] It should seem that these were circular orders, sent at the same time to all t
governors. Dionysius (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 11) relates the history of his own ba
ishment from Alexandria almost in the same manner. But, as he escaped ar
survived the persecution, we must account him either more or less fortunate tha
Cyprian.

[82] See Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 3. Cellarius, Geograph, Antiq. part iii. p. 9
Shaw's Travels, p. 90; and for the adjacent country (which is terminated by Ca
Bona, or the promontory of Mercury), l'Afrique de Marmol. tom. ii. p. 494. The
are the remains of an aqueduct near Curubis, or Curbis, at present altered in
Gurbes [Kurba; Korbes is Col. Iulia Karpis]; and Dr. Shaw read an inscriptic
[C.I.L. 8, 980], which styles that city *Colonia Fulvia* [not Fulvia, but Iulia]. Th
deacon Pontius (in Vit. Cyprian. c. 12) calls it "Apricum et competentem locu
hospitium pro voluntate secretum, et quicquid apponi eis ante promissum est, q
regnum et justitiam Dei quærunt".

eputation was diffused over Africa and Italy; an account of is behaviour was published for the edification of the Christian orld;[83] and his solitude was frequently interrupted by the etters, the visits, and the congratulations of the faithful. On he arrival of a new proconsul in the province, the fortune of yprian appeared for some time to wear a still more favourable spect. He was recalled from banishment; and, though not et permitted to return to Carthage, his own gardens in the eighbourhood of the capital were assigned for the place of his esidence.[84]

His condemnation. [258 A.D.]

At length, exactly one year[85] after Cyprian was first appreended, Galerius Maximus, proconsul of Africa, received the mperial warrant for the execution of the Christian teachers. he bishop of Carthage was sensible that he should be singled ut for one of the first victims; and the frailty of nature tempted im to withdraw himself, by a secret flight, from the danger nd the honour of martyrdom; but, soon recovering that fortiude which his character required,[86] he returned to his gardens, nd patiently expected the ministers of death. Two officers of ank, who were intrusted with that commission, placed Cyprian etween them in a chariot; and, as the proconsul was not then t leisure, they conducted him, not to a prison, but to a private ouse in Carthage, which belonged to one of them. An elegant upper was provided for the entertainment of the bishop, and is Christian friends were permitted for the last time to enjoy is society, whilst the streets were filled with a multitude of the aithful, anxious and alarmed at the approaching fate of their piritual father.[87] In the morning he appeared before the ribunal of the proconsul, who, after informing himself of the ame and situation of Cyprian, commanded him to offer sacrifice, nd pressed him to reflect on the consequences of his disobedience. The refusal of Cyprian was firm and decisive; and the magistrate,

[83] See Cyprian, Epistol. 77. Edit. Fell.

[84] Upon his conversion, he had sold those gardens for the benefit of the poor. The indulgence of God (most probably the liberality of some Christian friend) restored them to Cyprian. See Pontius, c. 15.

[85] When Cyprian, a twelvemonth before, was sent into exile, he dreamt that he should be put to death the next day. The event made it necessary to explain that word as signifying a year. Pontius, c. 12.

[86] [But cp. Ep. 83.]

[87] Pontius (c. 15) acknowledges that Cyprian, with whom he supped, passed the night custodiâ delicatâ. The bishop exercised a last and very proper act of jurisdiction, by directing that the younger females who watched in the street should be removed from the dangers and temptations of a nocturnal crowd. Act. Proconsularia, c. 2.

when he had taken the opinion of his council, pronounced wit
some reluctance the sentence of death. It was conceived i
the following terms: "That Thascius Cyprianus should b
immediately beheaded, as the enemy of the gods of Rome, an
as the chief and ringleader of a criminal association, which h
had seduced into an impious resistance against the laws of th
most holy emperors, Valerian and Gallienus".[88] The manner o
his execution was the mildest and least painful that could b
inflicted on a person convicted of any capital offence: nor wa
the use of torture admitted to obtain from the bishop of Carthag
either the recantation of his principles or the discovery of hi
accomplices.

His martyrdom. [Sept. 14]

As soon as the sentence was proclaimed, a general cry o
"We will die with him" arose at once among the listenin
multitude of Christians who waited before the palace gate
The generous effusions of their zeal and affection were neithe
serviceable to Cyprian nor dangerous to themselves. He wa
led away under a guard of tribunes and centurions, withou
resistance and without insult, to the place of his execution,
spacious and level plain near the city, which was already fille
with great numbers of spectators. His faithful presbyters an
deacons were permitted to accompany their holy bishop. The
assisted him in laying aside his upper garment, spread line
on the ground to catch the precious relics of his blood, an
received his orders to bestow five-and-twenty pieces of gold o
the executioner. The martyr then covered his face with hi
hands, and at one blow his head was separated from his body
His corpse remained during some hours exposed to the curiosit
of the Gentiles; but in the night it was removed, and trans
ported in a triumphal procession and with a splendid illumina
tion to the burial-place of the Christians. The funeral o
Cyprian was publicly celebrated without receiving any interrup
tion from the Roman magistrates; and those among the faith
ful who had performed the last offices to his person and hi
memory were secure from the danger of inquiry or of punish
ment. It is remarkable that of so great a multitude of bishop
in the province of Africa Cyprian was the first who wa
esteemed worthy to obtain the crown of martyrdom.[89]

[88] See the original sentence in the Acts, c. 4, and in Pontius, c. 17. The latte
expresses it in a more rhetorical manner.

[89] Pontius, c. 19. M. de Tillemont (Mémoires, tom. iv. part i. p. 450, note 5c
is not pleased with so positive an exclusion of any former martyrs of the episcopa
rank.

Various incitements to martyrdom

It was in the choice of Cyprian either to die a martyr or to live n apostate, but on that choice depended the alternative of onour or infamy. Could we suppose that the bishop of Carhage had employed the profession of the Christian faith only s the instrument of his avarice or ambition, it was still incumbent on him to support the character which he had assumed;[90] and, if he possessed the smallest degree of manly ortitude, rather to expose himself to the most cruel tortures han by a single act to exchange the reputation of a whole ife for the abhorrence of his Christian brethren and the contempt of the Gentile world. But, if the zeal of Cyprian was supported by the sincere conviction of the truth of those doctrines which he preached, the crown of martyrdom must have appeared to him as an object of desire rather than of terror. It is not easy to extract any distinct ideas from the vague though eloquent declamations of the Fathers or to ascertain the degree of immortal glory and happiness which they confidently promised to those who were so fortunate as to shed their blood in the cause of religion.[91] They inculcated with becoming diligence that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect and expiated every sin; that, while the souls of ordinary Christians were obliged to pass through a slow and painful purification, the triumphant sufferers entered into the immediate fruition of eternal bliss, where, in the society of the patriarchs, the apostles, and the prophets, they reigned with Christ, and acted as his assessors in the universal judgment of mankind. The assurance of a lasting reputation upon earth, a motive so congenial to the vanity of human nature, often served to animate the courage of the martyrs. The honours

[90] Whatever opinion we may entertain of the character or principles of Thomas Becket, we must acknowledge that he suffered death with a constancy not unworthy of the primitive martyrs. See Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II. vol. ii. p. 592, &c.

[91] See, in particular, the treatise of Cyprian de Lapsis, p. 87—98, edit. Fell. The learning of Dodwell (Dissertat. Cyprianic. xii. xiii.) and the ingenuity of Middleton (Free Inquiry, p. 162, &c.) have left scarcely anything to add concerning the merit, the honours, and the motives of the martyrs. [In the Decian persecution, many Christians had *lapsed* or denied their faith; cp. Cyprian Epp. 11, 34, 59, &c. Afterwards the question arose as to their being received back into the church. Some were ready to receive them by indulgences from confessors and martyrs; but there was another party (strong at Rome) which strenuously opposed this policy. Cyprian took a moderate view, and the First Council of Carthage decided that the church could remit all such offences, but that the indulgences of martyrs were ineffectual. The leading representative of the rigorous view was Novatian. The controversy was a precursor of the great Donatist schism, which turned on the same question of church discipline, see c. xxi. Cp. below, n. 101 and n. 104.]

which Rome or Athens bestowed on those citizens who had fallen in the cause of their country were cold and unmeaning demonstrations of respect, when compared with the ardent gratitude and devotion which the primitive church expressed towards the victorious champions of the faith. The annual commemoration of their virtues and sufferings was observed as a sacred ceremony, and at length terminated in religious worship. Among the Christians who had publicly confessed their religious principles, those who (as it very frequently happened) had been dismissed from the tribunal or the prisons of the Pagan magistrates obtained such honours as were justly due to their imperfect martyrdom and their generous resolution. The most pious females courted the permission of imprinting kisses on the fetters which they had worn and on the wounds which they had received. Their persons were esteemed holy, their decisions were admitted with deference, and they too often abused, by their spiritual pride and licentious manners, the pre-eminence which their zeal and intrepidity had acquired.[92] Distinctions like these, whilst they display the exalted merit, betray the inconsiderable number, of those who suffered and of those who died for the profession of Christianity.

Ardour of the first Christians

The sober discretion of the present age will more readily censure than admire, but can more easily admire than imitate, the fervour of the first Christians; who, according to the lively expression of Sulpicius Severus, desired martyrdom with more eagerness than his own contemporaries solicited a bishopric.[93] The epistles which Ignatius composed as he was carried in chains through the cities of Asia breathe sentiments the most repugnant to the ordinary feelings of human nature. He earnestly beseeches the Romans that, when he should be exposed in the amphitheatre, they would not, by their kind but unseasonable intercession, deprive him of the crown of glory; and he declares his resolution to provoke and irritate the wild beasts which might be employed as the instruments of his death.[94] Some stories are related of the courage of martyrs

[92] Cyprian. Epistol. 5, 6, 7, 22, 24, and de Unitat. Ecclesiæ. The number of pretended martyrs has been very much multiplied by the custom which was introduced of bestowing that honourable name on confessors.

[93] Certatim gloriosa in certamina ruebatur; multoque avidius tum martyria gloriosis mortibus quærebantur, quam nunc Episcopatus pravis ambitionibus appetuntur. Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. He might have omitted the word *nunc*.

[94] See Epist. ad Roman. c. 4, 5, ap. Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 27. It suited the purpose of Bishop Pearson (see Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part ii. c. 9) to justify, by a profusion of examples and authorities, the sentiments of Ignatius.

ho actually performed what Ignatius had intended; who experated the fury of the lions, pressed the executioner to asten his office, cheerfully leaped into the fires which were ndled to consume them, and discovered a sensation of joy and easure in the midst of the most exquisite tortures. Several xamples have been preserved of a zeal impatient of those straints which the emperors had provided for the security f the church. The Christians sometimes supplied by their oluntary declaration the want of an accuser, rudely disturbed ie public service of Paganism,[95] and, rushing in crowds round ie tribunal of the magistrates, called upon them to pronounce id to inflict the sentence of the law. The behaviour of the hristians was too remarkable to escape the notice of the ncient philosophers; but they seem to have considered it with uch less admiration than astonishment. Incapable of conceiving the motives which sometimes transported the fortitude f believers beyond the bounds of prudence or reason, they eated such an eagerness to die as the strange result of obstinate espair, of stupid insensibility, or of superstitious frenzy.[96] "Unappy men!" exclaimed the proconsul Antoninus to the Christians of Asia; "unhappy men! if you are thus weary of your ves, is it so difficult for you to find ropes and precipices?" [97] Ie was extremely cautious (as it is observed by a learned and ious historian) of punishing men who had found no accusers but iemselves, the Imperial laws not having made any provision or so unexpected a case; condemning, therefore, a few as a arning to their brethren, he dismissed the multitude with ndignation and contempt.[98] Notwithstanding this real or ffected disdain, the intrepid constancy of the faithful was productive of more salutary effects on those minds which nature r grace had disposed for the easy reception of religious truth.

[95] The story of Polyeuctes, on which Corneille has founded a very beautiful agedy, is one of the most celebrated, though not perhaps the most authentic, nstances of this excessive zeal. We should observe that the 60th canon of the ouncil of Illiberis refuses the title of martyrs to those who exposed themselves to eath by publicly destroying the idols. [Polyeuctes is first mentioned in Gregory f Tours, Hist. Fr. vii. 6. His *Acta* are published by Aubé in Polyeucte dans histoire, 1882.]

[96] See Epictetus, l. iv. c. 7 (though there is some doubt whether he alludes to ie Christians), Marcus Antoninus de Rebus suis, l. xi. c. 3, Lucian. in Peregrin.

[97] Tertullian ad Scapul. c. 5. The learned are divided between three persons of ie same name, who were all proconsuls of Asia. I am inclined to ascribe this tory to Antoninus Pius, who was afterwards emperor; and who may have governed sia under the reign of Trajan.

[98] Mosheim, de Rebus Christ. ante Constantin. p. 235.

On these melancholy occasions, there were many among th Gentiles who pitied, who admired, and who were converted The generous enthusiasm was communicated from the suffere to the spectators; and the blood of martyrs, according to a well known observation, became the seed of the church.

Gradual relaxation

But, although devotion had raised, and eloquence continue to inflame, this fever of the mind, it insensibly gave way to th more natural hopes and fears of the human heart, to the love c life, the apprehension of pain, and the horror of dissolution The more prudent rulers of the church found themselves obliged to restrain the indiscreet ardour of their followers, and t distrust a constancy which too often abandoned them in th hour of trial.[99] As the lives of the faithful became less mortifie and austere, they were every day less ambitious of the honour of martyrdom; and the soldiers of Christ, instead of distinguishin themselves by voluntary deeds of heroism, frequently deserte their post, and fled in confusion before the enemy whom it wa their duty to resist. There were three methods, however, o escaping the flames of persecution, which were not attende with an equal degree of guilt: the first, indeed, was generall allowed to be innocent; the second was of a doubtful, or a least of a venial, nature; but the third implied a direct an criminal apostacy from the Christian faith.

Three methods of escaping martyrdom

I. A modern inquisitor would hear with surprise that, when ever an information was given to a Roman magistrate of an person within his jurisdiction who had embraced the sect of th Christians, the charge was communicated to the party accused and that a convenient time was allowed him to settle his domesti concerns and to prepare an answer to the crime which wa imputed to him.[100] If he entertained any doubt of his own constancy, such a delay afforded him the opportunity of pre serving his life and honour by flight, of withdrawing himsel into some obscure retirement or some distant province, and o patiently expecting the return of peace and security. A measur so consonant to reason was soon authorized by the advice an example of the most holy prelates, and seems to have been censured by few, except by the Montanists, who deviated int heresy by their strict and obstinate adherence to the rigour o

[99] See the Epistle of the Church at Smyrna, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. iv. c. 15

[100] In the second apology of Justin, there is a particular and very curious instanc of this legal delay. The same indulgence was granted to accused Christians in th persecution of Decius; and Cyprian (de Lapsis) expressly mentions the "Die negantibus præstitutus".

ncient discipline.[101] II. The provincial governors, whose zeal
as less prevalent than their avarice, had countenanced the
ractice of selling certificates, (or libels as they were called),
hich attested that the persons therein mentioned had com-
lied with the laws and sacrificed to the Roman deities. By
roducing these false declarations, the opulent and timid
hristians were enabled to silence the malice of an informer and
o reconcile, in some measure, their safety with their religion.
A slight penance atoned for this profane dissimulation.[102] III.
n every persecution there were great numbers of unworthy
hristians who publicly disowned or renounced the faith which
hey had professed; and who confirmed the sincerity of their
bjuration by the legal acts of burning incense or of offering
acrifices. Some of these apostates had yielded on the first
menace or exhortation of the magistrate; whilst the patience of
others had been subdued by the length and repetition of tortures.
The affrighted countenances of some betrayed their inward
remorse, while others advanced, with confidence and alacrity, to
he altars of the gods.[103] But the disguise which fear had
mposed subsisted no longer than the present danger. As
oon as the severity of the persecution was abated, the doors of
he churches were assailed by the returning multitude of
penitents, who detested their idolatrous submission, and who
olicited, with equal ardour, but with various success, their re-
admission into the society of Christians.[104]

Alternatives of severity and toleration

IV. Notwithstanding the general rules established for the conviction and punishment of the Christians, the fate of those sectaries, in an extensive and arbitrary government, must still, in a great measure, have depended on their own behaviour, the

[101] Tertullian considers flight from persecution as an imperfect, but very criminal apostacy, as an impious attempt to elude the will of God, &c. &c. He has written a treatise on this subject (see p. 536—544, edit. Rigalt.), which is filled with the wildest fanaticism and the most incoherent declamation. It is, however, somewhat remarkable that Tertullian did not suffer martyrdom himself.

[102] The *Libellatici*, who are chiefly known by the writings of Cyprian, are described, with the utmost precision, in the copious commentary of Mosheim, p. 483—489.

[103] Plin. Epistol. x. 97, Dionysius Alexandrin. ap. Euseb. l. vi. c. 41. Ad prima statim verba minantis inimici maximus fratrum numerus fidem suam prodidit; nec prostratus est persecutionis impetu, sed voluntario lapsu seipsum prostravit. Cyprian. Opera, p. 89. Among these deserters were many priests, and even bishops.

[104] It was on this occasion that Cyprian wrote his treatise De Lapsis and many of his epistles. The controversy concerning the treatment of penitent apostates does not occur among the Christians of the preceding century. Shall we ascribe this to the superiority of their faith and courage or to our less intimate knowledge of their history?

circumstances of the times, and the temper of their supreme a well as subordinate rulers. Zeal might sometimes provoke, and prudence might sometimes avert or assuage, the superstitiou fury of the Pagans. A variety of motives might dispose th provincial governors either to enforce or to relax the executio of the laws; and of these motives the most forcible was thei regard not only for the public edicts, but for the secret inten tions of the emperor, a glance from whose eye was sufficient t kindle or to extinguish the flames of persecution. As often as an occasional severities were exercised in the different parts of the empire, the primitive Christians lamented and perhaps magnifie their own sufferings; but the celebrated number of *ten* persecu tions has been determined by the ecclesiastical writers of the fifth century, who possessed a more distinct view of the pros perous or adverse fortunes of the church, from the age of Nero to that of Diocletian. The ingenious parallels of the *ten* plagues of Egypt and of the *ten* horns of the Apocalypse first suggested this calculation to their minds; and in their application of the faith of prophecy to the truth of history they were careful to select those reigns which were indeed the most hostile to the Christian cause.[105] But these transient persecutions served only to revive the zeal, and to restore the discipline, of the faithful and the moments of extraordinary rigour were compensated by much longer intervals of peace and security. The indifference of some princes and the indulgence of others permitted the Christians to enjoy, though not perhaps a legal, yet an actual and public, toleration of their religion.

The ten persecutions

Supposed edicts of Tiberius and Marcus Antoninus

The apology of Tertullian contains two very ancient, very singular, but at the same time very suspicious, instances of Imperial clemency; the edicts published by Tiberius and by Marcus Antoninus, and designed not only to protect the innocence of the Christians, but even to proclaim those stupendous miracles which had attested the truth of their doctrine. The first of these examples is attended with some difficulties which might perplex the sceptical mind.[106] We are required to believe *that* Pontius Pilate informed the emperor of the unjust sentence

[105] See Mosheim, p. 97. Sulpicius Severus was the first author of this computation; though he seemed desirous of reserving the tenth and greatest persecution for the coming of the Antichrist.

[106] The testimony given by Pontius Pilate is first mentioned by Justin. The successive improvements which the story has acquired (as it passed through the hands of Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Orosius, Gregory of Tours, and the authors of the several editions of the acts of Pilate) are very fairly stated by Dom. Calmet, Dissertat. sur l'Ecriture, tom. iii. p. 651, &c.

f death which he had pronounced against an innocent, and, as appeared, a divine, person; and that, without acquiring the erit, he exposed himself to the danger, of martyrdom; *that* iberius, who avowed his contempt for all religion, immediately onceived the design of placing the Jewish Messiah among the ods of Rome; *that* his servile senate ventured to disobey the ommands of their master; *that* Tiberius, instead of resenting heir refusal, contented himself with protecting the Christians rom the severity of the laws, many years before such laws were nacted, or before the church had assumed any distinct name or xistence; and lastly, *that* the memory of this extraordinary ransaction was preserved in the most public and authentic ecords, which escaped the knowledge of the historians of Greece nd Rome, and were only visible to the eyes of an African hristian, who composed his apology one hundred and sixty ears after the death of Tiberius. The edict of Marcus Antoninus s supposed to have been the effect of his devotion and gratitude or the miraculous deliverance which he had obtained in the Marcomannic war. The distress of the legions, the seasonable empest of rain and hail, of thunder and lightning, and the lismay and defeat of the barbarians, have been celebrated by he eloquence of several Pagan writers. If there were any hristians in that army, it was natural that they should ascribe ome merit to the fervent prayers which, in the moment of anger, they had offered up for their own and the public safety. But we are still assured by monuments of brass and marble, by the Imperial medals, and by the Antonine column, that neither the prince nor the people entertained any sense of this signal obligation, since they unanimously attribute their deliverance to the providence of Jupiter and to the interposition of Mercury. During the whole course of his reign, Marcus despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign.[107]

State of the Christians in the reigns of Commodus and Severus. A.D. 180

By a singular fatality, the hardships which they had endured under the government of a virtuous prince immediately ceased on the accession of a tyrant, and, as none except themselves had experienced the injustice of Marcus, so they alone were protected by the lenity of Commodus. The celebrated Marcia, the most favoured of his concubines, and who at length contrived the murder of her Imperial lover, entertained a singular affection for the oppressed church; and, though it was impos-

[107] On this miracle, as it is commonly called, of the Thundering Legion, see the admirable criticism of Mr. Moyle, in his Works, vol. ii. p. 81—390.

sible that she could reconcile the practice of vice with the precepts of the Gospel, she might hope to atone for the frailties of her sex and profession, by declaring herself the patroness of the Christians.[108] Under the gracious protection of Marcia they passed in safety the thirteen years of a cruel tyranny; and when the empire was established in the house of Severus, they formed a domestic but more honourable connexion with the new court. The emperor was persuaded that, in a dangerous sickness, he had derived some benefit, either spiritual or physical, from the holy oil with which one of his slaves had anointed him. He always treated with peculiar distinction several persons of both sexes who had embraced the new religion. The nurse as well as the preceptor of Caracalla were Christians; and, if that young prince ever betrayed a sentiment of humanity, it was occasioned by an incident which, however trifling, bore some relation to the cause of Christianity.[109] Under the reign of Severus, the fury of the populace was checked; the rigour of ancient laws was for some time suspended; and the provincial governors were satisfied with receiving an annual present from the churches within their jurisdiction, as the price, or as the reward, of their moderation.[110] The controversy concerning the precise time of the celebration of Easter armed the bishops of Asia and Italy against each other, and was considered as the most important business of this period of leisure and
A.D. 198 tranquillity.[111] Nor was the peace of the church interrupted till the increasing numbers of proselytes seem at length to have attracted the attention, and to have alienated the mind, of Severus. With the design of restraining the progress of Chris-
[c. A.D. 202] tianity, he published an edict which, though it was designed to affect only the new converts, could not be carried into strict execution without exposing to danger and punishment the most zealous of their teachers and missionaries. In this mitigated persecution, we may still discover the indulgent spirit of

[108] Dion Cassius, or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin, l. lxxii. p. 1206 [4]. Mr. Moyle (p. 266) has explained the condition of the church under the reign of Commodus. [Cp. Görres, Jahrb. für protestantische Theologie X. 401 *sqq*.]

[109] Compare the life of Caracalla in the Augustan History with the epistle of Tertullian to Scapula. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 5, &c.) considers the cure of Severus by the means of holy oil, with a strong desire to convert it into a miracle. [Wirth dates Tertullian's letter 212 A.D.]

[110] Tertullian de Fugâ, c, 13. The present was made during the feast of the Saturnalia; and it is a matter of serious concern to Tertullian that the faithful should be confounded with the most infamous professions which purchased the connivance of the government.

[111] Euseb. l. v. c. 23, 24. Mosheim, p. 435—447.

ome and of Polytheism, which so readily admitted every cuse in favour of those who practised the religious ceremonies their fathers.[112]

But the laws which Severus had enacted soon expired with the authority of that emperor; and the Christians, after this cidental tempest, enjoyed a calm of thirty-eight years.[113] ill this period they had usually held their assemblies in private ouses and sequestered places. They were now permitted to rect and consecrate convenient edifices for the purpose of eligious worship;[114] to purchase lands, even at Rome itself, r the use of the community; and to conduct the elections of heir ecclesiastical ministers in so public, but at the same time so exemplary, a manner as to deserve the respectful attention f the Gentiles.[115] This long repose of the church was accom- anied with dignity. The reigns of those princes who derived heir extraction from the Asiatic provinces proved the most avourable to the Christians; the eminent persons of the sect, nstead of being reduced to implore the protection of a slave r concubine, were admitted into the palace in the honourable haracters of priests and philosophers; and their mysterious loctrines, which were already diffused among the people, in- ensibly attracted the curiosity of their sovereign. When the empress Mammæa passed through Antioch, she expressed a lesire of conversing with the celebrated Origen, the fame of vhose piety and learning was spread over the East. Origen obeyed so flattering an invitation, and, though he could not expect to succeed in the conversion of an artful and ambitious woman, she listened with pleasure to his eloquent exhortations, and honourably dismissed him to his retirement in Palestine.[116] The sentiments of Mammæa were adopted by her son Alexander,

Of the successors of Severus. A.D. 211-249

[112] Judæos fieri sub gravi pœna vetuit. Idem etiam de Christianis sanxit. Hist. August. p. 70 [x. 17, 1]. [See A. Wirth, Quaestiones Severianae, 1888.]

[113] Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 384. This computation (allowing for a single exception) is confirmed by the history of Eusebius, and by the writings of Cyprian.

[114] The antiquity of Christian churches is discussed by Tillemont (Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. iii. part ii. p. 68—72), and by Mr. Moyle (vol. i. p. 378—398). The former refers the first construction of them to the peace of Alexander Severus; the latter to the peace of Gallienus.

[115] See the Augustan History, p. 130 [xviii. 45, 7]. The emperor Alexander adopted their method of publicly proposing the names of those persons who were candidates for ordination. It is true that the honour of this practice is likewise attributed to the Jews.

[116] Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vi. c. 21. Hieronym. de Script. Eccles. c. 54. Mammæa was styled a holy and pious woman, both by the Christians and the Pagans. From the former, therefore, it was impossible that she should deserve that honourable epithet.

and the philosophic devotion of that emperor was marked by
singular but injudicious regard for the Christian religion. I
his domestic chapel he placed the statues of Abraham, o
Orpheus, of Apollonius, and of Christ, as an honour justly du
to those respectable sages who had instructed mankind in th
various modes of addressing their homage to the supreme an
universal deity.[117] A purer faith, as well as worship, was openl
professed and practised among his household. Bishops, perhap
A.D. 235 for the first time, were seen at court; and after the death o
Alexander, when the inhuman Maximin discharged his fury o
the favourites and servants of his unfortunate benefactor,
great number of Christians, of every rank, and of both sexe
were involved in the promiscuous massacre, which, on the
account, has improperly received the name of Persecution.[118]

Of Maximin, Philip and Decius

Notwithstanding the cruel disposition of Maximin, the effect
of his resentment against the Christians were of a very loca
and temporary nature, and the pious Origen, who had bee
proscribed as a devoted victim, was still reserved to convey th
A.D. 244 truths of the Gospel to the ear of monarchs.[119] He addresse
several edifying letters to the emperor Philip, to his wife, an
to his mother; and, as soon as that prince, who was born i
the neighbourhood of Palestine, had usurped the Imperia
sceptre, the Christians acquired a friend and a protector. Th
public and even partial favour of Philip towards the sectarie
of the new religion, and his constant reverence for the ministe
of the church, gave some colour to the suspicion, which pre
vailed in his own times, that the emperor himself was becom
a convert to the faith;[120] and afforded some grounds for

[117] See the Augustan History, p. 123 [xviii. 29, 2]. Mosheim (p. 465) seems t
refine too much on the domestic religion of Alexander. His design of building
public temple to Christ (Hist. August. p. 129, [*ib.* 43, 6]) and the objection whic
was suggested either to him or in similar circumstances to Hadrian appear to hav
no other foundation than an improbable report, invented by the Christians an
credulously adopted by an historian of the age of Constantine.

[118] Euseb. l. vi. c. 28. It may be presumed that the success of the Christian
had exasperated the increasing bigotry of the Pagans. Dion Cassius, who com
posed his history under the former reign, had most probably intended for the us
of his master those counsels of persecution which he ascribes to a better age and t
the favourite of Augustus. Concerning this oration of Mæcenas, or rather of Dion
I may refer to my own unbiassed opinion (vol. i. p. 55, Not. 25) and to the Abb
de la Bléterie (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxiv. p. 303, tom. xxv. p. 432).

[119] Orosius, l. vii. c. 19, mentions Origen as the object of Maximin's resentment
and Firmilianus, a Cappadocian bishop of that age, gives a just and confined idea
of this persecution (apud Cyprian. Epist. 75).

[120] The mention of those princes who were publicly supposed to be Christians
as we find it in an epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 10), evi
dently alludes to Philip and his family, and forms a contemporary evidence tha

fable which was afterwards invented, that he had been purified by confession and penance from the guilt contracted by the murder of his innocent predecessor.[121] The fall of Philip introduced, with the change of masters, a new system of government, so oppressive to the Christians that their former condition, ever since the time of Domitian, was represented as a state of perfect freedom and security, if compared with the rigorous treatment which they experienced under the short reign of Decius.[122] The virtues of that prince will scarcely allow us to suspect that he was actuated by a mean resentment against the favourites of his predecessor, and it is more reasonable to believe that, in the prosecution of his general design to restore the purity of Roman manners, he was desirous of delivering the empire from what he condemned as a recent and criminal superstition. The bishops of the most considerable cities were removed by exile or death; the vigilance of the magistrates prevented the clergy of Rome during sixteen months from proceeding to a new election; and it was the opinion of the Christians that the emperor would more patiently endure a competitor for the purple than a bishop in the capital.[123] Were it possible to suppose that the penetration of Decius had discovered pride under the disguise of humility, or that he could foresee the temporal dominion which might insensibly arise from the claims of spiritual authority, we might be less surprised

A.D. 249

[Edict A.D. 250]

such a report had prevailed; but the Egyptian bishop, who lived at an humble distance from the court of Rome, expresses himself with a becoming diffidence concerning the truth of the fact. The epistles of Origen (which were extant in the time of Eusebius, see l. vi. c. 36) would most probably decide this curious, rather than important, question.

[121] Euseb. l. vi. c. 34. The story, as is usual, has been embellished by succeeding writers, and is confuted, with much superfluous learning, by Frederick Spanheim (Opera Varia, tom. ii. p. 400, &c.).

[122] Lactantius, de Mortibus Persecutorum, c. 3, 4. After celebrating the felicity and increase of the church, under a long succession of good princes, he adds, "Extitit post annos plurimos, execrabile animal, Decius, qui vexaret Ecclesiam". [The object of Decius was to enforce universal observance of the national religion, and he was successful in inducing many Christians to concede external compliance to the pagan ceremonials, by sacrifice and sprinkling incense on the altars of the gods. Many Christians purchased *libelli* from the magistrates certifying that they were free from the imputation of Christianity, and were hence called *libellatici*. The chief sources are Cyprian's Letters and his De Lapsis; fragments of Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, who hid himself during the persecution, in Eusebius, H. E., vi. 40—42; and the Vita of Gregory Thaumaturgus by Gregory of Nyssa.]

[123] Euseb. l. vi. c. 39. Cyprian. Epistol. 55. The see of Rome remained vacant from the martyrdom of Fabianus, the 20th of January, A.D. 250, till the election of Cornelius, the 4th of June, A.D. 251. Decius had probably left Rome, since he was killed before the end of that year.

that he should consider the successors of St. Peter as the most formidable rivals to those of Augustus.

Of Valerian, Gallienus and his successors. A.D. 253-260

The administration of Valerian was distinguished by a levity and inconstancy, ill-suited to the gravity of the *Roman Censor*. In the first part of his reign, he surpassed in clemency those princes who had been suspected of an attachment to the Christian faith. In the last three years and a half, listening to the insinuations of a minister addicted to the superstitions of Egypt, he adopted the maxims, and imitated the severity, of his predecessor Decius.[124] The accession of Gallienus, which increased the calamities of the empire, restored peace to the church; and the Christians obtained the free exercise of their [261 A.D.] religion, by an edict addressed to the bishops and conceived in such terms as seemed to acknowledge their office and public character.[125] The ancient laws, without being formally repealed, were suffered to sink into oblivion; and (excepting only some hostile intentions which are attributed to the emperor Aurelian[126]) the disciples of Christ passed above forty years in a state of prosperity, far more dangerous to their virtue than the severest trials of persecution.

Paul of Samosata, his manners. A.D. 260

The story of Paul of Samosata, who filled the metropolitan see of Antioch, while the East was in the hands of Odenathus and Zenobia, may serve to illustrate the condition and character of the times. The wealth of that prelate was a sufficient evidence of his guilt, since it was neither derived from the inheritance of his fathers nor acquired by the arts of honest industry. But Paul considered the service of the church as a very lucrative profession.[127] His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most

[124] Euseb. l. vii. c. 10. Mosheim (p. 548) has very clearly shown that the Præfect Macrianus and the Egyptian *Magus* are one and the same person.

[125] Eusebius (l. vii. c. 13) gives us a Greek version of this Latin edict, which seems to have been very concise. By another edict he directed that the *Cæmeteria* should be restored to the Christians.

[126] Euseb. l. vii. c. 30. Lactantius de M. P. c. 6. Hieronym. in Chron. p. 177 [ad ann. 2290]. Orosius, l. vii. c. 23. Their language is in general so ambiguous and incorrect that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intentions before he was assassinated. [He intended to rescind the edict of Gallienus.] Most of the moderns (except Dodwell, Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. 64) have seized the occasion of gaining a few extraordinary martyrs.

[127] Paul was better pleased with the title of *Ducenarius*, than with that of bishop. The *Ducenarius* was an Imperial procurator, so called from his salary of two hundred *Sestertia*, or 1600*l.* a year. (See Salmasius ad Hist. August. p. 124.) Some critics suppose that the bishop of Antioch had actually obtained such an office from Zenobia, while others consider it only as a figurative expression of his pomp and insolence.

opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. By his pride and luxury the Christian religion was rendered odious in the eyes of the Gentiles. His council chamber and his throne, the splendour with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, the multitude of letters and petitions to which he dictated his answers, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate[128] than to the humility of a primitive bishop. When he harangued his people from the pulpit, Paul affected the figurative style and the theatrical gestures of an Asiatic sophist, while the cathedral resounded with the loudest and most extravagant acclamations in the praise of his divine eloquence. Against those who resisted his power, or refused to flatter his vanity, the prelate of Antioch was arrogant, rigid, and inexorable; but he relaxed the discipline, and lavished the treasures, of the church on his dependent clergy, who were permitted to imitate their master in the gratification of every sensual appetite. For Paul indulged himself very freely in the pleasures of the table, and he had received into the episcopal palace two young and beautiful women, as the constant companions of his leisure moments.[129]

He is degraded from the see of Antioch. A.D. 270

Notwithstanding these scandalous vices, if Paul of Samosata had preserved the purity of the orthodox faith, his reign over the capital of Syria would have ended only with his life; and, had a seasonable persecution intervened, an effort of courage might perhaps have placed him in the rank of saints and martyrs. Some nice and subtle errors, which he imprudently adopted and obstinately maintained, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity, excited the zeal and indignation of the eastern churches.[130] From Egypt to the Euxine sea, the bishops were

[128] Simony was not unknown in those times; and the clergy sometimes bought what they intended to sell. It appears that the bishopric of Carthage was purchased by a wealthy matron, named Lucilla, for her servant Majorinus. The price was 400 *Folles*. (Monument. Antiq. ad calcem Optati, p. 263.) Every *Follis* contained 125 pieces of silver, and the whole sum may be computed at about 2400*l*.

[129] If we are desirous of extenuating the vices of Paul, we must suspect the assembled bishops of the East of publishing the most malicious calumnies in circular epistles addressed to all the churches of the empire (ap. Euseb. l. vii. c. 30).

[130] His heresy (like those of Noetus and Sabellius, in the same century) tended to confound the mysterious distinction of the divine persons. See Mosheim, p. 702, &c.

in arms and in motion. Several councils were held, confutations were published, excommunications were pronounced, ambiguous explanations were by turns accepted and refused, treaties were concluded and violated, and, at length, Paul of Samosata was degraded from his episcopal character, by the sentence of seventy or eighty bishops, who assembled for that purpose at Antioch, and who, without consulting the rights of the clergy or people, appointed a successor by their own authority. The manifest irregularity of this proceeding increased the numbers of the discontented faction; and as Paul, who was no stranger to the arts of courts, had insinuated himself into the favour of Zenobia, he maintained above four years the possession of the episcopal house and office. The victory of Aurelian changed the face of the East, and the two contending parties, who applied to each other the epithets of schism and heresy, were either commanded or permitted to plead their cause before the tribunal of the conqueror. This public and very singular trial affords a convincing proof that the existence, the property, the privileges, and the internal policy of the Christians were acknowledged, if not by the laws, at least by the magistrates, of the empire. As a Pagan and as a soldier, it could scarcely be expected that Aurelian should enter into the discussion whether the sentiments of Paul or those of his adversaries were most agreeable to the true standard of the orthodox faith. His determination, however, was founded on the general principles of equity and reason. He considered the bishops of Italy as the most impartial and respectable judges among the Christians; and, as soon as he was informed that they had unanimously approved the sentence of the council, he acquiesced in their opinion, and immediately gave orders that Paul should be compelled to relinquish the temporal possessions belonging to an office of which, in the judgment of his brethren, he had been regularly deprived. But, while we applaud the justice, we should not overlook the policy, of Aurelian; who was desirous of restoring and cementing the dependence of the provinces on the capital by every means which could bind the interest or prejudices of any part of his subjects.[131]

The sentence is executed by Aurelian. A.D. 274

Amidst the frequent revolutions of the empire, the Christian still flourished in peace and prosperity; and, notwithstanding the celebrated æra of martyrs has been deduced from the accession

Peace and prosperity of the church under Diocletian. A.D. 284—303

[131] Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. vii. c. 30. We are entirely indebted to him for the curious story of Paul of Samosata.

of Diocletian,[132] the new system of policy, introduced and maintained by the wisdom of that prince, continued, during more than eighteen years, to breathe the mildest and most liberal spirit of religious toleration. The mind of Diocletian himself was less adapted indeed to speculative inquiries than to the active labours of war and government. His prudence rendered him averse to any great innovation, and, though his temper was not very susceptible of zeal or enthusiasm, he always maintained an habitual regard for the ancient deities of the empire. But the leisure of the two empresses, of his wife Prisca and of Valeria his daughter, permitted them to listen with more attention and respect to the truths of Christianity, which in every age has acknowledged its important obligations to female devotion.[133] The principal eunuchs, Lucian[134] and Dorotheus, Gorgonius and Andrew, who attended the person, possessed the favour, and governed the household of Diocletian, protected by their powerful influence the faith which they had embraced. Their example was imitated by many of the most considerable officers of the palace, who, in their respective stations, had the care of the Imperial ornaments, of the robes, of the furniture, of the jewels, and even of the private treasury; and, though it might sometimes be incumbent on them to accompany the emperor when he sacrificed in the temple,[135] they enjoyed, with their wives, their children, and their slaves, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Diocletian and his colleagues frequently conferred the most important offices on those persons who avowed their abhorrence for the worship of the gods, but who had displayed abilities proper for the service of the state. The bishops held an honourable rank in their respective provinces, and were treated with distinction and respect, not only by the people, but by the magistrates themselves. Almost in every city, the ancient churches were found insufficient to contain the increasing multitude of proselytes; and in their place more stately and capacious edifices were erected for the public worship

[132] The æra of Martyrs, which is still in use among the Copts and the Abyssinians, must be reckoned from the 29th of August, A.D. 284; as the beginning of the Egyptian year was nineteen days earlier than the real accession of Diocletian. See Dissertation Préliminaire à l'Art de vérifier les Dates.

[133] The expression of Lactantius (de M. P. c. 15), "sacrificio pollui coegit," implies their antecedent conversion to the faith; but does not seem to justify the assertion of Mosheim (p. 912) that they had been privately baptized

[134] M. de Tillemont (Memoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. v. part i. p. 11, 12) has quoted, from the Spicilegium of Dom. Luc d'Acheri [iii. 297], a very curious instruction which bishop Theonas composed for the use of Lucian

[135] Lactantius de M. P. c. 10.

of the faithful. The corruption of manners and principles, so forcibly lamented by Eusebius,[136] may be considered, not only as a consequence, but as a proof, of the liberty which the Christians enjoyed and abused under the reign of Diocletian. Prosperity had relaxed the nerves of discipline. Fraud, envy, and malice prevailed in every congregation. The presbyters aspired to the episcopal office, which every day became an object more worthy of their ambition. The bishops, who contended with each other for ecclesiastical pre-eminence, appeared by their conduct to claim a secular and tyrannical power in the church; and the lively faith which still distinguished the Christians from the Gentiles was shewn much less in their lives than in their controversial writings.

Progress of zeal and superstition among the Pagans

Notwithstanding this seeming security, an attentive observer might discern some symptoms that threatened the church with a more violent persecution than any which she had yet endured. The zeal and rapid progress of the Christians awakened the Polytheists from their supine indifference in the cause of those deities whom custom and education had taught them to revere. The mutual provocations of a religious war, which had already continued above two hundred years, exasperated the animosity of the contending parties. The Pagans were incensed at the rashness of a recent and obscure sect which presumed to accuse their countrymen of error and to devote their ancestors to eternal misery. The habits of justifying the popular mythology against the invectives of an implacable enemy produced in their minds some sentiments of faith and reverence for a system which they had been accustomed to consider with the most careless levity. The supernatural powers assumed by the church inspired at the same time terror and emulation. The followers of the established religion intrenched themselves behind a similar fortification of prodigies; invented new modes of sacrifice, of expiation, and of initiation;[137] attempted to revive the credit of their expiring oracles;[138] and listened with eager credulity

[136] Eusebius, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. viii. c. i. The reader who consults the original will not accuse me of heightening the picture. Eusebius was about sixteen years of age at the accession of the emperor Diocletian.

[137] We might quote, among a great number of instances, the mysterious worship of Mithras, and the Taurobolia; the latter of which became fashionable in the time of the Antonines (see a Dissertation of M. de Boze, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 443). The romance of Apuleius is as full of devotion as of satire.

[138] The impostor Alexander very strongly recommended the oracle of Trophonius at Mallos, and those of Apollo at Claros and Miletus (Lucian, tom. ii. p. 236, edit. Reitz). The last of these, whose singular history would furnish a very

o every impostor who flattered their prejudices by a tale of vonders.[139] Both parties seemed to acknowledge the truth of hose miracles which were claimed by their adversaries; and, vhile they were contented with ascribing them to the arts of nagic and to the power of dæmons, they mutually concurred in estoring and establishing the reign of superstition.[140] Philo- ophy, her most dangerous enemy, was now converted into her nost useful ally. The groves of the academy, the gardens of Epicurus, and even the portico of the Stoics, were almost de- erted, as so many different schools of scepticism or impiety;[141] nd many among the Romans were desirous that the writings f Cicero should be condemned and suppressed by the authority f the senate.[142] The prevailing sect of the new Platonicians udged it prudent to connect themselves with the priests, whom erhaps they despised, against the Christians, whom they had eason to fear. These fashionable philosophers prosecuted the design of extracting allegorical wisdom from the fictions of the Greek poets; instituted mysterious rites of devotion for the use f their chosen disciples; recommended the worship of the ancient gods as the emblems or ministers of the Supreme Deity, and composed against the faith of the Gospel many elaborate treatises,[143] which have since been committed to the flames by the prudence of orthodox emperors.[144]

curious episode, was consulted by Diocletian before he published his edicts of persecution (Lactantius, de M. P. c. 11).

[139] Besides the ancient stories of Pythagoras and Aristeas, the cures performed at the shrine of Æsculapius and the fables related of Apollonius of Tyana were frequently opposed to the miracles of Christ; though I agree with Dr. Lardner (see Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 253, 352) that, when Philostratus composed the life of Apollonius, he had no such intention.

[140] It is seriously to be lamented that the Christian fathers, by acknowledging the supernatural or, as they deem it, the infernal part of Paganism, destroy with their own hands the great advantage which we might otherwise derive from the liberal concessions of our adversari[illegible].

[141] Julian (p. 301, edit. Spanheim) expresses a pious joy that the providence of the gods had extinguished the impious sects, and for the most part destroyed the books of the Pyrrhonians and Epicureans, which had been very numerous, since Epicurus himself composed no less than 300 volumes. See Diogenes Laertius, l. x. c. 26.

[142] Cumque alios audiam mussitare indignanter, et dicere oportere statui per Senatum, aboleantur ut hæc scripta, quibus Christiana Religio comprobetur et vetustatis opprimatur auctoritas. Arnobius adversus Gentes, l. iii. p. 103, 104. He adds very properly, Erroris convincite Ciceronem . . . nam intercipere scripta, et publicatam velle submergere lectionem, non est Deum [Deos] defendere sed veritatis testificationem timere.

[143] Lactantius (Divin. Institut. l. v. c. 2, 3) gives a very clear and spirited account of two of these philosophic adversaries of the faith. The large treatise of Porphyry against the Christians consisted of thirty books, and was composed in Sicily about the year 270.

[144] See Socrates, Hist. Ecclesiast. l. i. c. 9, and Codex Justinian. l. i. tit. l. i. 3.

Maximian and Galerius punish a few Christian soldiers

Although the policy of Diocletian and the humanity of Constantius inclined them to preserve inviolate the maxims of toleration, it was soon discovered that their two associates Maximian and Galerius entertained the most implacable aversion for the name and religion of the Christians. The minds of those princes had never been enlightened by science; education had never softened their temper. They owed their greatness to their swords, and in their most elevated fortune they still retained their superstitious prejudices of soldiers and peasants. In the general administration of the provinces they obeyed the laws which their benefactor had established; but they frequently found occasions of exercising within their camp and palaces a secret persecution,[145] for which the imprudent zeal of the Christians sometimes offered the most specious pretences. A sentence of death was executed upon Maximilianus, an African youth, who had been produced by his own father before the magistrate as a sufficient and legal recruit, but who obstinately persisted in declaring that his conscience would not permit him to embrace the profession of a soldier.[146] It could scarcely be expected that any government should suffer the action of Marcellus the centurion to pass with impunity. On the day of a public festival, that officer threw away his belt, his arms, and the ensigns of his office, and exclaimed with a loud voice that he would obey none but Jesus Christ the eternal King, and that he renounced for ever the use of carnal weapons and the service of an idolatrous master. The soldiers, as soon as they recovered from their astonishment, secured the person of [Tangier] Marcellus. He was examined in the city of Tingi by the president of that part of Mauritania; and, as he was convicted by his own confession, he was condemned and beheaded for the crime of desertion.[147] Examples of such a nature savour much

[145] Eusebius, l. viii. c. 4. c. 17. He limits the number of military martyrs, by a remarkable expression (σπανίως τούτων εἰς που καὶ δεύτερος), of which neither his Latin nor French translations have rendered the energy. Notwithstanding the authority of Eusebius, and the silence of Lactantius, Ambrose, Sulpicius, Orosius, &c. it has been long believed that the Thebæan legion, consisting of 6000 Christians, suffered martyrdom, by the order of Maximian, in the valley of the Pennine Alps. The story was first published about the middle of the fifth century by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, who received it from certain persons, who received it from Isaac, bishop of Geneva, who is said to have received it from Theodore bishop of Octodurum. The abbey of St. Maurice still subsists, a rich monument of the credulity of Sigismund, king of Burgundy. See an excellent Dissertation in the xxxvith volume of the Bibliothèque Raisonnée, p. 427—454.

[146] See the Acta Sincera, p. 299. The accounts of his martyrdom and of that of Marcellus bear every mark of truth and authenticity.

[147] Acta Sincera, p. 302.

ss of religious persecution than of martial or even civil law: ut they served to alienate the mind of the emperors, to justify ne severity of Galerius, who dismissed a great number of hristian officers from their employments, and to authorize the pinion that a sect of enthusiasts which avowed principles so epugnant to the public safety must either remain useless, or ould soon become dangerous, subjects of the empire.

Galerius prevails on Diocletian to begin a general persecution

After the success of the Persian war had raised the hopes and ne reputation of Galerius, he passed a winter with Diocletian n the palace of Nicomedia; and the fate of Christianity became ne object of their secret consultations.[148] The experienced mperor was still inclined to pursue measures of lenity; and, nough he readily consented to exclude the Christians from olding any employments in the household or the army, he rged in the strongest terms the danger as well as cruelty of nedding the blood of those deluded fanatics. Galerius at ength extorted from him the permission of summoning a ouncil, composed of a few persons the most distinguished in he civil and military departments of the state. The important uestion was agitated in their presence, and those ambitious ourtiers easily discerned that it was incumbent on them to econd, by their eloquence, the importunate violence of the Cæsar. It may be presumed that they insisted on every topic vhich might interest the pride, the piety, or the fears, of their overeign in the destruction of Christianity. Perhaps they epresented that the glorious work of the deliverance of the mpire was left imperfect, as long as an independent people vas permitted to subsist and multiply in the heart of the rovinces. The Christians (it might speciously be alleged), re- nouncing the gods and the institutions of Rome, had constituted distinct republic, which might yet be suppressed before it had acquired any military force; but which was already governed y its own laws and magistrates, was possessed of a public reasure, and was intimately connected in all its parts by the requent assemblies of the bishops, to whose decrees their umerous and opulent congregations yielded an implicit obe- lience. Arguments like these may seem to have determined he reluctant mind of Diocletian to embrace a new system of ersecution: but, though we may suspect, it is not in our power

[148] De M. P. c. 11. Lactantius (or whoever was the author of this little treatise) vas, at that time, an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but it seems difficult to conceive ow he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the Imperial abinet. [Cp. Append. 1 ad init.]

to relate, the secret intrigues of the palace, the private view and resentments, the jealousy of women or eunuchs, and a those trifling but decisive causes which so often influence tl fate of empires and the councils of the wisest monarchs.[149]

Demolition of the church of Nicomedia. A. D. 303, 23rd Feb.

The pleasure of the emperors was at length signified to th Christians, who, during the course of this melancholy winte had expected, with anxiety, the result of so many secret consult tions. The twenty-third of February, which coincided with th Roman festival of the Terminalia,[150] was appointed (wheth from accident or design) to set bounds to the progress Christianity. At the earliest dawn of day, the Prætoria præfect,[151] accompanied by several generals, tribunes, and office of the revenue, repaired to the principal church of Nicomedi which was situated on an eminence in the most populous ar beautiful part of the city. The doors were instantly broken ope they rushed into the sanctuary; and, as they searched in va for some visible object of worship, they were obliged to conte themselves with committing to the flames the volumes of ho scripture. The ministers of Diocletian were followed by numerous body of guards and pioneers, who marched in order battle, and were provided with all the instruments used in th destruction of fortified cities. By their incessant labour, a sacre edifice, which towered above the Imperial palace, and had lo excited the indignation and envy of the Gentiles, was in a fe hours levelled with the ground.[152]

The first edict against the Christians 24th of February

The next day the general edict of persecution was published;[153] and, though Diocletian, still averse to the effusion of blood, ha moderated the fury of Galerius, who proposed that every o refusing to offer sacrifice should immediately be burnt alive, th penalties inflicted on the obstinacy of the Christians might h deemed sufficiently rigorous and effectual. It was enacted th their churches, in all the provinces of the empire, should h

[149] The only circumstance which we can discover is the devotion and jealousy the mother of Galerius. She is described by Lactantius as Deorum montiu cultrix; mulier admodum superstitiosa. She had a great influence over her sc and was offended by the disregard of some of her Christian servants.

[150] The worship and festival of the God Terminus are elegantly illustrated M. de Boze, Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. i. p. 50.

[151] In our only Ms. of Lactantius, we read *profectus;* but reason and t authority of all the critics allow us, instead of that word, which destroys the sen of the passage, to substitute *præfectus.*

[152] Lactantius de M. P. c. 12, gives a very lively picture of the destruction the church.

[153] Mosheim (p. 922—926), from many scattered passages of Lactantius a Eusebius, has collected a very just and accurate notion of this edict; though sometimes deviates into conjecture and refinement.

nolished to their foundations; and the punishment of death denounced against all who should presume to hold any et assemblies for the purpose of religious worship. The losophers, who now assumed the unworthy office of directing blind zeal of persecution, had diligently studied the nature genius of the Christian religion; and, as they were not ɔrant that the speculative doctrines of the faith were sup-ed to be contained in the writings of the prophets, of the ngelists, and of the apostles, they most probably suggested order that the bishops and presbyters should deliver all ır sacred books into the hands of the magistrates; who were ınmanded, under the severest penalties, to burn them in a ɔlic and solemn manner. By the same edict, the property of church was at once confiscated; and the several parts of ich it might consist were either sold to the highest bidder, ted to the Imperial domain, bestowed on the cities and porations, or granted to the solicitations of rapacious courtiers. ter taking such effectual measures to abolish the worship, and dissolve the government of the Christians, it was thought essary to subject to the most intolerable hardships the ndition of those perverse individuals who should still reject religion of Nature, of Rome, and of their ancestors. Persons a liberal birth were declared incapable of holding any honours employments; slaves were for ever deprived of the hopes of edom, and the whole body of the people were put out of the otection of the law. The judges were authorized to hear and determine every action that was brought against a Christian. t the Christians were not permitted to complain of any injury ich they themselves had suffered; and thus those unfortunate taries were exposed to the severity, while they were excluded m the benefits, of public justice. This new species of martyr-m, so painful and lingering, so obscure and ignominious, was, rhaps, the most proper to weary the constancy of the faithful; r can it be doubted that the passions and interest of mankind re disposed on this occasion to second the designs of the perors. But the policy of a well-ordered government must metimes have interposed in behalf of the oppressed Christians; r was it possible for the Roman princes entirely to remove the prehension of punishment, or to connive at every act of fraud d violence, without exposing their own authority and the rest their subjects to the most alarming dangers.[154]

[154] Many ages afterwards, Edward I. practised with great success the same de of persecution against the clergy of England. See Hume's History of gland, vol. ii. p. 300, last 4to edition.

Zeal and punishment of a Christian

This edict was scarcely exhibited to the public view, in most conspicuous place of Nicomedia, before it was torn do by the hands of a Christian, who expressed, at the same ti by the bitterest invectives, his contempt as well as abhorre for such impious and tyrannical governors. His offence, acco ing to the mildest laws, amounted to treason, and deser death. And, if it be true that he was a person of rank education, those circumstances could serve only to aggravate guilt. He was burnt, or rather roasted, by a slow fire; and executioners, zealous to revenge the personal insult which been offered to the emperors, exhausted every refinement cruelty, without being able to subdue his patience, or to a the steady and insulting smile which in his dying agonies still preserved in his countenance. The Christians, though t confessed that his conduct had not been strictly conforma to the laws of prudence, admired the divine fervour of zeal; and the excessive commendations which they lavis on the memory of their hero and martyr contributed fix a deep impression of terror and hatred in the mind Diocletian.[155]

Fire of the palace of Nicomedia imputed to the Christians

His fears were soon alarmed by the view of a danger fr which he very narrowly escaped. Within fifteen days palace of Nicomedia, and even the bed-chamber of Diocle were twice in flames; and, though both times they were tinguished without any material damage, the singular repetit of the fire was justly considered as an evident proof that it not been the effect of chance or negligence. The suspic naturally fell on the Christians; and it was suggested, w some degree of probability, that those desperate fanatics, p voked by their present sufferings and apprehensive of impe ing calamities, had entered into a conspiracy with their faith brethren, the eunuchs of the palace, against the lives of emperors, whom they detested as the irreconcileable enem of the church of God. Jealousy and resentment prevailed every breast, but especially in that of Diocletian. A gr number of persons, distinguished either by the offices wh they had filled or by the favour which they had enjoyed, w thrown into prison. Every mode of torture was put in practi and the court, as well as city, was polluted with many bloo

[155] Lactantius only calls him quidam, etsi non recte, magno tamen animo, c. 12. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 5) adorns him with secular honours. Neither have descended to mention his name; but the Greeks celebrate his memory under of John. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. v. part ii. p. 320.

cutions.[156] But, as it was found impossible to extort any dis-
ery of this mysterious transaction, it seems incumbent on us
ıer to presume the innocence, or to admire the resolution,
the sufferers. A few days afterwards Galerius hastily with-
w himself from Nicomedia, declaring that, if he delayed his
arture from that devoted palace, he should fall a sacrifice to
rage of the Christians. The ecclesiastical historians, from
om alone we derive a partial and imperfect knowledge of
s persecution, are at a loss how to account for the fears and
ıgers of the emperors. Two of these writers, a Prince and a
etorician, were eye-witnesses of the fire of Nicomedia. The
ascribes it to lightning and the divine wrath; the other
rms that it was kindled by the malice of Galerius himself.[157]
As the edict against the Christians was designed for a general
of the whole empire, and as Diocletian and Galerius, though
ey might not wait for the consent, were assured of the con-
rence, of the western princes, it would appear more con-
ıant to our ideas of policy that the governors of all the
ovinces should have received secret instructions to publish,
one and the same day, this declaration of war within their
spective departments. It was at least to be expected that
e convenience of the public highways and established posts
ould have enabled the emperors to transmit their orders with
e utmost dispatch from the palace of Nicomedia to the ex-
mities of the Roman world; and that they would not have
ffered fifty days to elapse before the edict was published in
ria, and near four months before it was signified to the cities
Africa.[158] This delay may perhaps be imputed to the cau-
ous temper of Diocletian, who had yielded a reluctant consent
the measures of persecution, and who was desirous of trying
e experiment under his more immediate eye, before he gave
ay to the disorders and discontent which it must inevitably
casion in the distant provinces. At first, indeed, the magis-
ates were restrained from the effusion of blood; but the use
every other severity was permitted and even recommended
their zeal; nor could the Christians, though they cheerfully

Execution of the first edict

[156] Lactantius de M. P. c. 13, 14. Potentissimi quondam Eunuchi necati, per os Palatium et ipse constabat. Eusebius (l. viii. c. 6.) mentions the cruel extor-ns of the eunuchs, Gorgonius and Dorotheus, and of Anthemius, bishop of Nico-dia; and both those writers describe, in a vague but tragical manner, the horrid enes which were acted even in the Imperial presence.

[157] See Lactantius, Eusebius, and Constantine, ad Cœtum Sanctorum, c. 25. Eusebius confesses his ignorance of the cause of the fire.

[158] Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiast. tom. v. part i. p. 43.

resigned the ornaments of their churches, resolve to interr
their religious assemblies or to deliver their sacred books
the flames. The pious obstinacy of Felix, an African bish
appears to have embarrassed the subordinate ministers of
government. The curator of his city sent him in chains to
proconsul. The proconsul transmitted him to the Prætor
præfect of Italy; and Felix, who disdained even to give
evasive answer, was at length beheaded at Venusia, in Luca
a place on which the birth of Horace has conferred fame
This precedent, and perhaps some Imperial rescript, which
issued in consequence of it, appeared to authorize the goverr
of provinces in punishing with death the refusal of the Ch
tians to deliver up their sacred books. There were undoubte
many persons who embraced this opportunity of obtaining
crown of martyrdom; but there were likewise too many w
purchased an ignominious life by discovering and betraying
holy scripture into the hands of infidels. A great number e
of bishops and presbyters acquired, by this criminal complian
the opprobrious epithet of *Traditors;* and their offence
productive of much present scandal, and of much future disc
in the African church.[160]

Demolition of the churches

The copies, as well as the versions, of scripture were alre
so multiplied in the empire that the most severe inquisit
could no longer be attended with any fatal consequences; a
even the sacrifice of those volumes which, in every congre
tion, were preserved for public use required the consent
some treacherous and unworthy Christians. But the ruin
the churches was easily effected by the authority of the gove
ment and by the labour of the Pagans. In some provinc
however, the magistrates contented themselves with shutti
up the places of religious worship. In others, they m
literally complied with the terms of the edict; and, after tak
away the doors, the benches, and the pulpit, which they bur
as it were in a funeral pile, they completely demolished
remainder of the edifice.[161] It is perhaps to this melanch

[159] See the Acta Sincera of Ruinart, p. 353; those of Felix of Thibara, or Tib
appear much less corrupted than in the other editions, which afford a lively sp
men of legendary licence.

[160] See the first book of Optatus of Milevis against the Donatists at Paris, 1
[*leg.* 1702], edit. Dupin. He lived under the reign of Valens.

[161] The ancient monuments, published at the end of Optatus, p. 261,
describe, in a very circumstantial manner, the proceedings of the governors in
destruction of churches. They made a minute inventory of the plate, &c. wh
they found in them. That of the Church of Cirta, in Numidia, is still extant.

casion that we should apply a very remarkable story, which is lated with so many circumstances of variety and improbability at it serves rather to excite than to satisfy our curiosity. In small town in Phrygia, of whose name as well as situation we e left ignorant, it should seem that the magistrates and the dy of the people had embraced the Christian faith; and, as me resistance might be apprehended to the execution of the ict, the governor of the province was supported by a numerous tachment of legionaries. On their approach the citizens rew themselves into the church, with the resolution either of fending by arms that sacred edifice or of perishing in its ins. They indignantly rejected the notice and permission hich was given them to retire, till the soldiers, provoked their obstinate refusal, set fire to the building on all sides, d consumed, by this extraordinary kind of martyrdom, a great mber of Phrygians, with their wives and children.[162]

Some slight disturbances, though they were suppressed al- Subsequent edicts
ost as soon as excited, in Syria and the frontiers of Armenia, forded the enemies of the church a very plausible occasion to sinuate that those troubles had been secretly fomented by e intrigues of the bishops, who had already forgotten their tentatious professions of passive and unlimited obedience.[163] he resentment, or the fears, of Diocletian at length transported im beyond the bounds of moderation which he had hitherto reserved, and he declared, in a series of cruel edicts, his in- ntion of abolishing the Christian name. By the first of these [Second edict. A.D. 303] dicts, the governors of the provinces were directed to appre- end all persons of the ecclesiastical order; and the prisons, estined for the vilest criminals, were soon filled with a

onsisted of two chalices of gold, and six of silver; six urns, one kettle, seven mps, all likewise of silver; besides a large quantity of brass utensils, and wearing pparel.

162 Lactantius (Institut. Divin. v. 11) confines the calamity to the *conventiculum*, ith its congregation. Eusebius (viii. 11) extends it to a whole city, and intro- uces something very like a regular siege. His ancient Latin translator, Rufinus, dds the important circumstance of the permission given to the inhabitants of tiring from thence. As Phrygia reached to the confines of Isauria, it is possible hat the restless temper of those independent Barbarians may have contributed to is misfortune.

163 Eusebius, l. viii. c. 6. M. de Valois (with some probability) thinks that he as discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a sh attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who with only five hundred men seized ntioch, and might perhaps allure the Christians by the promise of religious oleration. From Eusebius (l. ix. c. 8), as well as from Moses of Chorene (Hist. rmen. l. ii. c. 77, &c.), it may be inferred that Christianity was already introduced nto Armenia. [See Appendix 18.]

multitude of bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, and exorcis
By a second edict, the magistrates were commanded to empl
[Third edict. A.D 303] every method of severity which might reclaim them fr
their odious superstition and oblige them to return to t
established worship of the gods. This rigorous order was
[Fourth edict, A.D. 304, before end of March] tended by a subsequent edict to the whole body of Christia
who were exposed to a violent and general persecution.[164] I
stead of those salutary restraints, which had required the dir
and solemn testimony of an accuser, it became the duty as w
as the interest of the imperial officers to discover, to pursu
and to torment the most obnoxious among the faithful. Hea
penalties were denounced against all who should presume to sa
a proscribed sectary from the just indignation of the gods, a
of the emperors. Yet, notwithstanding the severity of this la
the virtuous courage of many of the Pagans, in concealing th
friends or relations, affords an honourable proof that the rage
superstition had not extinguished in their minds the sentimen
of nature and humanity.[165]

General idea of the persecution

Diocletian had no sooner published his edicts against t
Christians than, as if he had been desirous of committing
other hands the work of persecution, he divested himself of t
Imperial purple. The character and situation of his colleagu
and successors sometimes urged them to enforce, and sometim
inclined them to suspend the execution of these rigorous law
nor can we acquire a just and distinct idea of this importa
period of ecclesiastical history, unless we separately consid
the state of Christianity, in the different parts of the empi
during the space of ten years, which elapsed between the fi
edicts of Diocletian and the final peace of the church.

In the western provinces under Constantius and Constantine

The mild and humane temper of Constantius was averse
the oppression of any part of his subjects. The principal offic
of his palace were exercised by Christians. He loved the
persons, esteemed their fidelity, and entertained not any dislik
to their religious principles. But, as long as Constantius r
mained in the subordinate station of Cæsar, it was not in H
power openly to reject the edicts of Diocletian or to disob
the commands of Maximian. His authority contributed, ho
ever, to alleviate the sufferings which he pitied and abhorre

[164] See Mosheim, p. 938; the text of Eusebius very plainly shews that t
governors, whose powers were enlarged, not restrained, by the new laws, cou
punish with death the most obstinate Christians, as an example to their brethre
[For 4th edict, see Euseb. Mart. Pal. c. 3.]

[165] Athanasius, p. 833, ap. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. v. part i. p. 90.

He consented, with reluctance, to the ruin of the churches; but he ventured to protect the Christians themselves from the fury of the populace and from the rigour of the laws. The provinces of Gaul (under which we may probably include those of Britain) were indebted for the singular tranquillity which they enjoyed to the gentle interposition of their sovereign.[166] But Datianus, the president or governor of Spain, actuated either by zeal or policy, chose rather to execute the public edicts of the emperors than to understand the secret intentions of Constantius; and it can scarcely be doubted that his provincial administration was stained with the blood of a few martyrs.[167] The elevation of Constantius to the supreme and independent dignity of Augustus gave a free scope to the exercise of his virtues, and the shortness of his reign did not prevent him from establishing a system of toleration, of which he left the precept and the example to his son Constantine. His fortunate son, from the first moment of his accession declaring himself the protector of the church, at length deserved the appellation of the first emperor who publicly professed and established the Christian religion. The motives of his conversion, as they may variously be deduced from benevolence, from policy, from conviction, or from remorse; and the progress of the revolution which, under his powerful influence, and that of his sons, rendered Christianity the reigning religion of the Roman empire, will form a very interesting and important chapter in the second volume of this history. At present it may [Chap. xx.] be sufficient to observe that every victory of Constantine was productive of some relief or benefit to the church.

The provinces of Italy and Africa experienced a short but violent persecution. The rigorous edicts of Diocletian were strictly and cheerfully executed by his associate Maximian, who had long hated the Christians, and who delighted in acts

In Italy and Africa, under Maximian and Severus

[166] Eusebius, l. viii. c. 13. Lactantius de M. P. c. 15. Dodwell (Dissertat. Cyprian. xi. 75) represents them as inconsistent with each other. But the former evidently speaks of Constantius in the station of Cæsar, and the latter of the same prince in the rank of Augustus. [On the religious policy of Constantius, see papers of Görres in Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie, vol 31 1888, p. 72 *sqq.*, and 33, 1890 p 469 *sqq.*]

[167] Datianus is mentioned in Gruter's Inscriptions, as having determined the limits between the territories of Pax Julia, and those of Ebora, both cities in the southern part of Lusitania. [This inscription is not genuine. See No. 17 of the False Inscriptions at end of C. I. L., vol. 2.] If we recollect the neighbourhood of those places to Cape St. Vincent, we may suspect that the celebrated deacon and martyr of that name has been inaccurately assigned by Prudentius, &c. to Saragossa, or Valentia. See the pompous history of his sufferings, in the Mémoires de Tillemont, tom. v. part ii. p. 58-85. Some critics are of opinion that the department of Constantius, as Cæsar, did not include Spain, which still continued under the immediate jurisdiction of Maximian. [See vol. i. p. 354.]

of blood and violence. In the autumn of the first year of th persecution, the two emperors met at Rome to celebrate the triumph; several oppressive laws appear to have issued fro their secret consultations, and the diligence of the magistrate was animated by the presence of their sovereigns. Afte Diocletian had divested himself of the purple, Italy and Afric were administered under the name of Severus, and were exposed without defence, to the implacable resentment of his maste Galerius. Among the martyrs of Rome, Adauctus deserves th notice of posterity. He was of a noble family in Italy, an had raised himself, through the successive honours of th palace, to the important office of treasurer of the private de mesnes. Adauctus is the more remarkable for being the onl person of rank and distinction who appears to have suffere death during the whole course of this general persecution.[168]

under Maxentius

The revolt of Maxentius immediately restored peace to th churches of Italy and Africa; and the same tyrant who op pressed every other class of his subjects showed himself just humane, and even partial, towards the afflicted Christians. H depended on their gratitude and affection, and very naturall presumed that the injuries which they had suffered, and th dangers which they still apprehended from his most inveterat enemy, would secure the fidelity of a party already considerabl by their numbers and opulence.[169] Even the conduct o Maxentius towards the bishops of Rome and Carthage may b considered as the proof of his toleration, since it is probabl that the most orthodox princes would adopt the same measure with regard to their established clergy. Marcellus, the forme of those prelates, had thrown the capital into confusion by th severe penance which he imposed on a great number o Christians, who, during the late persecution, had renounced o dissembled their religion. The rage of faction broke out in frequent and violent seditions; the blood of the faithful wa shed by each other's hands; and the exile of Marcellus, whose prudence seems to have been less eminent than his zeal, wa found to be the only measure capable of restoring peace t the distracted church of Rome.[170] The behaviour of Mensurius

[168] Eusebius, l. viii. c. 11. Gruter, Inscript. p. 1171. No. 18. Rufinus ha mistaken the office of Adauctus, as well as the place of his martyrdom.

[169] Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14. But, as Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine it suited the purpose of Lactantius to place his death among those of the per secutors. [On toleration of Maxentius see Görres, Z. f. wiss. Theol. 33, p. 206.]

[170] The epitaph of Marcellus is to be found in Gruter, Inscrip. p. 1172, No. 3 and it contains all that we know of his history. Marcellinus and Marcellus, whose

shop of Carthage, appears to have been still more reprehen-ble. A deacon of that city had published a libel against the mperor. The offender took refuge in the episcopal palace; d, though it was somewhat early to advance any claims of clesiastical immunities, the bishop refused to deliver him up the officers of justice. For this treasonable resistance, Men-rius was summoned to court, and, instead of receiving a legal ntence of death or banishment, he was permitted, after a ort examination, to return to his diocese.[171] Such was the ppy condition of the Christian subjects of Maxentius that, nenever they were desirous of procuring for their own use y bodies of martyrs, they were obliged to purchase them from e most distant provinces of the East. A story is related of glae, a Roman lady, descended from a consular family, and ssessed of so ample an estate that it required the manage-ent of seventy-three stewards. Among these, Boniface was e favourite of his mistress; and, as Aglae mixed love with evotion, it is reported that he was admitted to share her bed. er fortune enabled her to gratify the pious desire of obtaining me sacred relics from the East. She intrusted Boniface with considerable sum of gold and a large quantity of aromatics; d her lover, attended by twelve horsemen and three covered ariots, undertook a remote pilgrimage, as far as Tarsus in licia.[172]

The sanguinary temper of Galerius, the first and principal author of the persecution, was formidable to those Christians whom their misfortunes had placed within the limits of his dominions; and it may fairly be presumed that many persons of middle rank, who were not confined by the chains either of wealth or of poverty, very frequently deserted their native

in Illyricum and the East, under Galerius and Maximin

mes follow in the list of popes, are supposed by many critics to be different rsons; but the learned Abbé de Longuerue was convinced that they were one d the same.

Veridicus rector, lapsis [*leg.* lapsos] quia crimina flere
Prædixit, miseris fuit omnibus hostis amarus.
Hinc furor, hinc odium; sequitur discordia, lites,
Seditio, cædes; solvuntur fœdera pacis.
Crimen ob alterius, Christum qui in pace negavit,
Finibus expulsus patriæ est feritate Tyranni.
Hæc breviter Damasus voluit comperta referre:
Marcelli [ut] populus meritum cognoscere posset.

e may observe, that Damasus was made bishop of Rome, A.D. 366. [Cp. App. 7.]

171 Optatus contr. Donatist. l. i. c. 17, 18.

172 The Acts of the Passion of St. Boniface, which abound in miracles and clamation, are published by Ruinart (p. 283-291) both in Greek and Latin, om the authority of very ancient manuscripts.

country, and sought a refuge in the milder climate of the Wes
As long as he commanded only the armies and provinces o
Illyricum, he could with difficulty either find or make a con
siderable number of martyrs, in a warlike country, which ha
entertained the missionaries of the Gospel with more coldnes
and reluctance than any other part of the empire.[173] But, whe
Galerius had obtained the supreme power and the governmen
of the East, he indulged in their fullest extent his zeal an
cruelty, not only in the provinces of Thrace and Asia, whic
acknowledged his immediate jurisdiction, but in those of Syri
Palestine, and Egypt, where Maximin gratified his own inclina
tion by yielding a rigorous obedience to the stern commands o
his benefactor.[174] The frequent disappointments of his ambitiou
views, the experience of six years of persecution, and th
salutary reflections which a lingering and painful distempe
suggested to the mind of Galerius, at length convinced hi
that the most violent efforts of despotism are insufficient t
extirpate a whole people or to subdue their religious prejudice
Desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned, h
published in his own name, and in those of Licinius and Con
stantine, a general edict, which, after a pompous recital of th
Imperial titles, proceeded in the following manner:

Galerius publishes an edict of toleration. [A.D. 311, April 30]

"Among the important cares which have occupied our min
for the utility and preservation of the empire, it was our intentio
to correct and re-establish all things according to the ancien
laws and public discipline of the Romans. We were particularl
desirous of reclaiming, into the way of reason and nature, th
deluded Christians, who had renounced the religion and cere
monies instituted by their fathers, and, presumptuously despisin
the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws an
opinions, according to the dictates of their fancy, and had co
lected a various society from the different provinces of ou
empire. The edicts which we have published to enforce th
worship of the gods, having exposed many of the Christians t
danger and distress, many having suffered death, and man

[173] During the four first centuries there exist few traces of either bishops
bishoprics in the western Illyricum. It has been thought probable that the prima
of Milan extended his jurisdiction over Sirmium, the capital of that great provinc
See the Geographia Sacra of Charles de St. Paul, p. 68-76, with the observatio
of Lucas Holstenius.

[174] The eighth book of Eusebius, as well as the supplement concerning th
martyrs of Palestine, principally relate to the persecution of Galerius and Maximi
The general lamentations with which Lactantius opens the fifth book of his Divi
Institutions allude to their cruelty.

hore, who still persist in their impious folly, being left destitute f *any* public exercise of religion, we are disposed to extend to hose unhappy men the effects of our wonted clemency. We ermit them, therefore, freely to profess their private opinions, nd to assemble in their conventicles without fear or molesta- ion, provided always that they preserve a due respect to the stablished laws and government. By another rescript we hall signify our intentions to the judges and magistrates; and ve hope that our indulgence will engage the Christians to offer p their prayers to the Deity whom they adore, for our safety nd prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic." [175] t is not usually in the language of edicts and manifestoes that ve should search for the real character or the secret motives f princes; but, as these were the words of a dying emperor, is situation, perhaps, may be admitted as a pledge of his incerity.

Peace of the church

When Galerius subscribed this edict of toleration, he was vell assured that Licinius would readily comply with the nclinations of his friend and benefactor, and that any measures n favour of the Christians would obtain the approbation of Constantine. But the emperor would not venture to insert in he preamble the name of Maximin, whose consent was of the greatest importance, and who succeeded a few days afterwards o the provinces of Asia. In the first six months, however, of is new reign, Maximin affected to adopt the prudent counsels of his predecessor; and, though he never condescended to ecure the tranquillity of the church by a public edict, Sabinus, [A.D. 311] his Prætor ianpræfect, addressed a circular letter to all the governors and magistrates of the provinces, expatiating on the mperial clemency, acknowledging the invincible obstinacy of the Christians, and directing the officers of justice to cease their neffectual prosecutions and to connive at the secret assemblies of those enthusiasts. In consequence of these orders, great numbers of Christians were released from prison or delivered from the mines. The confessors, singing hymns of triumph, returned into their own countries; and those who had yielded to the violence of the tempest solicited with tears of repentance their re-admission into the bosom of the church.[176]

[175] Eusebius (l. viii. c. 17) has given us a Greek version, and Lactantius (de M. P. c. 34) the Latin original, of this memorable edict. Neither of these writers seems to recollect how directly it contradicts whatever they have just affirmed of the remorse and repentance of Galerius.

[176] Eusebius, l. ix. c. 1. He inserts the epistle of the præfect.

Maximin prepares to renew the persecution

But this treacherous calm was of short duration; nor cou the Christians of the East place any confidence in the charact of their sovereign. Cruelty and superstition were the ruli passions of the soul of Maximin. The former suggested th means, the latter pointed out the objects, of persecution. Th emperor was devoted to the worship of the gods, to the study magic, and to the belief of oracles. The prophets or philosophe whom he revered as the favourites of heaven, were frequent raised to the government of provinces and admitted into h most secret counsels. They easily convinced him that th Christians had been indebted for their victories to their regul discipline, and that the weakness of Polytheism had principal flowed from a want of union and subordination among th ministers of religion. A system of government was therefo

[End of 312 A.D.]

instituted, which was evidently copied from the policy of th church. In all the great cities of the empire, the temples wer repaired and beautified by the order of Maximin; and th officiating priests of the various deities were subjected to th authority of a superior pontiff, destined to oppose the bisho and to promote the cause of Paganism. These pontiffs acknow ledged, in their turn, the supreme jurisdiction of the metro politans or high priests of the province, who acted as th immediate vicegerents of the emperor himself. A white rob was the ensign of their dignity; and these new prelates wer carefully selected from the most noble and opulent familie By the influence of the magistrates and of the sacerdotal orde a great number of dutiful addresses were obtained, particularl from the cities of Nicomedia, Antioch, and Tyre, which artfull represented the well-known intentions of the court as th general sense of the people; solicited the emperor to consul the laws of justice rather than the dictates of his clemency expressed their abhorrence of the Christians; and humbly praye that those impious sectaries might at least be excluded from th limits of their respective territories. The answer of Maximin t the address which he obtained from the citizens of Tyre is stil extant. He praises their zeal and devotion in terms of th highest satisfaction, descants on the obstinate impiety of th Christians, and betrays, by the readiness with which he consent to their banishment, that he considered himself as receiving rather than as conferring, an obligation. The priests, as well as the magistrates, were empowered to enforce the execution of his edicts, which were engraved on tables of brass; and though it was recommended to them to avoid the effusion o

lood, the most cruel and ignominious punishments were inflicted n the refractory Christians.[177]

End of the persecutions

The Asiatic Christians had everything to dread from the everity of a bigoted monarch, who prepared his measures of iolence with such deliberate policy. But a few months had carcely elapsed before the edicts published by the two western mperors obliged Maximin to suspend the prosecution of his esigns: the civil war, which he so rashly undertook against Licinius, employed all his attention; and the defeat and death f Maximin soon delivered the church from the last and most nplacable of her enemies.[178]

Probable account of the sufferings of the martyrs and confessors

In this general view of the persecution, which was first uthorized by the edicts of Diocletian, I have purposely refrained rom describing the particular sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs. It would have been an easy task, from the istory of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and rom the most ancient acts, to collect a long series of horrid nd disgustful pictures, and to fill many pages with racks and courges, with iron hooks, and red-hot beds, and with all the ariety of tortures which fire and steel, savage beasts and more avage executioners, could inflict on the human body. These nelancholy scenes might be enlivened by a crowd of visions nd miracles destined either to delay the death, to celebrate he triumph, or to discover the relics, of those canonized saints who suffered for the name of Christ. But I cannot determine what I ought to transcribe, till I am satisfied how much I ought o believe. The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly confesses that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion.[179] Such an acknowledgment

177 See Eusebius, l. viii. c. 14, l. ix. c. 2-8. Lactantius de M. P. c. 36. These writers agree in representing the arts of Maximin; but the former relates the execution of several martyrs, while the latter expressly affirms, occidi servos Dei vetuit. [For Maximin's persecutions, cp. Görres, Brieger's Z. f. Kirchengesch. xi. 333 *sqq.*]

178 A few days before his death, he published a very ample edict of toleration, in which he imputes all the severities which the Christians suffered to the judges and governors, who had misunderstood his intentions. See the Edict. in Eusebius, l. ix. c. 10. [Summer, 313 A.D.]

179 Such is the *fair* deduction from two remarkable passages in Eusebius, [H. E.] l. viii. c. 2, and de Martyr. Palestin. c. 12. The prudence of the historian has exposed his own character to censure and suspicion. It is well known that he himself had been thrown into prison; and it was suggested that he had purchased his deliverance by some dishonourable compliance. The reproach was urged in his lifetime, and even in his presence, at the council of Tyre. See Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom. viii. part i. p. 67. [Milman admits that the authority of Eusebius is "loose" and "by no means scrupulous".]

will naturally excite a suspicion that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other; and this suspicion will derive additional credit from the character of Eusebius, which was less tinctured with credulity, and more practised in the arts of courts, than that of almost any of his contemporaries. On some particular occasions, when the magistrates were exasperated by some personal motives of interest or resentment, when the zeal of the martyrs urged them to forget the rules of prudence, and perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to pour out imprecations against the emperors, or to strike the judge as he sat on his tribunal, it may be presumed that every mode of torture, which cruelty could invent or constancy could endure, was exhausted on those devoted victims.[180] Two circumstances, however, have been unwarily mentioned, which insinuate that the general treatment of the Christians who had been apprehended by the officers of justice was less intolerable than it is usually imagined to have been. 1. The confessors who were condemned to work in the mines were permitted, by the humanity or the negligence of their keepers, to build chapels and freely to profess their religion in the midst of those dreary habitations.[181] 2. The bishops were obliged to check and to censure the forward zeal of the Christians, who voluntarily threw themselves into the hands of the magistrates. Some of these were persons oppressed by poverty and debts, who blindly sought to terminate a miserable existence by a glorious death. Others were allured by the hope that a short confinement would expiate the sins of a whole life; and others, again, were actuated by the less honourable motive of deriving a plentiful subsistence, and perhaps a considerable profit, from the alms which the charity of the faithful bestowed on the prisoners.[182] After the church had triumphed over all her enemies, the interest as well as vanity of the captives prompted them to magnify the merit of their respective

[180] The ancient, and perhaps authentic, account of the sufferings of Tarachus and his companions (Acta Sincera, Ruinart, p. 419-448) is filled with strong expressions of resentment and contempt, which could not fail of irritating the magistrate. The behaviour of Ædesius to Hierocles, præfect of Egypt, was still more extraordinary, λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δικαστὴν . . . περιβαλων. Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 5.

[181] Euseb. de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13.

[182] Augustin. Collat. Carthagin. Dei, iii. c. 13, ap. Tillemont, Mémoires Ecclésiastiques, tom v. part i. p. 46. The controversy with the Donatists has reflected some, though perhaps a partial, light on the history of the African church.

uffering. A convenient distance of time or place gave an mple scope to the progress of fiction; and the frequent in- tances which might be alleged of holy martyrs, whose wounds ad been instantly healed, whose strength had been renewed, nd whose lost members had miraculously been restored, were xtremely convenient for the purpose of removing every diffi- ulty and of silencing every objection. The most extravagant egends, as they conduced to the honour of the church, were pplauded by the credulous multitude, countenanced by the ower of the clergy, and attested by the suspicious evidence f ecclesiastical history.

Number of martyrs

The vague descriptions of exile and imprisonment, of pain nd torture, are so easily exaggerated or softened by the pencil f an artful orator that we are naturally induced to inquire into fact of a more distinct and stubborn kind; the number of ersons who suffered death, in consequence of the edicts ublished by Diocletian, his associates, and his successors. The ecent legendaries record whole armies and cities, which were t once swept away by the undistinguishing rage of persecution. The more ancient writers content themselves with pouring out liberal effusion of loose and tragical invectives, without con- descending to ascertain the precise number of those persons who were permitted to seal with their blood their belief of the gospel. From the history of Eusebius, it may however be collected that only nine bishops were punished with death; and we are assured, by his particular enumeration of the martyrs of Palestine, that no more than ninety-two Christians were entitled to that honourable appellation.[183] As we are unac- quainted with the degree of episcopal zeal and courage which

[183] Eusebius de Martyr. Palestin. c. 13. He closes his narration by assuring us that these were the martyrdoms inflicted in Palestine during the *whole* course of the persecution. The fifth chapter of his eighth book, which relates to the province of Thebais in Egypt, may seem to contradict our moderate computation; but it will only lead us to admire the artful management of the historian. Choosing for the scene of the most exquisite cruelty the most remote and sequestered country of the Roman empire, he relates that in Thebais from ten to one hundred persons had frequently suffered martyrdom in the same day. But when he proceeds to mention his own journey into Egypt, his language insensibly becomes more cautious and moderate. Instead of a large, but definite number, he speaks of many Christians (πλείονς), and most artfully selects two ambiguous words (ιστορησαμεν, and υπομειναντας), which may signify either what he had seen or what he had heard; either the expectation or the execution of the punishment. Having thus provided a secure evasion, he commits the equivocal passage to his readers and translators; justly conceiving that their piety would induce them to prefer the most favourable sense. There was perhaps some malice in the remark of Theodorus Metochita, that all who, like Eusebius, had been conversant with the Egyptians delighted in an obscure and intricate style. (See Valesius ad loc.)

prevailed at that time, it is not in our power to draw any usefu inferences from the former of these facts; but the latter ma serve to justify a very important and probable conclusio According to the distribution of Roman provinces, Palestin may be considered as the sixteenth part of the Eastern empire;[184] and since there were some governors who, from a real or affecte clemency, had preserved their hands unstained with the bloo of the faithful,[185] it is reasonable to believe that the countr which had given birth to Christianity produced at least th sixteenth part of the martyrs who suffered death within th dominions of Galerius and Maximin; the whole might conse quently amount to about fifteen hundred; a number which, it is equally divided between the ten years of the persecutio will allow an annual consumption of one hundred and fift martyrs. Allotting the same proportion to the provinces Italy, Africa, and perhaps Spain, where, at the end of two c three years, the rigour of the penal laws was either suspende or abolished, the multitude of Christians in the Roman empir on whom a capital punishment was inflicted by a judicial sen tence will be reduced to somewhat less than two thousan persons. Since it cannot be doubted that the Christians wer more numerous, and their enemies more exasperated, in th time of Diocletian, than they had ever been in any forme persecution, this probable and moderate computation ma teach us to estimate the number of primitive saints and martyr who sacrificed their lives for the important purpose of introduc ing Christianity into the world.

Conclusion

We shall conclude this chapter by a melancholy truth whic obtrudes itself on the reluctant mind; that even admitting without hesitation or inquiry, all that history has recorded, c devotion has feigned, on the subject of martyrdoms, it mus still be acknowledged that the Christians, in the course of the intestine dissensions, have inflicted far greater severities o each other than they had experienced from the zeal of infidel During the ages of ignorance which followed the subversion c the Roman empire in the West, the bishops of the Imperi city extended their dominion over the laity as well as clerg

[184] When Palestine was divided into three, the præfecture of the East containe forty-eight provinces. As the ancient distinctions of nations were long sinc abolished, the Romans distributed the provinces according to a general proportio of their extent and opulence. [Cp. Appendix II.]

[185] Ut gloriari possint nullum se innocentium peremisse, nam et ipse audi aliquos gloriantes, quia administratio sua in hâc parte fuerit incruenta. Lactan Institut. Divin. v. 11.

f the Latin church. The fabric of superstition which they had rected, and which might long have defied the feeble efforts of eason, was at length assaulted by a crowd of daring fanatics, ho, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, assumed the opular character of reformers. The church of Rome defended y violence the empire which she had acquired by fraud; a ystem of peace and benevolence was soon disgraced by pro- criptions, wars, massacres, and the institution of the holy office. nd, as the reformers were animated by the love of civil, as ell as of religious, freedom, the Catholic princes connected heir own interest with that of the clergy, and enforced by fire nd the sword the terrors of spiritual censures. In the Nether- nds alone, more than one hundred thousand of the subjects of harles the Fifth are said to have suffered by the hand of the xecutioner; and this extraordinary number is attested by rotius,[186] a man of genius and learning, who preserved his oderation amidst the fury of contending sects, and who com- osed the annals of his own age and country, at a time when he invention of printing had facilitated the means of intelli- ence and increased the danger of detection. If we are obliged o submit our belief to the authority of Grotius, it must be llowed that the number of Protestants who were executed in single province and a single reign far exceeded that of the rimitive martyrs in the space of three centuries and of the oman empire. But, if the improbability of the fact itself hould prevail over the weight of evidence; if Grotius should e convicted of exaggerating the merit and sufferings of the eformers;[187] we shall be naturally led to inquire what con- idence can be placed in the doubtful and imperfect monuments f ancient credulity; what degree of credit can be assigned to courtly bishop, and a passionate declaimer, who, under the rotection of Constantine, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of ecording the persecutions inflicted on the Christians by the anquished rivals, or disregarded predecessors of their gracious overeign.

[186] Grot. Annal. de Rebus Belgicis, l. i. p. 12, edit. fol.

[187] Fra Paolo (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, l. iii.) reduces the number of Belgic martyrs to 50,000. In learning and moderation, Fra Paolo was not inferior o Grotius. The priority of time gives some advantage to the evidence of the ormer, which he loses on the other hand by the distance of Venice from the Netherlands.

CHAPTER XVII

Foundation of Constantinople—Political System of Constantine, a
his Successors—Military Discipline—The Palace—The Fi
ances

The unfortunate Licinius was the last rival who opposed tl greatness, and the last captive who adorned the triumph, Constantine. After a tranquil and prosperous reign, the co queror bequeathed to his family the inheritance of the Rom empire: a new capital, a new policy, and a new religion; a the innovations which he established have been embraced a consecrated by succeeding generations. The age of the gre Constantine and his sons is filled with important events; b the historian must be oppressed by their number and variet unless he diligently separates from each other the scenes whi are connected only by the order of time. He will describe t political institutions that gave strength and stability to t empire, before he proceeds to relate the wars and revolutio which hastened its decline. He will adopt the division, u known to the ancients, of civil and ecclesiastical affairs: t victory of the Christians and their intestine discord w supply copious and distinct materials both for edification and f scandal.

Design of a new capital. A.D. 324 [326 ?]

After the defeat and abdication of Licinius, his victorio rival proceeded to lay the foundations of a city destined reign in future times the mistress of the East, and to survi the empire and religion of Constantine. The motives, wheth of pride or of policy, which first induced Diocletian to withdra himself from the ancient seat of government, had acquired a ditional weight by the example of his successors and the habi of forty years. Rome was insensibly confounded with t dependent kingdoms which had once acknowledged her s premacy; and the country of the Cæsars was viewed with co indifference by a martial prince, born in the neighbourhood the Danube, educated in the courts and armies of Asia, a invested with the purple by the legions of Britain. T Italians, who had received Constantine as their deliverer, su

issively obeyed the edicts which he sometimes condescended address to the senate and people of Rome; but they were ldom honoured with the presence of their new sovereign. uring the vigour of his age, Constantine, according to the rious exigencies of peace and war, moved with slow dignity, with active diligence, along the frontiers of his extensive minions; and was always prepared to take the field either ainst a foreign or a domestic enemy. But, as he gradually ached the summit of prosperity and the decline of life, he gan to meditate the design of fixing in a more permanent ation the strength as well as majesty of the throne. In the oice of an advantageous situation, he preferred the confines of urope and Asia; to curb, with a powerful arm, the barbarians ho dwelt between the Danube and the Tanais; to watch with eye of jealousy the conduct of the Persian monarch, who dignantly supported the yoke of an ignominious treaty. With ese views Diocletian had selected and embellished the re- dence of Nicomedia: but the memory of Diocletian was justly horred by the protector of the church; and Constantine was ot insensible to the ambition of founding a city which might erpetuate the glory of his own name. During the late opera- ons of the war against Licinius, he had sufficient opportunity contemplate, both as a soldier and as a statesman, the in- mparable position of Byzantium; and to observe how strongly t was guarded by nature against an hostile attack, whilst it was ccessible on every side to the benefits of commercial inter- ourse. Many ages before Constantine, one of the most dicious historians of antiquity[1] had described the advantages f a situation, from whence a feeble colony of Greeks derived he command of the sea and the honours of a flourishing and ndependent republic.[2]

Situation of Byzantium

If we survey Byzantium in the extent which it acquired with he august name of Constantinople, the figure of the Imperial ity may be represented under that of an unequal triangle.

Description of Constantinople

1 Polybius, l. iv. p. 423, edit. Casaubon [c. 45]. He observes that the peace of he Byzantines was frequently disturbed, and the extent of their territory contracted, y the inroads of the wild Thracians.

2 The navigator Byzas, who was styled the son of Neptune, founded the city 56 [*leg.* 657] years before the Christian æra. His followers were drawn from Argos and Megara. Byzantium was afterwards rebuilt and fortified by the Spartan eneral Pausanias. See Scaliger Animadvers. ad Euseb. p. 81. Ducange, Con- tantinopolis, l. i. part i. cap. 15, 16. With regard to the wars of the Byzantines gainst Philip, the Gauls, and the kings of Bithynia, we should trust none but he ancient writers who lived before the greatness of the Imperial city had excited a spirit of flattery and fiction.

The obtuse point, which advances towards the east and th shores of Asia, meets and repels the waves of the Thracia Bosphorus. The northern side of the city is bounded by th harbour; and the southern is washed by the Propontis, or se of Marmara. The basis of the triangle is opposed to the wes and terminates the continent of Europe. But the admirab form and division of the circumjacent land and water cannc without a more ample explanation, be clearly or sufficient understood.

The Bosphorus

The winding channel through which the waters of th Euxine flow with a rapid and incessant course towards th Mediterranean received the appellation of Bosphorus, a nam not less celebrated in the history than in the fables of antiquity A crowd of temples and of votive altars, profusely scattere along its steep and woody banks, attested the unskilfulnes the terrors, and the devotion of the Grecian navigators, wh after the example of the Argonauts, explored the dangers c the inhospitable Euxine. On these banks tradition long pre served the memory of the palace of Phineus, infested by th obscene harpies;[4] and of the sylvan reign of Amycus, wh defied the son of Leda to the combat of the Cestus.[5] Th straits of the Bosphorus are terminated by the Cyanean rock which, according to the description of the poets, had onc floated on the face of the waters, and were destined by th gods to protect the entrance of the Euxine against the eye c profane curiosity.[6] From the Cyanean rocks to the point an harbour of Byzantium, the winding length of the Bosphoru extends about sixteen miles,[7] and its most ordinary breadth ma

[3] The Bosphorus has been very minutely described by Dionysius of Byzantium who lived in the time of Domitian (Hudson, Geograph. Minor. tom. iii.), and th Gilles or Gyllius, a French traveller of the XVIth century. Tournefort (Lettr XV.) seems to have used his own eyes and the learning of Gyllius.

[4] There are very few conjectures so happy as that of Le Clerc (Bibliothèqu Universelle, tom. i. p. 148), who supposes that the harpies were only locusts. Th Syriac or Phœnician name of those insects, their noisy flight, the stench an devastation which they occasion, and the north wind which drives them into th sea, all contribute to form this striking resemblance.

[5] The residence of Amycus was in Asia, between the old and the new castles, a a place called Laurus Insana. That of Phineus was in Europe, near the village c Mauromole and the Black Sea. See Gyllius de Bosph. l. ii. c. 23. Tournefor Lettre XV.

[6] The deception was occasioned by several pointed rocks, alternately covere and abandoned by the waves. At present there are two small islands, on towards either shore: that of Europe is distinguished by the column of Pompey.

[7] The ancients computed one hundred and twenty stadia, or fifteen Roma miles. They measured only from the new castles, but they carried the straits a far as the town of Chalcedon.

e computed at about one mile and a half. The *new* castles of urope and Asia are constructed, on either continent, upon the undations of two celebrated temples, of Serapis and of Jupiter rius. The *old* castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command ıe narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite anks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These rtresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the econd, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople:[8] but ıe Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that, near vo thousand years before his reign, Darius had chosen the me situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of oats.[9] At a small distance from the old castles we discover ıe little town of Chrysopolis, or Scutari, which may almost be onsidered as the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople. The Bos- horus, as it begins to open into the Propontis, passes between yzantium and Chalcedon. The latter of those cities was built y the Greeks, a few years before the former; and the blind- ess of its founders, who overlooked the superior advantages of ıe opposite coast, has been stigmatized by a proverbial ex- ression of contempt.[10]

The harbour of Constantinople, which may be considered as a arm of the Bosphorus, obtained, in a very remote period, ıe denomination of the *Golden Horn*. The curve which it de- cribes might be compared to the horn of a stag, or, as it hould seem, with more propriety, to that of an ox.[11] The pithet of *golden* was expressive of the riches which every wind rafted from the most distant countries into the secure and apacious port of Constantinople. The river Lycus, formed by ıe conflux of two little streams, pours into the harbour[12] a erpetual supply of fresh water, which serves to cleanse the

The port

[8] Ducas, Hist. c. 34. Leunclavius, Hist. Turcica Mussulmanica, l. xv. p. 577. nder the Greek empire these castles were used as state prisons, under the emendous name of Lethe, or towers of oblivion.

[9] Darius engraved in Greek and Assyrian letters on two marble columns the ames of his subject nations, and the amazing numbers of his land and sea forces. he Byzantines afterwards transported these columns into the city, and used them r the altars of their tutelar deities. Herodotus, l. iv. c. 87.

[10] Namque artissimo inter Europam Asiamque divortio Byzantium in extremâ uropâ posuere Græci, quibus, Pythium Apollinem consulentibus ubi conderent rbem, redditum oraculum est, quærerent sedem *cæcorum* terris adversam. Eâ mbage Chalcedonii monstrabantur, quod priores illuc advecti prævisâ locorum tilitate pejora legissent. Tacit. Annal. xii. 62.

[11] Strabo, l. x. p. 492. Most of the antlers are now broke off; or, to speak less guratively, most of the recesses of the harbour are filled up. See Gyllius de osphoro Thracio, l. i. c. 5.

[12] [It flowed into the Propontis. See Plan.]

bottom and to invite the periodical shoals of fish to seek the retreat in that convenient recess. As the vicissitudes of tid are scarcely felt in those seas, the constant depth of th harbour allows goods to be landed on the quays without th assistance of boats; and it has been observed that in man places the largest vessels may rest their prows against th houses, while their sterns are floating in the water.[13] Fro the mouth of the Lycus to that of the harbour this arm of th Bosphorus is more than seven miles in length. The entran is about five hundred yards broad, and a strong chain could occasionally drawn across it, to guard the port and city fro the attack of an hostile navy.[14]

The Propontis

Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores Europe and Asia receding on either side inclose the sea Marmara, which was known to the ancients by the denomin tion of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bo phorus to the entrance of the Hellespont is about one hundre and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward cour through the middle of the Propontis may at once descry th high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of th lofty summit of Mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of whic Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnes before they cast anchor at Gallipoli; where the sea, whic separates Asia from Europe, is again contracted into a narro channel.

The Hellespont

The geographers who, with the most skilful accuracy, hav surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign abo sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles f the ordinary breadth of those celebrated straits.[16] But th

[13] Procopius de Ædificiis, l. i. c. 5. His description is confirmed by mode travellers. See Thévenot, part i. l. i. c. 15. Tournefort, Lettre XII. Niebuh Voyage d'Arabie, p. 22. [The description of Himerius is rhetorical, or. 16.]

[14] See Ducange, C. P. l. i. part i. c. 16, and his Observations sur Villehardouin p. 289. The chain was drawn from the Acropolis near the modern Kiosk to th tower of Galata, and was supported at convenient distances by large wood piles.

[15] Thévenot (Voyages au Levant, part i. l. i. c. 14) contracts the measure 125 small Greek miles. Belon (Observations, l. ii. c. 1) gives a good description the Propontis, but contents himself with the vague expression of one day and on night's sail. When Sandys (Travels, p. 21) talks of 150 furlongs in length well as breadth, we can only suppose some mistake of the press in the text of th judicious traveller.

[16] See an admirable dissertation of M. d'Anville upon the Hellespont Dardanelles, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 31

arrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the ld Turkish castles between the cities of Sestus and Abydus. t was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage f the flood for the possession of his mistress.[17] It was here kewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite anks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes imposed stupendous bridge of boats, for the purpose of transporting nto Europe an hundred and seventy myriads of barbarians.[18] sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill o deserve the singular epithet of *broad,* which Homer, as well s Orpheus, has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont. But ur ideas of greatness are of a relative nature: the traveller, and specially the poet, who sailed along the Hellespont, who ursued the windings of the stream, and contemplated the ural scenery, which appeared on every side to terminate the rospect, insensibly lost the remembrance of the sea; and his ancy painted those celebrated straits with all the attributes f a mighty river flowing with a swift current, in the midst of woody and inland country, and at length, through a wide mouth, ischarging itself into the Ægean or Archipelago.[19] Ancient roy,[20] seated on an eminence at the foot of Mount Ida, over-ooked the mouth of the Hellespont, which scarcely received an ccession of waters from the tribute of those immortal rivulets imois and Scamander. The Grecian camp had stretched twelve

46. Yet even that ingenious geographer is too fond of supposing new and erhaps imaginary *measures,* for the purpose of rendering ancient writers as ccurate as himself. The stadia employed by Herodotus in the description of the uxine, the Bosphorus, &c. (l. iv. c. 85). must undoubtedly be all of the same pecies; but it seems impossible to reconcile them either with truth or with each ther. [Length of Propontis about 40 miles, breadth 1 mile.]

[17] The oblique distance between Sestus and Abydus was thirty stadia. The nprobable tale of Hero and Leander is exposed by M. Mahudel, but is defended n the authority of poets and medals by M. de la Nauze. See the Académie des nscriptions, tom. vii. Hist. p. 74. Mém. p. 240.

[18] See the seventh book of Herodotus, who has erected an elegant trophy to his wn fame and to that of his country. The review appears to have been made ith tolerable accuracy; but the vanity, first of the Persians and afterwards of the reeks, was interested to magnify the armament and the victory. I should much oubt whether the *invaders* have ever outnumbered the *men* of any country which hey attacked.

[19] See Wood's observations on Homer, p. 320. I have, with pleasure, selected his remark from an author who in general seems to have disappointed the xpectation of the public as a critic, and still more as a traveller. He had visited he banks of the Hellespont; he had read Strabo; he ought to have consulted the Roman itineraries; how was it possible for him to confound Ilium and Alexandria roas (Observations, p. 340, 341), two cities which were sixteen miles distant rom each other.

[20] Demetrius of Scepsis wrote sixty books on thirty lines of Homer's Catalogue. The XIIIth Book of Strabo is sufficient for *our* curiosity.

miles along the shore from the Sigæan to the Rhœtean promo tory; and the flanks of the army were guarded by the brave chiefs who fought under the banners of Agamemnon. The fir of those promontories was occupied by Achilles with his invincib Myrmidons, and the dauntless Ajax pitched his tents on th other. After Ajax had fallen a sacrifice to his disappointe pride and to the ingratitude of the Greeks, his sepulchre w erected on the ground where he had defended the navy again the rage of Jove and of Hector; and the citizens of the risin town of Rhœteum celebrated his memory with divine honours. Before Constantine gave a just preference to the situation Byzantium, he had conceived the design of erecting the seat empire on this celebrated spot, from whence the Romans de rived their fabulous origin. The extensive plain which lie below ancient Troy, towards the Rhœtean promontory and th tomb of Ajax, was first chosen for his new capital; and, thoug the undertaking was soon relinquished, the stately remains unfinished walls and towers attracted the notice of all wh sailed through the straits of the Hellespont.[22]

Advantages of Constantinople

We are at present qualified to view the advantageous positio of Constantinople; which appears to have been formed b Nature for the centre and capital of a great monarchy. Situ ated in the forty-first degree of latitude, the imperial cit commanded, from her seven hills,[23] the opposite shores o Europe and Asia; the climate was healthy and temperate, th soil fertile, the harbour secure and capacious; and the approac on the side of the continent was of small extent and eas defence. The Bosphorus and Hellespont may be considered a the two gates of Constantinople; and the prince who possesse those important passages could always shut them against a nava enemy and open them to the fleets of commerce. The preserva

[21] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 595. The disposition of the ships which were drawn upo dry land, and the posts of Ajax and Achilles, are very clearly described by Homer See Iliad ix. [*leg.* viii.] 220.

[22] Zosim. l. ii. p. 105 [c. 30]. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Theophanes, p. 18 Nicephorus Callistus, l. vii. p. 48. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 6 [3]. Zosimu places the new city between Ilium and Alexandria, but this apparent differenc may be reconciled by the large extent of its circumference. [There is some doub about the text of Zosimus, see Mendelssohn ad. loc.] Before the foundation o Constantinople, Thessalonica is mentioned by Cedrenus (p. 283) [i. 496, Bonn] and Sardica by Zonaras, as the intended capital. [Cp. also Anon. Continuator o Dion (prob. Peter the Patrician), Muller, F. H. G. 4, 199.] They both suppose, with very little probability, that the emperor, if he had not been prevented by a prodigy, would have repeated the mistake of the *blind* Chalcedonians.

[23] Pocock's Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 127. His plan of the seven hills is clear and accurate. That traveller is seldom so satisfactory.

ion of the eastern provinces may, in some degree, be ascribed o the policy of Constantine, as the barbarians of the Euxine, who in the preceding age had poured their armaments into the heart of the Mediterranean, soon desisted from the exercise of piracy, and despaired of forcing this insurmountable barrier. When the gates of the Hellespont and Bosphorus were shut, he capital still enjoyed, within their spacious inclosure, every production which could supply the wants, or gratify the luxury, f its numerous inhabitants. The sea-coast of Thrace and Bithynia, which languish under the weight of Turkish oppression, till exhibits a rich prospect of vineyards, of gardens, and of plentiful harvests; and the Propontis has ever been renowned for an inexhaustible store of the most exquisite fish, that are taken in their stated seasons without skill and almost without labour.[24] But, when the passages of the Straits were thrown open for trade, they alternately admitted the natural and artificial riches of the north and south, of the Euxine, and of the Mediterranean. Whatever rude commodities were collected in the forests of Germany and Scythia, as far as the sources of the Tanais and the Borysthenes; whatsoever was manufactured by the skill of Europe or Asia; the corn of Egypt, and the gems and spices of the farthest India, were brought by the varying winds into the port of Constantinople, which, for many ages, attracted the commerce of the ancient world.[25]

Foundation of the city

The prospect of beauty, of safety, and of wealth, united in a single spot, was sufficient to justify the choice of Constantine. But, as some decent mixture of prodigy and fable has, in every age, been supposed to reflect a becoming majesty on the origin of great cities,[26] the emperor was desirous of ascribing his resolution, not so much to the uncertain counsels of human policy, as to the infallible and eternal decrees of divine wisdom. In one of his laws he has been careful to instruct posterity that, in obedience to the commands of God, he laid the everlasting foundations of Constantinople:[27] and, though he has not con-

[24] See Belon, Observations, c. 72-76. Among a variety of different species, the Pelamides, a sort of Thunnies, were the most celebrated. We may learn from Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus that the profits of the fishery constituted the principal revenue of Byzantium.

[25] See the eloquent description of Busbequius, epistol. i. p. 64, Est in Europa; habet in conspectu Asiam, Ægyptum, Africamque a dextrâ: quæ tametsi contiguæ non sunt, maris tamen navigandique commoditate veluti junguntur. A sinistra vero Pontus est Euxinus, &c.

[26] Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut, miscendo humana divinis, primordia urbium augustiora faciat, T. Liv. in proem.

[27] He says in one of his laws, pro commoditate Urbis quam æterno nomine, jubente Deo, donavimus. Cod. Theodos. l. xiii. tit. v. leg. 7.

descended to relate in what manner the celestial inspiration w
communicated to his mind, the defect of his modest silence h
been liberally supplied by the ingenuity of succeeding writer
who describe the nocturnal vision which appeared to the fan
of Constantine, as he slept within the walls of Byzantium. Th
tutelar genius of the city, a venerable matron sinking under th
weight of years and infirmities, was suddenly transformed in
a blooming maid, whom his own hands adorned with all th
symbols of imperial greatness.[28] The monarch awoke, interprete
the auspicious omen, and obeyed, without hesitation, the w
of heaven. The day which gave birth to a city or colony w
celebrated by the Romans with such ceremonies as had bee
ordained by a generous superstition ;[29] and, though Constantin
might omit some rites which savoured too strongly of the
Pagan origin, yet he was anxious to leave a deep impression
hope and respect on the minds of the spectators. On foo
with a lance in his hand, the emperor himself led the solem
procession; and directed the line which was traced as th
boundary of the destined capital ; till the growing circumferenc
was observed with astonishment by the assistants, who, at lengt
ventured to observe that he had already exceeded the mo
ample measure of a great city. "I shall still advance," replie
Constantine, "till HE, the invisible guide who marches befo
me, thinks proper to stop."[30] Without presuming to investigat
the nature or motives of this extraordinary conductor, we sha
content ourselves with the more humble task of describing th
extent and limits of Constantinople.[31]

Extent

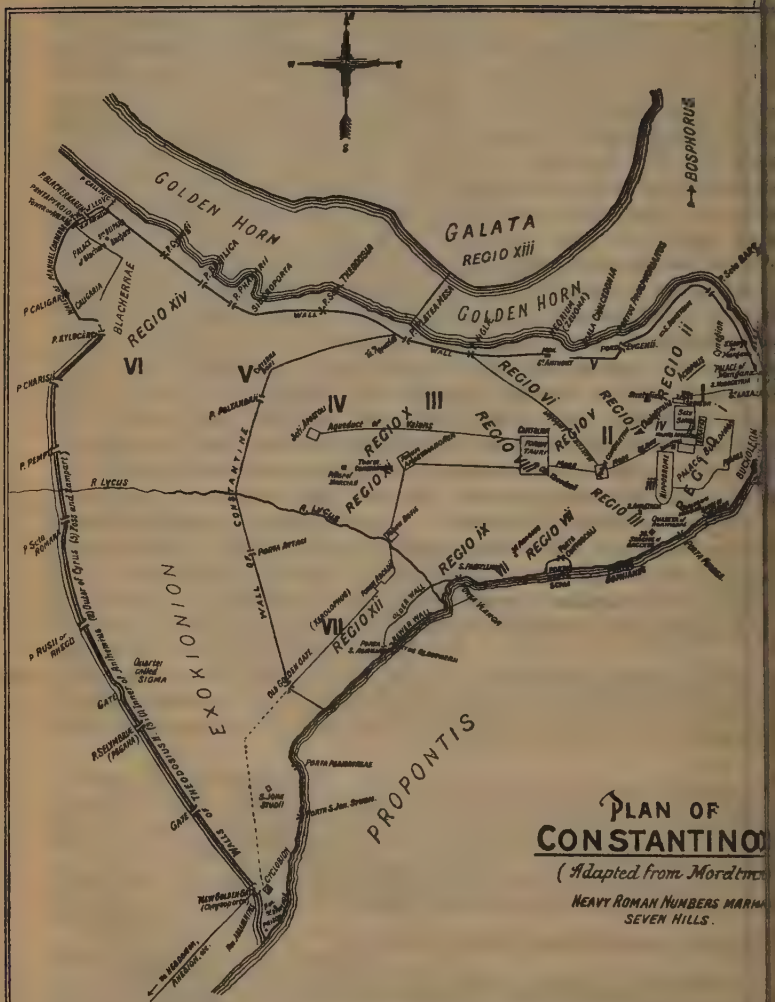
In the actual state of the city, the palace and gardens of th
Seraglio occupy the eastern promontory, the first of the seve
hills, and cover about one hundred and fifty acres of our ow

[28] The Greeks, Theophanes, Cedrenus. and the author of the Alexandria
Chronicle, confine themselves to vague and general expressions. For a mo
particular account of the vision, we are obliged to have recourse to such Lat
writers as William of Malmesbury. See Ducange, C. P. l. i. p. 24, 25.

[29] See Plutarch in Romul. tom. i. p. 49, edit. Bryan. Among other ceremonie
a large hole, which had been dug for that purpose, was filled up with handfuls
earth, which each of the settlers brought from the place of his birth, and th
adopted his new country.

[30] Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 9. This incident, though borrowed from a suspecte
writer, is characteristic and probable.

[31] See in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxxv. p. 747-758, a dissertation
M. d'Anville on the extent of Constantinople. He takes the plan inserted in th
Imperium Orientale of Banduri as the most complete; but, by a series of very ni
observations, he reduces the extravagant proportion of the scale, and instead
9500, determines the circumference of the city as consisting of about 7800 Frenc
toises.


GOLDEN HORN
GALATA
REGIO XIII
BOSPHORUS
GOLDEN HORN
BLACHERNAE
REGIO XIV
REGIO II
REGIO VI
REGIO V
REGIO IV
REGIO III
REGIO X
REGIO VI
REGIO V
REGIO I
REGIO II
REGIO VIII
REGIO III
R. LYCUS
REGIO IX
REGIO VII
EXOKIONION
REGIO XII
PROPONTIS
PLAN OF
CONSTANTINO
(Adapted from Mordtm
HEAVY ROMAN NUMBERS MARK
SEVEN HILLS.

measure. The seat of Turkish jealousy and despotism is erected on the foundations of a Grecian republic; but it may be supposed that the Byzantines were tempted by the conveniency of the harbour to extend their habitations on that side beyond the modern limits of the Seraglio. The new walls of Constantine stretched from the port to the Propontis across the enlarged breadth of the triangle, at the distance of fifteen stadia from the ancient fortification; and with the city of Byzantium they inclosed five of the seven hills, which, to the eyes of those who approach Constantinople, appear to rise above each other in beautiful order.[32] About a century after the death of the founder, the new building, extending on one side up the harbour, and on the other along the Propontis, already covered the narrow ridge of the sixth, and the broad summit of the seventh, hill. The necessity of protecting those suburbs from the incessant inroads of the barbarians engaged the younger Theodosius to surround his capital with an adequate and permanent inclosure of walls.[33] From the eastern promontory to the golden gate, the extreme length of Constantinople was about three Roman miles;[34] the circumference measured between ten and eleven; and the surface might be computed as equal to about two thousand English acres. It is impossible to justify the vain and credulous exaggerations of modern travellers, who have sometimes stretched the limits of Constantinople over the adjacent villages of the European, and even of the Asiatic, coast.[35] But the suburbs of Pera and

[32] Codinus Antiquitat. Const. p. 12. He assigns the church of St. Antony as the boundary on the side of the harbour. It is mentioned in Ducange, l. iv. c. 5.; but I have tried, without success, to discover the exact place where it was situated. [The Monastery of St. Antony, Kauleas, near the Neôrion (see Plan). The two hills outside Constantine's wall are v. and vi.; and the space between the wall and that of Theodosius was never included in the Regions of the city, but was called exokionion and was divided into seven quarters (*deuteron*, *triton*, &c.), except Blachernæ, which formed Region xiv. See plan, and Mordtmann, Esquisse top. de Constantinople, p. 2.]

[33] The new wall of Theodosius was constructed in the year 413. In 447 it was thrown down by an earthquake, and rebuilt in three months by the diligence of the præfect Cyrus. The suburb of the Blachernæ was first taken into the city in the reign of Heraclius. Ducange Const. l. i. c. 10, 11. [The triple defence of Theodosius ii. can be clearly traced: (1) inner wall of Anthemius; (2) the outer wall of Cyrus; (3) a ditch and counterscarp, representing a third wall (Mordtmann, Esq. p. 11).]

[34] The measurement is expressed in the Notitia by 14,075 feet. It is reasonable to suppose that these were Greek feet; the proportion of which has been ingeniously determined by M. d'Anville. He compares the 180 feet with the 78 Hashemite cubits which in different writers are assigned for the height of St. Sophia. Each of these cubits was equal to 27 French inches.

[35] The accurate Thévenot (l. i. c. 15) walked in one hour and three quarters

Galata, though situate beyond the harbour, may deserve to be considered as a part of the city;[36] and this addition may perhaps authorize the measure of a Byzantine historian, who assigns sixteen Greek (about fourteen Roman) miles for the circumference of his native city.[37] Such an extent may seem not worthy of an imperial residence. Yet Constantinople must yield to Babylon and Thebes,[38] to ancient Rome, to London and even to Paris.[39]

Progress of the work

The master of the Roman world, who aspired to erect an eternal monument of the glories of his reign, could employ in the prosecution of that great work the wealth, the labour, and all that yet remained of the genius, of obedient millions. Some estimate may be formed of the expense bestowed with imperial liberality on the foundation of Constantinople, by the allowance of about two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the construction of the walls, the porticoes, and the aqueducts.[40] The forests that overshadowed the shores of the Euxine, and the celebrated quarries of white marble in the little island of Proconnesus, supplied an inexhaustible stock of materials, ready to be conveyed, by the convenience of a short water-carriage, to the harbour of Byzantium.[41] A multitude

round two of the sides of the triangle, from the Kiosk of the Seraglio to the seventowers. D'Anville examines with care, and receives with confidence, this decisive testimony, which gives a circumference of ten or twelve miles. The extravagant computation of Tournefort (Lettre XI.) of thirty-four or thirty miles, without including Scutari, is a strange departure from his usual character.

[36] The sycæ, or fig-trees, formed the thirteenth region, and were very much embellished by Justinian. It has since borne the names of Pera and Galata. The etymology of the former is obvious; that of the latter is unknown. See Ducange Const. l. i. c. 22, and Gyllius de Byzant. l. iv. c. 10. [It seems probable that Galata was the quarter of Celtic mercenaries in 3rd century B.C., and hence, like the country of Galatia, derived its name.]

[37] One hundred and eleven stadia, which may be translated into modern Greek miles each of seven stadia, or 660 sometimes only 600, French *toises*. See d'Anville, Mesures itinéraires, p. 53.

[38] When the ancient texts which describe the size of Babylon and Thebes are settled, the exaggerations reduced, and the measures ascertained, we find that those famous cities filled the great but not incredible circumference of about twenty-five or thirty miles. Compare d'Anville, Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xxxviii. p. 235, with his Description de l'Egypte, p. 201, 202.

[39] If we divide Constantinople and Paris into equal squares of 50 French *toises*, the former contains 850, and the latter 1160 of those divisions.

[40] Six hundred centenaries, or sixty thousand pounds weight of gold. This sum is taken from Codinus Antiquit. Const. p. 11; but, unless that contemptible author had derived his information from some purer sources, he would probably have been unacquainted with so obsolete a mode of reckoning.

[41] For the forests of the Black Sea, consult Tournefort, Lettre XVI.; for the marble quarries of Proconnesus, see Strabo, l. xiii. p. 588. The latter had already furnished the materials of the stately buildings of Cyzicus.

of labourers and artificers urged the conclusion of the work with incessant toil: but the impatience of Constantine soon discovered that, in the decline of the arts, the skill as well as numbers of his architects bore a very unequal proportion to the greatness of his designs. The magistrates of the most distant provinces were therefore directed to institute schools, to appoint professors, and by the hopes of rewards and privileges, to engage in the study and practice of architecture a sufficient number of ingenious youths, who had received a liberal education.[42] The buildings of the new city were executed by such artificers as the reign of Constantine could afford; but they were decorated by the hands of the most celebrated masters of the age of Pericles and Alexander. To revive the genius of Phidias and Lysippus surpassed indeed the power of a Roman emperor; but the immortal productions which they had bequeathed to posterity were exposed without defence to the capacious vanity of a despot. By his commands the cities of Greece and Asia were despoiled of their most valuable ornaments.[43] The trophies of memorable wars, the objects of religious veneration, the most finished statues of the gods and heroes, of the sages and poets, of ancient times, contributed to the splendid triumph of Constantinople; and gave occasion to the remark of the historian Cedrenus,[44] who observes, with some enthusiasm, that nothing seemed wanting except the souls of the illustrious men whom those admirable monuments were intended to represent. But it is not in the city of Constantine, nor in the declining period of an empire when the human mind was depressed by civil and religious slavery, that we should seek for the souls of Homer and of Demosthenes.

Edifices

During the siege of Byzantium, the conqueror had pitched his tent on the commanding eminence of the second hill. To perpetuate the memory of his success, he chose the same

[42] See the Codex Theodos. l. xiii. tit. iv. leg. 1. This law is dated in the year 334, and was addressed to the præfect of Italy, whose jurisdiction extended over Africa. The commentary of Godefroy on the whole title well deserves to be consulted.

[43] Constantinoplis dedicatur pœne omnium urbium nuditate. Hieronym. Chron. p. 181. See Codinus, p. 8, 9. The author of the Antiquitat. Const. l. iii. (apud Banduri Imp. Orient. tom. i. p. 41), enumerates Rome, Sicily, Antioch, Athens, and a long list of other cities. The provinces of Greece and Asia Minormay be supposed to have yielded the richest booty.

[44] Hist. Compend. p. 369 [i. 648, Bonn]. He describes the statue, or rather bust, of Homer with a degree of taste which plainly indicates that Cedrenus copied the style of a more fortunate age.

advantageous position for the principal Forum;[45] which appea to have been of a circular, or rather elliptical form. The tw opposite entrances formed triumphal arches; the porticoes, whic inclosed it on every side, were filled with statues; and th centre of the Forum was occupied by a lofty column, of whic a mutilated fragment is now degraded by the appellation of th *burnt pillar*. This column was erected on a pedestal of whit marble twenty feet high; and was composed of ten pieces porphyry, each of which measured above ten feet in heigh and about thirty-three in circumference.[46] On the summit the pillar, above one hundred and twenty feet from the groun stood the colossal statue of Apollo. It was of bronze, had bee transported either from Athens or from a town of Phrygia, an was supposed to be the work of Phidias. The artist had re presented the god of day, or, as it was afterwards interprete the emperor Constantine himself, with a sceptre in his righ hand, the globe of the world in his left, and a crown of ray glittering on his head.[47] The Circus, or Hippodrome, was stately building about four hundred paces in length and on hundred in breadth.[48] The space between the two *metæ* c goals was filled with statues and obelisks; and we may stil remark a very singular fragment of antiquity; the bodies c three serpents, twisted into one pillar of brass. Their tripl heads had once supported the golden tripod which, after th defeat of Xerxes, was consecrated in the temple of Delphi b the victorious Greeks.[49] The beauty of the Hippodrome ha

[45] Zosim. l. ii. p. 106 [c. 30]. Chron. Alexandrin. vel Paschal. p. 284 [528 Bonn]. Ducange Const. l. i. c. 24. Even the last of those writers seems t confound the Forum of Constantine with the Augusteum, or court of the palace I am not satisfied whether I have properly distinguished what belongs to the on and the other. [See App. 9.]

[46] The most tolerable account of this column is given by Pocock. Description of the East, vol. ii. part ii. p. 131. But it is still in many instances perplexed and unsatisfactory.

[47] Ducange Const. l. i. c. 24, p. 76, and his notes ad Alexiad. p. 382. Th statue of Constantine or Apollo was thrown down under the reign of Alexi Comnenus.

[48] Tournefort (Lettre XII) computes the Atmeidan at four hundred paces If he means geometrical paces of five feet each, it was three hundred *toises* in length, about forty more than the great Circus of Rome. See d'Anville Mesures Itinéraires, p. 73. [According to the measurements of M. Paspatês the length was 320 yards long, 79 yards broad.]

[49] The guardians of the most holy relics would rejoice if they were able to produce such a chain of evidence as may be alleged on this occasion. See Banduri ad Antiquitat. Const. p. 668. Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 13. 1. The original consecration of the tripod and pillar in the temple of Delphi may be proved from Herodotus and Pausanias. 2. The Pagan Zosimus agrees with the three ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius, Socrates, and Sozomen, that the sacred

en long since defaced by the rude hands of the Turkish conerors; but, under the similar appellation of Atmeidan, it still rves as a place of exercise for their horses. From the throne, hence the emperor viewed the Circensian games, a winding aircase[50] descended to the palace; a magnificent edifice, hich scarcely yielded to the residence of Rome itself, and hich, together with the dependent courts, gardens, and rticoes, covered a considerable extent of ground upon the nks of the Propontis between the Hippodrome and the urch of St. Sophia.[51] We might likewise celebrate the baths, hich still retained the name of Zeuxippus, after they had en enriched, by the munificence of Constantine, with lofty lumns, various marbles, and above threescore statues of onze.[52] But we should deviate from the design of this story, if we attempted minutely to describe the different ildings or quarters of the city. It may be sufficient to serve that whatever could adorn the dignity of a great pital, or contribute to the benefit or pleasure of its numerous habitants, was contained within the walls of Constantinople. particular description, composed about a century after its undation, enumerates a capitol or school of learning, a circus,

naments of the temple of Delphi were removed to Constantinople by the order of onstantine; and among these the serpentine pillar of the Hippodrome is particuly mentioned. 3. All the European travellers who have visited Constantinople, om Buondelmonte to Pocock, describe it in the same place, and almost in the me manner; the differences between them are occasioned only by the injuries hich it has sustained from the Turks. Mahomet the Second broke the under- w of one of the serpents with a stroke of his battle-axe. Thévenot, l. i. c. 17. Zosimus mentions only a tripod of Apollo with a statue of the god on it (ii. 31), it not the serpent coils, and therefore (so Mendelssohn) not the Platæan dedicaon.]

[50] The Latin name *Cochlea* was adopted by the Greeks, and very frequently curs in the Byzantine history. Ducange Const. l. ii. c. i. p. 104.

[51] There are three topographical points which indicate the situation of the lace. 1. The staircase, which connected it with the Hippodrome or Atmeidan. A small artificial port on the Propontis, from whence there was an easy ascent, a flight of marble steps, to the gardens of the palace. 3. The Augusteum as a spacious court, one side of which was occupied by the front of the palace, nd another by the church of St. Sophia. [See App. 9]

[52] Zeuxippus was an epithet of Jupiter, and the baths were a part of old yzantium. The difficulty of assigning their true situation has not been felt by ucange. History seems to connect them with St. Sophia and the palace; but e original plan, inserted in Banduri, places them on the other side of the city, ar the harbour. [They were close to the Palace and Hippodrome, on south de of the Augusteum, see App. 9.] For their beauties, see Chron. Paschal., p. 5, and Gyllius de Byzant. l. ii. c. 7. Christodorus (see Antiquitat. Const. l. vii.) mposed inscriptions in verse for each of the statues. He was a Theban poet genius as well as in birth:

Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum.

two theatres, eight public, and one hundred and fifty-th
private, baths, fifty-two porticoes, five granaries, eight aquedu
or reservoirs of water, four spacious halls for the meetings
the senate or courts of justice, fourteen churches, fourt
palaces, and four thousand three hundred and eighty-ei
houses, which, for their size or beauty, deserved to be d
tinguished from the multitude of plebeian habitations.[53]

Population

The populousness of his favoured city was the next a
most serious object of the attention of its founder. In the d
ages which succeeded the translation of the empire,
remote and the immediate consequences of that memora
event were strangely confounded by the vanity of the Gre
and the credulity of the Latins.[54] It was asserted and believ
that all the noble families of Rome, the senate, and t
equestrian order, with their innumerable attendants, H
followed their emperor to the banks of the Propontis; tha
spurious race of strangers and plebeians was left to possess t
solitude of the ancient capital; and that the lands of Ita
long since converted into gardens, were at once deprived
cultivation and inhabitants.[55] In the course of this history, su
exaggerations will be reduced to their just value: yet, sin
the growth of Constantinople cannot be ascribed to the gene
increase of mankind and of industry, it must be admitted th
this artificial colony was raised at the expense of the anci
cities of the empire. Many opulent senators of Rome, and
the Eastern provinces, were probably invited by Constantine
adopt for their country the fortunate spot which he had cho
for his own residence. The invitations of a master are scarc
to be distinguished from commands; and the liberality of t
emperor obtained a ready and cheerful obedience. He h
stowed on his favourites the palaces which he had built in t
several quarters of the city, assigned them lands and pensi

[53] See the Notitia. Rome only reckoned 1780 large houses, *domus;* but
word must have had a more dignified signification. No *insulæ* are mention
at Constantinople. The old capital consisted of 424 streets, the new of 322.

[54] Liutprand, Legatio ad Imp. Nicephorum, p. 153 [c. 62]. The modern Gre
have strangely disfigured the antiquities of Constantinople. We might excuse
errors of the Turkish or Arabian writers; but it is somewhat astonishing t
the Greeks, who had access to the authentic materials preserved in their o
language, should prefer fiction to truth and loose tradition to genuine histo
In a single page of Codinus we may detect twelve unpardonable mistakes;
reconciliation of Severus and Niger, the marriage of their son and daughter,
siege of Byzantium by the Macedonians, the invasion of the Gauls, which recal
Severus to Rome, the *sixty* years which elapsed from his death to the foundati
of Constantinople, &c.

[55] Montesquieu, Grandeur et Décadence des Romains, c. 17.

the support of their dignity,[56] and alienated the demesnes Pontus and Asia, to grant hereditary estates by the easy ure of maintaining a house in the capital.[57] But these en- ragements and obligations soon became superfluous, and e gradually abolished. Wherever the seat of government ixed, a considerable part of the public revenue will be ex- ded by the prince himself, by his ministers, by the officers justice, and by the domestics of the palace. The most althy of the provincials will be attracted by the powerful tives of interest and duty, of amusement and curiosity. A rd and more numerous class of inhabitants will insensibly be med, of servants, of artificers, and of merchants, who derive ir subsistence from their own labour and from the wants or ury of the superior ranks. In less than a century, Constan- ople disputed with Rome itself the pre-eminence of riches d numbers. New piles of buildings, crowded together with little regard to health or convenience, scarcely allowed the ervals of narrow streets for the perpetual throng of men, of rses, and of carriages. The allotted space of ground was ufficient to contain the increasing people; and the additional ndations, which, on either side, were advanced into the sea, ght alone have composed a very considerable city.[58]

The frequent and regular distributions of wine and oil, of Privileges rn or bread, of money or provisions, had almost exempted the orer citizens of Rome from the necessity of labour. The gnificence of the first Cæsars was in some measure imitated the founder of Constantinople:[59] but his liberality, however

[56] Themist. Orat. iii. p. 48. edit Hardouin. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3. Zosim. l. ii. 107 [32]. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715 [§ 30]. If we could credit Codinus (p. , Constantine built houses for the senators on the exact model of their Roman aces, and gratified them, as well as himself, with the pleasure of an agreeable prise; but the whole story is full of fictions and inconsistencies.

[57] The law by which the younger Theodosius, in the year 438, abolished this ure may be found among the Novellæ of that emperor at the end of the eodosian Code, tom. vi. nov. 12. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. p. 371), has evidently mistaken the nature of these estates. With a grant m the Imperial demesnes, the same condition was accepted as a favour which uld justly have been deemed a hardship, if it had been imposed upon private perty.

[58] The passages of Zosimus, of Eunapius, of Sozomen, and of Agathias, which ate to the increase of buildings and inhabitants at Constantinople, are collected d connected by Gyllius de Byzant. l. i. c. 3. Sidonius Apollinaris (in Panegyr. them. 56, p. 290, edit. Sirmond) describes the moles that were pushed forwards o the sea; they consisted of the famous Puzzolan sand, which hardens in the ter.

[59] Sozomen, l. ii. c. 3, Philostorg. l. ii. c. 9, Codin. Antiq. Const. p. 8. It pears by Socrates, l. ii. c. 13, that the daily allowances of the city consisted of ght myriads of σίτου, which we may either translate with Valesius by the words modii

it might excite the applause of the people, has incurred censure of posterity. A nation of legislators and conque might assert their claim to the harvests of Africa, which been purchased with their blood; and it was artfully contri by Augustus that, in the enjoyment of plenty, the Romans shc lose the memory of freedom. But the prodigality of C stantine could not be excused by any consideration eithe public or private interest; and the annual tribute of c imposed upon Egypt for the benefit of his new capital applied to feed a lazy and indolent populace, at the expens the husbandmen of an industrious province.[60] Some other gulations of this emperor are less liable to blame, but they less deserving of notice. He divided Constantinople i fourteen regions or quarters,[61] dignified the public council w the appellation of Senate,[62] communicated to the citizens privileges of Italy,[63] and bestowed on the rising city the titl

of corn or consider as expressive of the number of loaves of bread. [Cp. Zosimus, ii. 32; Photius, p. 475, a. 39, ed. Bekker; Codinus, de or cp. p. 16, 4. Bekk. (ἄρτους ἡμερησίους). We must understand loaves, not modii (nor medi as Finlay thought; 1 med. = 6 mod.). See E. Gebhardt, das Verpflegungsw von Rom und Constantinopel, 1881.]

[60] See Cod. Theodos. l. xiii. and xiv. [16] and Cod. Justinian. Edict. tom. ii. p. 648, edit. Genev. See the beautiful complaint of Rome in the poem Claudian de Bell. Gildonico, ver. 46—64.

Cum subiit par Roma mihi divisaque sumsit
Æquales aurora togas: Ægyptia rura
In partem cessere novam.

[Cp. also Libanius περὶ τῶν ἱερ. 184, ed. Reiske; Themistius, Or. 4, p. 52 C L., i. p. 394.]

[61] The regions of Constantinople are mentioned in the code of Justinian, particularly described in the Notitia of the younger Theodosius; but, as the l last of them are not included within the wall of Constantine, it may be doub whether this division of the city should be referred to the founder.

[62] Senatum constituit secundi ordinis; *Claros* vocavit. Anon. Valesian. p. [§ 30]. The senators of old Rome were styled *Clarissimi*. See a curious not Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. xxii. 9. From the 11th epistle of Julian should seem that the place of senator was considered as a burthen rather t as an honour; but the Abbé de la Blêterie (Vie de Jovien, t. ii. p. 371) has she that this epistle could not relate to Constantinople. Might we not read, instead the celebrated name of Βυζαντίοις, the obscure but more probable word Βισανθήνο Bisanthe or Rhœdestus, now Rhodosto, was a small maritime city of Thra See Stephan. Byz. de Urbibus, p. 225, and Cellar Geograph. tom. i. p. 8 [Certain gold medallions with Emperor standing and the legend Senatus, on reverse, have been shown to refer to the foundation of the new senate (Kenn *Wiener numism. Zeit.*, 3, 117). Hertlein, p. 491, keeps Βυζαντίοις but noti Gibbon's conjecture.]

[63] Cod. Theodos. l. xiv. 13. The Commentary of Godefroy (t. v. p. 220 long, but perplexed; nor indeed is it easy to ascertain in what the Jus Italici could consist, after the freedom of the city had been communicated to the wh empire. [Jus Italicum gave exemption from tributum or land-tax,—an exempti which Italy herself had recently lost.]

ony, the first and most favoured daughter of ancient Rome. venerable parent still maintained the legal and acknowged supremacy which was due to her age, to her dignity, to the remembrance of her former greatness.[64]

Dedication. A.D. 330 or 334

s Constantine urged the progress of the work with the atience of a lover, the walls, the porticoes, and the principal ices, were completed in a few years, or, according to another ount, in a few months;[65] but this extraordinary diligence uld excite the less admiration, since many of the buildings e finished in so hasty and imperfect a manner that, under succeeding reign, they were preserved with difficulty from ending ruin.[66] But, while they displayed the vigour and hness of youth, the founder prepared to celebrate the dedi- [A.D. 30, May 11] on of his city.[67] The games and largesses which crowned pomp of this memorable festival may easily be supposed; there is one circumstance of a more singular and permanent ure, which ought not entirely to be overlooked. As often he birthday of the city returned, the statue of Constantine, ned, by his order, of gilt wood, and bearing in its right d a small image of the genius of the place, was erected on riumphal car. The guards, carrying white tapers, and hed in their richest apparel, accompanied the solemn pro- sion as it moved through the Hippodrome. When it was posite to the throne of the reigning emperor, he rose from

[64] Julian (Orat. i. p. 8) celebrates Constantinople as not less superior to all r cities than she was inferior to Rome itself. His learned commentator nheim, p. 75, 76), justifies this language by several parallel and contemporary nces. Zosimus, as well as Socrates and Sozomen, flourished after the division e empire between the two sons of Theodosius, which established a perfect *ality* between the old and the new capital.

[65] Codinus (Antiquitat. p. 8), affirms that the foundations of Constantinople were in the year of the world 5837 (A.D. 329), on the 26th of September, and the city was dedicated the 11th of May 5838 (A.D. 330). He connects these s with several characteristic epochs, but they contradict each other; the nority of Codinus is of little weight, and the space which he assigns must appear fficient. The term of ten years is given us by Julian (Orat. i. p. 8), and nheim labours to establish the truth of it (p. 69-75), by the help of two sages from Themistius (Orat. iv. p. 58), and of Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 9), which n a period from the year 324 to the year 334. Modern critics are divided cerning this point of chronology, and their different sentiments are very irately discussed by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 619-625. e date of dedication, 11th May 330, is certain, see Idatius, *Descr. Consul.*, Chron. ch. p. 285, Hesychius, F. H. G. 4, p. 154, cp. Malalas, p. 322, Cedren. i. p. 497. foundation of Western Wall was laid Nov. 4, 326, acc. to Anon. Band. i. 3.]

[66] Themistius, Orat. iii. p. 47. Zosim. l. ii. p. 108. Constantine himself, in of his laws (Cod. Theod. l. xv. tit. 1), betrays his impatience.

[67] Cedrenus and Zonaras, faithful to the mode of superstition which prevailed in r own times, assure us that Constantinople was consecrated to the Virgin ther of God.

his seat, and with grateful reverence adored the memory of
predecessor.[68] At the festival of the dedication, an edict,
graved on a column of marble, bestowed the title of SECON
NEW ROME on the city of Constantine.[69] But the name of C
stantinople[70] has prevailed over that honourable epithet; a
after the revolution of fourteen centuries, still perpetuates
fame of its author.[71]

Form of government

The foundation of a new capital is naturally connected w
the establishment of a new form of civil and military adminis
tion. The distinct view of the complicated system of pol
introduced by Diocletian, improved by Constantine, and co
pleted by his immediate successors, may not only amuse
fancy by the singular picture of a great empire, but will ta
to illustrate the secret and internal causes of its rapid dec
In the pursuit of any remarkable institution, we may be f
quently led into the more early or the more recent times
the Roman history; but the proper limits of this inquiry w
be included within a period of about one hundred and thi
years, from the accession of Constantine to the publication
the Theodosian code;[72] from which, as well as from the *Not*
of the east and west,[73] we derive the most copious and authen
information of the state of the empire. This variety of obje
will suspend, for some time, the course of the narrative; I

[68] The earliest and most complete account of this extraordinary ceremony m
be found in the Alexandrian Chronicle, p. 285 [Chr. Pasch. p. 529-30]. Ti
mont, and the other friends of Constantine, who are offended with the air
Paganism which seems unworthy of a Christian Prince, had a right to conside
as doubtful, but they were not authorized to omit the mention of it.

[69] Sozomen, l. ii. c. 2. Ducange, C. P. l. i. c. 6. Velut ipsius Romæ filiam
the expression of Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. v. c. 25.

[70] Eutropius, l. x. c. 8. Julian. Orat. i. p. 8. Ducange C. P. l. i. c. 5. T
name of Constantinople is extant on the medals of Constantine.

[71] The lively Fontenelle (Dialogues des Morts, xii.) affects to deride the vanity
human ambition, and seems to triumph in the disappointment of Constanti
whose immortal name is now lost in the vulgar appellation of Istambol, a Turk
corruption of εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Yet the original name is still preserved, 1. By
nations of Europe. 2. By the modern Greeks. 3. By the Arabs, whose writi
are diffused over the wide extent of their conquests in Asia and Africa.
d'Herbelot Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 275. 4. By the more learned Turks, and
the emperor himself in his public mandates. Cantemir's History of [Growth a
Decay of] the Othman [Ottoman] Empire, p. 51 [Eng. Tr., 1734].

[72] The Theodosian code was promulgated A.D. 438. See the Prolegomena
Godefroy, c. i. p. 185.

[73] Pancirolus, in his elaborate Commentary, assigns to the Notitia a da
almost similar to that of the Theodosian code: but his proofs, or rather co
jectures, are extremely feeble. I should be rather inclined to place this use
work between the final division of the empire (A.D. 395), and the successful inva
of Gaul by the Barbarians (A.D. 407). See Histoire des anciens Peuples
l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 40. [Cp. App. II.]

interruption will be censured only by those readers who insensible to the importance of laws and manners, while y peruse, with eager curiosity, the transient intrigues of a rt, or the accidental event of a battle.

Hierarchy of the state

The manly pride of the Romans, content with substantial er, had left to the vanity of the east the forms and cere- nies of ostentatious greatness.[74] But when they lost even semblance of those virtues which were derived from their ent freedom, the simplicity of Roman manners was in- sibly corrupted by the stately affectation of the courts of a. The distinctions of personal merit and influence, so spicuous in a republic, so feeble and obscure under a narchy, were abolished by the despotism of the emperors; substituted in their room a severe subordination of rank office, from the titled slaves, who were seated on the steps he throne, to the meanest instruments of arbitrary power. s multitude of abject dependents was interested in the port of the actual government, from the dread of a revolu- n, which might at once confound their hopes and intercept reward of their services. In this divine hierarchy (for such s frequently styled) every rank was marked with the most pulous exactness, and its dignity was displayed in a variety rifling and solemn ceremonies, which it was a study to learn a sacrilege to neglect.[75] The purity of the Latin language debased by adopting, in the intercourse of pride and tery, a profusion of epithets, which Tully would scarcely e understood, and which Augustus would have rejected h indignation. The principal officers of the empire were ited, even by the sovereign himself, with the deceitful titles your *Sincerity*, your *Gravity*, your *Excellency*, your *Eminence*, ir *sublime and wonderful Magnitude*, your *illustrious and mag- cent Highness*.[76] The codicils or patents of their office were iously emblazoned with such emblems as were best adapted explain its nature and high dignity; the image or portrait the reigning emperors; a triumphal car; the book of man-

[74] Scilicet externæ superbiæ sueto, non inerat notitia nostri (perhaps *nostrae*); d quos vis Imperii valet, inania transmittuntur. Tacit. Annal. xv. 31. The dation from the style of freedom and simplicity to that of form and servitude be traced in the Epistles of Cicero, of Pliny, and of Symmachus.

[75] The emperor Gratian, after confirming a law of precedency published by entinian, the father of his *Divinity*, thus continues: Siquis igitur indebitum locum usurpaverit, nulla se ignoratione defendat; sitque plane *sacrilegii* reus, *divina* præcepta neglexerit. Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. v. leg. 2.

[76] Consult the *Notitia Dignitatum*, at the end of the Theodosian Code, tom. p. 316.

dates placed on a table, covered with a rich carpet, and illu
nated by four tapers; the allegorical figures of the provin
which they governed; or the appellations and standards of
troops whom they commanded. Some of these official ensi
were really exhibited in their hall of audience; others preced
their pompous march whenever they appeared in public; a
every circumstance of their demeanour, their dress, their or
ments, and their train, was calculated to inspire a deep
verence for the representatives of supreme majesty. By
philosophic observer, the system of the Roman governm
might have been mistaken for a splendid theatre, filled w
players of every character and degree, who repeated t
language, and imitated the passions, of their original mode

Three ranks of honour

All the magistrates of sufficient importance to find a pla
in the general state of the empire were accurately divided i
three classes. 1. The *Illustrious.* 2. The *Spectabiles,* or *Resp
able:* And, 3. The *Clarissimi;* whom we may translate by t
word *Honourable.* In the times of Roman simplicity, the la
mentioned epithet was used only as a vague expression
deference, till it became at length the peculiar and appropriat
title of all who were members of the senate,[78] and consequen
of all who, from that venerable body, were selected to gove
the provinces. The vanity of those who, from their rank a
office, might claim a superior distinction above the rest of t
senatorial order was long afterwards indulged with the n
appellation of *Respectable;* but the title of *Illustrious* was alwa
reserved to some eminent personages who were obeyed or
verenced by the two subordinate classes. It was communicat

[Four divisions of Illustres]

only, I. To the consuls and patricians; II. To the prætori
præfects, with the præfects of Rome and Constantinople; I
To the masters general of the cavalry and the infantry; and, I
To the seven ministers of the palace, who exercised their *sacr*
functions about the person of the emperor.[79] Among tho

[77] Pancirolus ad Notitiam utriusque Imperii, p. 39. But his explanations a
obscure, and he does not sufficiently distinguish the painted emblems from t
effective ensigns of office.

[78] In the Pandects, which may be referred to the reigns of the Antonin
Clarissimus is the ordinary and legal title of a senator. [Another importa
title is that of *vir consularis* (origin uncertain). All *clarissimi* who were admitt
into the senate had this rank, which must be carefully distinguished from *co
sularis* in the old sense of ex-consul. Some provincial governorships could on
be held by *consulares;* hence the *Consularis* of — &c.]

[79] Pancirol. p. 12-17. I have not taken any notice of the two inferior rank
Perfectissimus and *Egregius*, which were given to many persons who were n
raised to the senatorial dignity. [For example, the urban prefect was perfectissimu
likewise the governors of dioceses under Diocletian and Constantine. But, as the

ustrious magistrates who were esteemed co-ordinate with each her, the seniority of appointment gave place to the union of gnities.[80] By the expedient of honorary codicils, the emperors, no were fond of multiplying their favours, might sometimes atify the vanity, though not the ambition, of impatient urtiers.[81]

The consuls

I. As long as the Roman consuls were the first magistrates a free state, they derived their right to power from the oice of the people. As long as the emperors condescended disguise the servitude which they imposed, the consuls ere still elected by the real or apparent suffrage of the senate. rom the reign of Diocletian, even these vestiges of liberty ere abolished, and the successful candidates who were in- sted with the annual honours of the consulship affected to plore the humiliating condition of their predecessors. The ipios and the Catos had been reduced to solicit the votes of ebeians, to pass through the tedious and expensive forms of popular election, and to expose their dignity to the shame of public refusal; while their own happier fate had reserved em for an age and government in which the rewards of virtue ere assigned by the unerring wisdom of a gracious sovereign.[82] the epistles which the emperor addressed to the two consuls ect, it was declared that they were created by his sole thority.[83] Their names and portraits, engraved on gilt tablets ivory, were dispersed over the empire as presents to the pro- nces, the cities, the magistrates, the senate, and the people.[84] heir solemn inauguration was performed at the place of the

d lesser officials were promoted to senatorial rank, they became *clarissimi* or *ctabiles*. The rank of *egregius* is not found after Constantine; that of *fectissimus* lingered longer and was still borne by the governor of Dalmatia in early years of the fifth century.]

[80] Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. vi. The rules of precedency are ascertained with the st minute accuracy by the emperors and illustrated with equal prolixity by their rned interpreter.

[81] Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. xxii.

[82] Ausonius (in Gratiarum Actione) basely expatiates on this unworthy topic, ich is managed by Mamertinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi. 16, 19) with somewhat more edom and ingenuity.

[83] Cum de Consulibus in annum creandis solus mecum volutarem . . . te nsulem et designavi, et declaravi, et priorem nuncupavi; are some of the ex- ssions employed by the emperor Gratian to his preceptor the poet Ausonius.

[84] Immanesque . . . dentes,
Qui secti ferro in tabulas auroque micantes
Inscripti rutilum cælato consule nomen
Per proceres et vulgus eant.
Claud. in ii. Cons. Stilichon. 346.

ontfaucon has represented some of these tablets or diptychs; see Supplément à ntiquité expliquée, tom. iii. p. 220.

imperial residence; and, during a period of one hundred and twenty years, Rome was constantly deprived of the presence of her ancient magistrates.[85] On the morning of the first of January, the consuls assumed the ensigns of their dignity. Their dress was a robe of purple, embroidered in silk and gold, and sometimes ornamented with costly gems.[86] On this solemn occasion they were attended by the most eminent officers of the state and army, in the habit of senators; and the useless fasces, armed with the once formidable axes, were borne before them by the lictors.[87] The procession moved from the palace to the Forum, or principal square of the city; where the consuls ascended their tribunal, and seated themselves in the curule chairs, which were framed after the fashion of ancient times. They immediately exercised an act of jurisdiction, by the manumission of a slave, who was brought before them for that purpose; and the ceremony was intended to represent the celebrated action of the elder Brutus, the author of liberty and of the consulship, when he admitted among his fellow-citizens the faithful Vindex, who had revealed the conspiracy of the Tarquins.[89] The public festival was continued during several days in all the

[85] Consule lætatur post plurima sæcula viso
Pallanteus apex: agnoscunt rostra curules
Auditas quondam proavis: desuetaque cingit
Regius auratis Fora fascibus Ulpia lictor.
i. in vi. Cons. Honorii, 643.

From the reign of Carus to the sixth consulship of Honorius, there was an interval of one hundred and twenty years, during which the emperors were always absent from Rome on the first day of January. See the Chronologie de Tillemont, tom. iii. iv. and v.

[86] See Claudian in Cons. Prob. et Olybrii, 178, &c., and in iv. Cons. Honorii, 585, &c.; though in the latter it is not easy to separate the ornaments of the emperor from those of the consul. Ausonius received, from the liberality of Gratian, a *vestis palmata*, or robe of state, in which the figure of the emperor Constantius was embroidered.

[87] Cernis ut armorum proceres legumque potentes
Patricios sumunt habitus, et more Gabino
Discolor incedit legio, positisque parumper
Bellorum signis sequitur vexilla Quirini?
Lictori cedunt aquilæ, ridetque togatus
Miles, et in mediis effulget curia castris.
Claud. in iv. Cons. Honorii, 5.
—— *strictasque* procul radiare *secures*.
In Cons. Prob. 229 [232].

[88] See Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 7.

[89] Auspice mox læto [laetum] sonuit clamore tribunal
Te fastos ineunte quater; sollemnia ludit
Omnia [omina] libertas: deductum Vindice morem
Lex servat [celebrat], famulusque jugo laxatus erili
Ducitur, et grato remeat securior ictu.
Claud. in iv. Cons. Honorii, 611.

incipal cities; in Rome, from custom; in Constantinople, om imitation; in Carthage, Antioch, and Alexandria, from e love of pleasure and the superfluity of wealth.[90] In the o capitals of the empire the annual games of the theatre, e circus, and the amphitheatre,[91] cost four thousand pounds gold, (about) one hundred and sixty thousand pounds erling: and if so heavy an expense surpassed the faculties or e inclination of the magistrates themselves, the sum was pplied from the imperial treasury.[92] As soon as the consuls d discharged these customary duties, they were at liberty to tire into the shade of private life, and to enjoy, during the mainder of the year, the undisturbed contemplation of their n greatness. They no longer presided in the national uncils; they no longer executed the resolutions of peace war. Their abilities (unless they were employed in more fective offices) were of little moment; and their names served ly as the legal date of the year in which they had filled the air of Marius and of Cicero. Yet it was still felt and acnowledged, in the last period of Roman servitude, that this mpty name might be compared, and even preferred, to the ssession of substantial power. The title of consul was still e most splendid object of ambition, the noblest reward of rtue and loyalty. The emperors themselves, who disdained e faint shadow of the republic, were conscious that they quired an additional splendour and majesty as often as they sumed the annual honours of the consular dignity.[93]

The Patricians

The proudest and most perfect separation which can be found in any age or country between the nobles and the people is perhaps that of the Patricians and the Plebeians, as it was established in the first age of the Roman republic. Wealth and

[90] Celebrant quidem solemnes istos dies, omnes ubique urbes quæ sub legibus unt; et Roma de more, et Constantinopolis de imitatione, et Antochia pro luxu, discincta Carthago, et domus fluminis Alexandria sed Treviri Principis beneficio. Sonius in Grat. Actione.

[91] Claudian (in Cons. Mall. Theodori, 279-331) describes, in a lively and ciful manner, the various games of the circus, the theatre, and the amphiatre, exhibited by the new consul. The sanguinary combats of gladiators had eady been prohibited.

[92] Procopius in Hist. Arcana, c. 26. [20 centenaria = 2000 (not 4000) lbs. of d.]

[93] In Consulatu honos sine labore suscipitur (Mamertin. in Panegyr. Vet. xi. This exalted idea of the consulship is borrowed from an Oration (iii. p. 107) nounced by Julian in the servile court of Constantius. See the Abbé de la terie (Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxiv. p. 289), who delights to pursue the tiges of the old constitution, and who sometimes finds them in his copious cy. [Before the end of the fourth century, the arrangement was made that one nsul was appointed by the western, the other by the eastern, emperor.]

honours, the offices of the state, and the ceremonies of religio were almost exclusively possessed by the former; who, preser ing the purity of their blood with the most insulting jealousy, held their clients in a condition of specious vassalage. But thes distinctions, so incompatible with the spirit of a free peopl were removed, after a long struggle, by the persevering effor of the Tribunes. The most active and successful of the Plebe ians accumulated wealth, aspired to honours, deserved triumph contracted alliances, and, after some generations, assumed th pride of ancient nobility.[95] The Patrician families, on the othe hand, whose original number was never recruited till the end c the commonwealth, either failed in the ordinary course of nature or were extinguished in so many foreign and domestic war or, through a want of merit or fortune, insensibly mingled wit the mass of the people.[96] Very few remained who could deriv their pure and genuine origin from the infancy of the city, c even from that of the republic, when Cæsar and Augustus Claudius and Vespasian, created from the body of the senate competent number of new Patrician families, in the hope of per petuating an order which was still considered as honourabl and sacred.[97] But these artificial supplies (in which the reignin house was always included) were rapidly swept away by th rage of tyrants, by frequent revolutions, by the change o manners, and by the intermixture of nations.[98] Little mor

[94] Intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were prohibited by th laws of the XII. Tables; and the uniform operations of human nature may atte that the custom survived the law. See in Livy (iv. 1-6), the pride of famil urged by the consul, and the rights of mankind asserted by the tribune Canuleius

[95] See the animated pictures drawn by Sallust, in the Jugurthine war, of th pride of the nobles, and even of the virtuous Metellus, who was unable to broo the idea that the honour of the consulship should be bestowed on the obscur merit of his lieutenant Marius (c. 64). Two hundred years before, the race of th Metelli themselves were confounded among the Plebeians of Rome; and from th etymology of their name of *Cæcilius*, there is reason to believe that those haught nobles derived their origin from a sutler.

[96] In the year of Rome 800, very few remained, not only of the old Patrician families, but even of those which had been created by Cæsar and Augustus (Tacit Annal. xi. 25). The family of Scaurus (a branch of the Patrician Æmilii) wa degraded so low that his father, who exercised the trade of a charcoal merchant left him only ten slaves, and somewhat less than three hundred pounds sterling (Valerius Maximus, l. iv. c. 4, n. 11, Aurel. Victor in Scauro). The family wa saved from oblivion by the merit of the son.

[97] Tacit. Annal. xi. 25, Dion Cassius, l. lii. p. 693 [c. 42]. The virtues o Agricola, who was created a Patrician by the emperor Vespasian, reflected honou on that ancient order; but his ancestors had not any claim beyond an equestrian nobility.

[98] This failure would have been almost impossible, if it were true, as Casaubon compels Aurelius Victor to affirm (ad. Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 42. See Hist. August. p. 203 [—c. 3], and Casaubon, Comment. p. 220), that Vespasian created at onc

as left when Constantine ascended the throne than a vague nd imperfect tradition that the Patricians had once been the rst of the Romans. To form a body of nobles, whose influence ay restrain, while it secures, the authority of the monarch, ould have been very inconsistent with the character and policy f Constantine; but, had he seriously entertained such a design, might have exceeded the measure of his power to ratify, by n arbitrary edict, an institution which must expect the sanction f time and of opinion. He revived, indeed, the title of PATRICIANS, but he revived it as a personal, not as an hereditary, distinction. They yielded only to the transient superiority of the nnual consuls; but they enjoyed the pre-eminence over all the reat officers of state, with the most familiar access to the erson of the prince. This honourable rank was bestowed on nem for life; and, as they were usually favourites and ministers ho had grown old in the Imperial court, the true etymology of ne word was perverted by ignorance and flattery; and the atricians of Constantine were reverenced as the adopted *athers* of the emperor and the republic.[99]

The Prætorian præfects

II. The fortunes of the Prætorian præfects were essentially ifferent from those of the consuls and patricians. The latter aw their ancient greatness evaporate in a vain title. The ormer, rising by degrees from the most humble condition, were nvested with the civil and military administration of the Roman orld. From the reign of Severus to that of Diocletian, the uards and the palace, the laws and the finances, the armies and ne provinces, were intrusted to their superintending care; and, ke the Vizirs of the East, they held with one hand the seal, nd with the other the standard, of the empire. The ambition f the præfects, always formidable and sometimes fatal to the asters whom they served, was supported by the strength of the rætorian bands; but after those haughty troops had been eakened by Diocletian, and finally suppressed by Constantine, he præfects, who survived their fall, were reduced without ifficulty to the station of useful and obedient ministers. When hey were no longer responsible for the safety of the emperor's erson, they resigned the jurisdiction which they had hitherto laimed and exercised over all the departments of the palace.

thousand Patrician families. But this extravagant number is too much even for ne whole senatorial order, unless we should include all the Roman knights who ere distinguished by the permission of wearing the laticlave.

[99] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 118 [c. 40]; and Godefroy ad Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. vi. These Patricians had precedence of all dignitaries except the consuls in office. ut they were hardly regarded as adoptive fathers of the emperor.]

They were deprived by Constantine of all military command, a soon as they had ceased to lead into the field, under their immedi ate orders, the flower of the Roman troops; and at length, by singular revolution, the captains of the guard were transforme into the civil magistrates of the provinces. According to th plan of government instituted by Diocletian, the four prince had each their prætorian præfect;[100] and, after the monarch was once more united in the person of Constantine, he still con tinued to create the same number of FOUR PRÆFECTS, and in trusted to their care the same provinces which they already administered. 1. The præfect of the East stretched his ampl jurisdiction into the three parts of the globe which were subjec to the Romans, from the cataracts of the Nile to the banks o the Phasis, and from the mountains of Thrace to the frontiers o Persia. 2. The important provinces of Pannonia, Dacia, Mace donia, and Greece, once acknowledged the authority of the præfect of Illyricum. 3. The power of the præfect of Italy was not confined to the country from whence he derived his title; it extended over the additional territory of Rhætia as far as the banks of the Danube, over the dependent islands of the Mediterranean, and over that part of the continent of Africa which lies between the confines of Cyrene and those of Tingi tania. 4. The præfect of the Gauls comprehended under that plural denomination the kindred provinces of Britain and Spain, and his authority was obeyed from the wall of Antoninus to the foot of Mount Atlas.[101]

After the Prætorian præfects had been dismissed from all military command,[102] the civil functions which they were ordained to exercise over so many subject nations were adequate to the ambition and abilities of the most consummate ministers. To their wisdom was committed the supreme administration of justice and of the finances, the two objects which, in a state of peace, comprehend almost all the respective duties of the sovereign and of the people; of the former, to protect the citizens who are obedient to the laws; of the latter, to con tribute the share of their property which is required for the

[100] [It is probable that the Cæsars had præt. prefects as well as the Augusti; but there is not evidence that there were 4 prefects regularly under Constantine. See App. 6 and 15.]

[101] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 109, 110 [c. 33]. If we had not fortunately possessed this satisfactory account of the division of the power and provinces of the Prætorian præfects, we should frequently have been perplexed amidst the copious details of the Code, and the circumstantial minuteness of the Notitia.

[102] [By Constantine; not entirely by Diocletian. The only duty which still connected them with the army was that of providing the supplies for the soldiers; and this was a consequence of their financial functions.]

penses of the state.[103] The coin, the highways, the posts, the anaries, the manufactures, whatever could interest the public osperity was moderated by the authority of the Prætorian æfects. As the immediate representatives of the Imperial ajesty, they were empowered to explain, to enforce, and on me occasions to modify, the general edicts by their discre- onary proclamations. They watched over the conduct of the ovincial governors,[104] removed the negligent, and inflicted nishments on the guilty. From all the inferior jurisdictions, appeal in every matter of importance, either civil or criminal, ight be brought before the tribunal of the præfect: but *his* ntence was final and absolute; and the emperors themselves fused to admit any complaints against the judgment or the tegrity of a magistrate whom they honoured with such un- ounded confidence.[105] His appointments were suitable to his gnity;[106] and, if avarice was his ruling passion, he enjoyed equent opportunities of collecting a rich harvest of fees, of resents, and of perquisites. Though the emperors no longer readed the ambition of their præfects, they were attentive counterbalance the power of this great office by the uncer- inty and shortness of its duration.[107]

The præfects of Rome and Constantinople

From their superior importance and dignity, Rome and onstantinople were alone excepted from the jurisdiction of the rætorian præfects. The immense size of the city and the xperience of the tardy, ineffectual operation of the laws had rnished the policy of Augustus with a specious pretence for troducing a new magistrate, who alone could restrain a servile nd turbulent populace by the strong arm of arbitrary power.[108]

[103] [The prefect was head of the office for the collection of inland revenue. The nperor only intervened when the ordinary taxes were insufficient or a remission arrears was expedient.]

[104] [Whom they practically appointed.]

[105] See a law of Constantine himself. A præfectis autem prætorio provocare on sinimus. Cod. Justinian. l. vii. tit. lxii. leg. 19. Charisius, a lawyer of the me of Constantine (Heinec. Hist. Juris Romani, p. 349), who admits this law as a ndamental principle of jurisprudence, compares the prætorian præfects to the asters of the horse of the ancient dictators. Pandect. l. i. tit. xi.

[106] When Justinian, in the exhausted condition of the empire, instituted a rætorian præfect for Africa, he allowed him a salary of one hundred pounds of old. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xxvii. leg. 1.

[107] For this, and the other dignities of the empire, it may be sufficient to refer to he ample commentaries of Pancirolus and Godefroy, who have diligently collected nd accurately digested in their proper order all the legal and historical materials. rom those authors Dr. Howell (History of the World, vol. ii. p. 24-77) had educed a very distinct abridgment of the state of the Roman empire.

[108] Tacit. Annal. vi. 11. Euseb. in Chron. p. 155. Dion Cassius, in the oration f Mæcenas (l. lii. p. 675 [21]), describes the prerogatives of the præfect of the city s they were established in his own time.

Valerius Messalla was appointed the first præfect of Rome, th his reputation might countenance so invidious a measure: bu at the end of a few days, that accomplished citizen[109] resigne his office, declaring with a spirit worthy of the friend of Brutu that he found himself incapable of exercising a power incon patible with public freedom.[110] As the sense of liberty became le exquisite, the advantages of order were more clearly understoo and the præfect, who seemed to have been designed as a terro only to slaves and vagrants, was permitted to extend his civ and criminal jurisdiction over the equestrian and noble familie of Rome. The prætors, annually created as the judges of la and equity, could not long dispute the possession of the Forum with a vigorous and permanent magistrate, who was usuall admitted into the confidence of the prince. Their courts wer deserted, their number, which had once fluctuated betwee twelve and eighteen,[111] was gradually reduced to two or three and their important functions were confined to the expensiv obligation[112] of exhibiting games for the amusement of th people. After the office of the Roman consuls had been change into a vain pageant, which was rarely displayed in the capital the præfects assumed their vacant place in the senate, and were soon acknowledged as the ordinary presidents of that venerable assembly. They received appeals from the distance of one hundred miles; and it was allowed as a principle of jurispru dence, that all municipal authority was derived from them alone.[113] In the discharge of his laborious employment, the

[109] The fame of Messalla has been scarcely equal to his merit. In the earlies youth he was recommended by Cicero to the friendship of Brutus. He followe the standard of the republic till it was broken in the fields of Philippi: he the accepted and deserved the favour of the most moderate of the conquerors; and uniformly asserted his freedom and dignity in the court of Augustus. The triumph of Messalla was justified by the conquest of Aquitain. As an orator he disputed the palm of eloquence with Cicero himself. Messalla cultivated every muse, and was the patron of every man of genius. He spent his evenings in philosophic conversation with Horace; assumed his place at table between Delia and Tibullus; and amused his leisure by encouraging the poetical talents of young Ovid.

[110] Incivilem esse potestatem contestans, says the translator of Eusebius. Tacitus expresses the same idea in other words: quasi nescius exercendi.

[111] See Lipsius, Excursus D. ad 1 lib. Tacit. Annal.

[112] Heineccii Element. Juris Civilis secund. ordinem Pandect. tom. i. p. 70. See likewise Sparheim de Usu Numismatum, tom. ii. dissertat. x. p. 219. In the year 450, Marcian published a law that *three* citizens should be annually created Prætors of Constantinople by the choice of the senate, but with their own consent. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 2.

[113] Quidquid igitur intra urbem admittitur, ad P. U. videtur pertinere; sed et siquid intra centesimum milliarium. Ulpian in Pandect. l. i. tit. xiii. n. 1. He proceeds to enumerate the various offices of the præfect, who, in the code of Justinian (l. i. tit. xxxix. leg. 3), is declared to precede and command all city magistrates, sine injuriâ ac detrimento honoris alieni.

vernor of Rome was assisted by fifteen officers, some of whom d been originally his equals, or even his superiors. The ncipal departments were relative to the command of a merous watch, established as a safeguard against fires, beries, and nocturnal disorders; the custody and distribution the public allowance of corn and provisions; the care of the rt, of the aqueducts, of the common sewers, and of the vigation and bed of the Tiber; the inspection of the markets, e theatres, and of the private as well as public works. Their ilance ensured the three principal objects of a regular police, fety, plenty, and cleanliness; and, as a proof of the attention government to preserve the splendour and ornaments of the bital, a particular inspector was appointed for the statues; e guardian, as it were, of that inanimate people, which, cording to the extravagant computation of an old writer, was rcely inferior in number to the living inhabitants of Rome.

bout thirty years after the foundation of Constantinople, a [359 A.D
nilar magistrate was created in that rising metropolis, for the me uses, and with the same powers. A perfect equality was tablished between the dignity of the *two* municipal, and that the *four* prætorian, præfects.[114]

Those who, in the Imperial hierarchy, were distinguished by The proconsuls, vice-præfects, &c.
e title of *Respectable*, formed an intermediate class between e *illustrious* præfects and the *honourable* magistrates of the bvinces. In this class the proconsuls of Asia, Achaia, and frica claimed a pre-eminence, which was yielded to the membrance of their ancient dignity; and the appeal from eir tribunal to that of the præfects was almost the only mark their dependence.[115] But the civil government of the empire s distributed into thirteen great DIOCESES, each of which ualled the just measure of a powerful kingdom. The first these dioceses was subject to the jurisdiction of the *count* of

[114] Besides our usual guides, we may observe that Felix Cantelorius has written eparate treatise, De Præfecto Urbis; and that many curious details concerning police of Rome and Constantinople are contained in the fourteenth book of the eodosian Code. [E. Léotard, De præf. urbana quarto p. C. sæculo. 1873.]

[115] Eunapius affirms that the proconsul of Asia was independent of the præfect; ich must, however, be understood with some allowance: the jurisdiction of the e-præfect he most assuredly disclaimed. Pancirolus, p. 161. [The proconsuls Asia and Africa had precedence of all the other provincial governors, and were ordinate neither to the vicars of Asia and Africa, nor to the prætorian prefects. heodosius I. gave the proconsul of Asia the position of vicar over the Islands and Hellespont.) The proconsul of Achaia was subordinate to the prefect of Illyrı, but not to the vicar of Macedonia, All three were appointed by the emperor hout the intervention of the Prætorian Prefect.]

the east; and we may convey some idea of the importance and variety of his functions, by observing that six hundred apparitors who would be styled at present either secretaries, or clerks, or ushers, or messengers, were employed in his immediate office.[116] The place of *Augustal præfect* of Egypt was no longer filled by a Roman knight; but the name was retained; and the extraordinary powers which the situation of the country and the temper of the inhabitants had once made indispensable were still continued to the governor. The eleven remaining dioceses of Asiana, Pontica, and Thrace; of Macedonia, Dacia,[117] and Pannonia or Western Illyricum; of Italy and Africa; of Gaul, Spain, and Britain; were governed by twelve *vicars* or *vice-præfects*,[118] whose name sufficiently explains the nature and dependence of their office. It may be added that the lieutenant-generals of the Roman armies, the military counts and dukes, who will be hereafter mentioned, were allowed the rank and title of *Respectable*.

The governors of the provinces

As the spirit of jealousy and ostentation prevailed in the councils of the emperors, they proceeded with anxious diligence to divide the substance, and to multiply the titles of power. The vast countries which the Roman conquerors had united under the same simple form of administration were imperceptibly crumbled into minute fragments; till at length the whole empire was distributed into one hundred and sixteen provinces, each of which supported an expensive and splendid establishment. Of these, three were governed by *proconsuls*, thirty-seven by *consulars*, five by *correctors*, and seventy-one by *presidents*. The appellations of these magistrates were different; they ranked in successive order, the ensigns of their dignity

[116] The proconsul of Africa had four hundred apparitors; and they all received large salaries, either from the treasury or the province. See Pancirol. p. 26, and Cod. Justinian. l. xii. tit. lvi. lvii. [The *comes orientis* seems to be a survival of the diocesan counts who were instituted by Constantine (c. A.D. 327) to control and check the vicarii, of whom they had precedence. The institution seems not to have survived its author, except in the case of *Oriens Aegyptus et Mesopotamia*, where the vicar appears in 331 A.D. (Cod. Theod. i. 16, 6) with the title of count; perhaps the distinction was due (as Schiller has suggested) to the fact that Egypt was part of his province. Some time between 365 and 386 the administration of Egypt was taken from him, and that country became a separate diocese.]

[117] [Dacia, from Constantine forward, had no vicar but was directly under the prætorian prefect of Italia et Illyricum, or Illyricum. See App. 15.]

[118] In Italy there was likewise the *Vicar* of *Rome*. It has been much disputed, whether his jurisdiction measured one hundred miles from the city, or whether it stretched over the ten southern provinces of Italy. [He was vicar of the *prætorian prefect* of Italy, not of the *præfectus urbis*, and he administered the ten provinces, of which the revenue went to Rome. The rest of Italy, under the vicarius Italiæ, was distinguished as *annonaria*.]

were curiously varied, and their situation, from accidental circumstances, might be more or less agreeable or advantageous. But they were all (excepting only the proconsuls) alike included in the class of *honourable* persons; and they were alike intrusted, during the pleasure of the prince, and under the authority of the præfects or their deputies, with the administration of justice and the finances in their respective districts. The ponderous volumes of the Codes and Pandects [119] would furnish ample materials for a minute inquiry into the system of provincial government, as in the space of six centuries it was improved by the wisdom of the Roman statesmen and lawyers. It may be sufficient for the historian to select two singular and salutary provisions intended to restrain the abuse of authority. 1. For the preservation of peace and order, the governors of the provinces were armed with the sword of justice. They inflicted corporal punishments, and they exercised, in capital offences, the power of life and death. But they were not authorized to indulge the condemned criminal with the choice of his own execution, or to pronounce a sentence of the mildest and most honourable kind of exile. These prerogatives were reserved to the præfects, who alone could impose the heavy fine of fifty pounds of gold: their vicegerents were confined to the trifling weight of a few ounces.[120] This distinction, which seems to grant the larger, while it denies the smaller, degree of authority, was founded on a very rational motive. The smaller degree was infinitely more liable to abuse. The passions of a provincial magistrate might frequently provoke him into acts of oppression which affected only the freedom or the fortunes of the subject; though, from a principle of prudence, perhaps of humanity, he might still be terrified by the guilt of innocent blood. It may likewise be considered that exile, considerable fines, or the choice of an easy death relate more particularly to the rich and the noble; and the persons the most exposed to the avarice or resentment of a provincial magistrate were thus removed from his obscure persecution to the more august

[119] Among the works of the celebrated Ulpian, there was one in ten books concerning the office of a proconsul, whose duties in the most essential articles were the same as those of an ordinary governor of a province.

[120] The presidents, or consulars, could impose only two ounces; the vice-præfects, three; the proconsuls, count of the east, and præfect of Egypt, six. See Heineccii Jur. Civil. tom. i. p. 75. Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. xix. n. 8. Cod. Justinian. l. i. tit. iv. leg. 4, 6. [The name *praesides* came in when Gallienus excluded senators from governorships of imperial provinces and appointed knights. The title *correctores* was first used in Italy. Cp. above, vol. i., App. 20.]

and impartial tribunal of the Prætorian præfect. 2. As it was reasonably apprehended that the integrity of the judge might be biassed, if his interest was concerned or his affections were engaged; the strictest regulations were established to exclude any person, without the special dispensation of the emperor, from the government of the province where he was born;[121] and to prohibit the governor or his son from contracting marriage with a native or an inhabitant;[122] or from purchasing slaves, lands, or houses, within the extent of his jurisdiction.[123] Notwithstanding these rigorous precautions, the emperor Constantine, after a reign of twenty-five years, still deplores the venal and oppressive administration of justice, and expresses the warmest indignation that the audience of the judge, his dispatch of business, his seasonable delays, and his final sentence were publicly sold, either by himself or by the officers of his court. The continuance, and perhaps the impunity, of these crimes is attested by the repetition of important laws and ineffectual menaces.[124]

The profession of the law

All the civil magistrates were drawn from the profession of the law. The celebrated Institutes of Justinian are addressed to the youth of his dominions, who had devoted themselves to the study of Roman jurisprudence; and the sovereign condescends to animate their diligence by the assurance that their skill and ability would in time be rewarded by an adequate share in the government of the republic.[125] The rudiments of this lucrative science were taught in all the considerable cities of the east and west; but the most famous school was that of Berytus,[126] on the coast of Phœnicia; which flourished above

[121] Ut nulli patriæ suæ administratio sine speciali principis permissu permittatur. Cod. Justinian. i. i. tit. xli. This law was first enacted by the emperor Marcus, after the rebellion of Cassius (Dion. l. lxxi.). The same regulation is observed in China, with equal strictness and with equal effect.

[122] Pandect. l. xxiii. tit. ii. n. 38, 57, 63.

[123] In jure continetur, ne quis in administratione constitutus aliquid compararet. Cod. Theod. l. viii. tit. xv. leg. 1. This maxim of common law was enforced by a series of edicts (see the remainder of the title) from Constantine to Justin. From this prohibition, which is extended to the meanest offices of the governor, they except only clothes and provisions. The purchase within five years may be recovered; after which, on information, it devolves to the treasury.

[124] Cessent rapaces jam nunc officialium manus; cessent, inquam; nam si moniti non cessaverint, gladiis præcidentur, &c. Cod. Theod. l. i. tit. vii. leg. 1. Zeno enacted that all governors should remain in the province, to answer any accusations, fifty days after the expiration of their power. Cod. Justinian. l. ii. tit. xlix. leg. 1.

[125] Summâ igitur ope, et alacri studio has leges nostras accipite; et vosmetipsos sic eruditos ostendite, ut spes vos pulcherrima foveat; toto legitimo opere perfecto, posse etiam nostram rempublicam in partibus ejus vobis credendis gubernari. Justinian. in proem. Institutionum.

[126] The splendour of the school of Berytus, which preserved in the east the

three centuries from the time of Alexander Severus, the author perhaps of an institution so advantageous to his native country. After a regular course of education, which lasted five years, the students dispersed themselves through the provinces, in search of fortune and honours; nor could they want an inexhaustible supply of business in a great empire, already corrupted by the multiplicity of laws, of arts, and of vices. The court of the Prætorian præfect of the east could alone furnish employment for one hundred and fifty advocates, sixty-four of whom were distinguished by peculiar privileges, and two were annually chosen with a salary of sixty pounds of gold, to defend the causes of the treasury. The first experiment was made of their judicial talents, by appointing them to act occasionally as assessors to the magistrates; from thence they were often raised to preside in the tribunals before which they had pleaded. They obtained the government of a province; and, by the aid of merit, of reputation, or of favour, they ascended, by successive steps, to the *illustrious* dignities of the state.[127] In the

language and jurisprudence of the Romans, may be computed to have lasted from the third to the middle of the sixth century. Heinecc. Jur. Rom. Hist. p. 351-356.

[127] As in a former period I have traced the civil and military promotion of Pertinax, I shall here insert the civil honours of Mallius Theodorus. 1. He was distinguished by his eloquence, while he pleaded as an advocate in the court of the Prætorian præfect. 2. He governed one of the provinces of Africa, either as president or consular, and deserved, by his administration, the honour of a brass statue. 3. He was appointed vicar, or vice-præfect, of Macedonia. 4. Quæstor. 5. Count of the sacred largesses. 6. Prætorian præfect of the Gauls; whilst he might yet be represented as a young man. 7. After a retreat, perhaps a disgrace, of many years, which Mallius (confounded by some critics with the poet Manilius, see Fabricius Bibliothec. Latin. Edit. Ernest. tom. i. c. 18, p. 501), employed in the study of the Grecian philosophy, he was named Prætorian præfect of Italy, in the year 397. 8. While he still exercised that great office, he was created, in the year 399, consul for the West; and his name, on account of the infamy of his colleague, the eunuch Eutropius, often stands alone in the Fasti. 9. In the year 408, Mallius was appointed a second time prætorian præfect of Italy. Even in the venal panegyric of Claudian, we may discover the merit of Mallius Theodorus, who, by a rare felicity, was the intimate friend both of Symmachus and of St. Augustin. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. v. p. 1110-1114. [Inscriptions supply us with more illustrations of official careers under the Constantinian monarchy. The career of Caelius Saturninus (C. I. L. 6, 1704) occasioned an important study by Mommsen in the *Memorie d. Institut. d. corr. arch.* ii. 299; and that of L. Aradius Valerius Proculus is recorded fully in C. I. L. 6. 1690 and 1691. Proculus began his career apparently as one of the *legati* subordinate to the proconsul of Africa (this is Mommsen's explanation of *legato pro præt. prov. Numidiae*). He was then sent to Gallicia to revise the taxation (as *peraequator census*); after which he became governor successively of Byzacena; Europe and Thrace (temporarily combined); and Sicily; then proconsul of Africa. He finally attained to the prætorian prefecture and the prefecture of the City of Rome. We know from other sources that he was præf. urbi in 337, and ordinary consul in 340 A.D. The career constantly began with the post of advocatus fisci (Caelius Saturninus is an instance) or of advocate in the ordinary law-courts.]

practice of the bar, these men had considered reason as the instrument of dispute; they interpreted the laws according to the dictates of private interest; and the same pernicious habits might still adhere to their characters in the public administration of the state. The honour of a liberal profession has indeed been vindicated by ancient and modern advocates, who have filled the most important stations with pure integrity and consummate wisdom: but in the decline of Roman jurisprudence the ordinary promotion of lawyers was pregnant with mischief and disgrace. The noble art, which had once been preserved as the sacred inheritance of the patricians, was fallen into the hands of freedmen and plebeians,[128] who, with cunning rather than with skill, exercised a sordid and pernicious trade. Some of them procured admittance into families for the purpose of fomenting differences, of encouraging suits, and of preparing a harvest of gain for themselves or their brethren. Others, recluse in their chambers, maintained the dignity of legal professors by furnishing a rich client with subtleties to confound the plainest truth and with arguments to colour the most unjustifiable pretensions. The splendid and popular class was composed of the advocates, who filled the Forum with the sound of their turgid and loquacious rhetoric. Careless of fame and of justice, they are described, for the most part, as ignorant and rapacious guides, who conducted their clients through a maze of expense, of delay, and of disappointment; from whence, after a tedious series of years, they were at length dismissed, when their patience and fortune were almost exhausted.[129]

The military officers

III. In the system of policy introduced by Augustus, the governors, those at least of the Imperial provinces, were invested with the full powers of the sovereign himself. Ministers of peace and war, the distribution of rewards and punishments depended on them alone, and they successively appeared on their tribunal in the robes of civil magistracy, and in complete armour at the head of the Roman legions.[130] The influence of

[128] Mamertinus in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 20. Asterius apud Photium, p. 1500.

[129] The curious passage of Ammianus (l. xxx. c. 4), in which he paints the manners of contemporary lawyers, affords a strange mixture of sound sense, false rhetoric, and extravagant satire. Godefroy (Prolegom. ad Cod. Theod. c. i. p. 185) supports the historian by similar complaints and authentic facts. In the fourth century, many camels might have been laden with law-books. Eunapius in Vet. Edesii, p. 72. [The advocate (also called *iuris peritus* and *scholasticus*) in the new Monarchy takes the place which under the Principate was filled by the *iuris consultus*, from whom the old *advocatus* was carefully distinguished.]

[130] See a very splendid example in the Life of Agricola, particularly c. 20, 21. The lieutenant of Britain was intrusted with the same powers which Cicero, proconsul of Cilicia, had exercised in the name of the senate and people.

the revenue, the authority of law, and the command of a military force concurred to render their power supreme and absolute; and whenever they were tempted to violate their allegiance, the loyal province which they involved in their rebellion was scarcely sensible of any change in its political state. From the time of Commodus to the reign of Constantine, near one hundred governors might be enumerated, who, with various success, erected the standard of revolt; and though the innocent were too often sacrificed, the guilty might be sometimes prevented, by the suspicious cruelty of their master.[131] To secure his throne and the public tranquillity from these formidable servants, Constantine resolved to divide the military from the civil administration; and to establish, as a permanent and professional distinction, a practice which had been adopted only as an occasional expedient. The supreme jurisdiction exercised by the Prætorian præfects over the armies of the empire was transferred to the two *masters general* whom he instituted, the one for the *cavalry*, the other for the *infantry*; and, though each of these *illustrious* officers was more peculiarly responsible for the discipline of those troops which were under his immediate inspection, they both indifferently commanded in the field the several bodies, whether of horse or foot, which were united in the same army.[132] Their number was soon doubled by the division of the east and west; and, as separate generals of the same rank and title were appointed on the four important frontiers of the Rhine, of the Upper and the Lower Danube, and of the Euphrates, the defence of the Roman empire was at length committed to eight masters general of the cavalry and infantry. Under their orders, thirty-five military commanders were stationed in the provinces: three in Britain, six in Gaul, one in Spain, one in Italy, five on the Upper, and four on the Lower Danube; in Asia eight, three in Egypt, and four in

[131] The Abbé Dubos, who has examined with accuracy (see Hist. de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 47-100, edit. 1742) the institutions of Augustus and of Constantine, observes that, if Otho had been put to death the day before he executed his conspiracy, Otho would now appear in history as innocent as Corbulo.

[132] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 110 [33]. Before the end of the reign of Constantius, the *magistri militum* were already increased to four. See Valesius ad Ammian. l. xvi. c. 7. [We first meet *magistri militum* about 315 (Cod. Theod. ii. i. 1). The titles *mag. ped.* and *mag. eq.* survived in the west, but were superseded in the east by the titles *mag. utriusque militiae* or *mag. eq. et ped.* The masters who were in attendance at the imperial court were distinguished from those stationed on the frontiers by the addition *in praesenti*. For the increase of the number of magistri between Constantius and the time of the Notitia cf. Ammianus, xxvi. 5, and Zosimus, iv. 27.]

Africa. The titles of *counts*, and *dukes*,[133] by which they were properly distinguished, have obtained in modern languages so very different a sense that the use of them may occasion some surprise. But it should be recollected that the second of those appellations is only a corruption of the Latin word which was indiscriminately applied to any military chief. All these provincial generals were therefore *dukes;* but no more than ten among them were dignified with the rank of *counts* or companions, a title of honour, or rather of favour, which had been recently invented in the court of Constantine.[134] A gold belt was the ensign which distinguished the office of the counts and dukes; and besides their pay, they received a liberal allowance, sufficient to maintain one hundred and ninety servants, and one hundred and fifty-eight horses. They were strictly prohibited from interfering in any matter which related to the administration of justice or the revenue; but the command which they exercised over the troops of their department was independent of the authority of the magistrates. About the same time that Constantine gave a legal sanction to the ecclesiastical order, he instituted in the Roman empire the nice balance of the civil and the military powers. The emulation, and sometimes the discord, which reigned between two professions of opposite interests and incompatible manners, was productive of beneficial and of pernicious consequences. It was seldom to be expected that the general and the civil governor of a province should either conspire for the disturbance, or should unite for the service, of their country. While the one delayed to offer the assistance which the other disdained to solicit, the troops very frequently remained without orders or without supplies; the public safety was betrayed, and the defenceless subjects were left exposed to the fury of the Barbarians. The divided administration which had been formed by Constantine relaxed the vigour of the state, while it secured the tranquillity of the monarch.

Distinction of the troops

The memory of Constantine has been deservedly censured for another innovation, which corrupted military discipline and pre-

[133] Though the military counts and dukes are frequently mentioned, both in history and the codes, we must have recourse to the Notitia for the exact knowledge of their number and stations. For the institution, rank, privileges, &c., of the counts in general, see Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xii.-xx., with the Commentary of Godefroy. [As a rule the sphere of the dux or comes corresponded to that of the praeses or civil governor of a province, but in some cases was larger, as in that of the *dux Libyarum*.]

[134] [Derived from the *comites* who attended the Princeps when he visited the provinces.]

pared the ruin of the empire. The nineteen years which preceded his final victory over Licinius had been a period of licence and intestine war. The rivals who contended for the possession of the Roman world had withdrawn the greatest part of their forces from the guard of the general frontier; and the principal cities which formed the boundary of their respective dominions were filled with soldiers, who considered their countrymen as their most implacable enemies. After the use of these internal garrisons had ceased with the civil war, the conqueror wanted either wisdom or firmness to revive the severe discipline of Diocletian, and to suppress a fatal indulgence which habit had endeared and almost confirmed to the military order. From the reign of Constantine, a popular and even legal distinction was admitted between the *Palatines*[135] and the *Borderers*; the troops of the court as they were improperly styled, and the troops of the frontier. The former, elevated by the superiority of their pay and privileges, were permitted, except in the extraordinary emergencies of war, to occupy their tranquil stations in the heart of the provinces. The most flourishing cities were oppressed by the intolerable weight of quarters. The soldiers insensibly forgot the virtues of their profession, and contracted only the vices of civil life. They were either degraded by the industry of mechanic trades, or enervated by the luxury of baths and theatres. They soon became careless of their martial exercises, curious in their diet and apparel; and, while they inspired terror to the subjects of the empire, they trembled at the hostile approach of the Barbarians.[136] The chain of fortifications which Diocletian and his colleagues had extended along the banks of the great rivers was no longer maintained with the same care or defended with the same vigilance. The numbers which still remained under the name of the troops of the frontier might be sufficient for the ordinary defence. But their spirit was degraded by the humiliating reflection that *they* who were exposed to the hardships and dangers of a perpetual warfare were rewarded only with about two-thirds of the pay and

[135] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 111. The distinction between the two classes of Roman troops is very darkly expressed in the historians, the laws, and the *Notitia*. Consult, however, the copious *paratitlon*, or abstract, which Godefroy has drawn up of the seventh book, de Re Militari, of the Theodosian Code, l. vii. tit. i. leg. 18, l. viii. tit. i. leg. 10. [Gibbon uses "Palatines" as equivalent to Palatines and Comitatenses—an erroneous use. See Appendix 12.]

[136] Ferox erat in suos miles et rapax, ignavus vero in hostes et fractus. Ammian. l. xxii. c. 4. He observes that they loved downy beds and houses of marble; and that their cups were heavier than their swords.

emoluments which were lavished on the troops of the court. Even the bands or legions that were raised the nearest to the level of those unworthy favourites were in some measure disgraced by the title of honour which they were allowed to assume. It was in vain that Constantine repeated the most dreadful menaces of fire and sword against the Borderers who should dare to desert their colours, to connive at the inroads of the Barbarians, or to participate in the spoil.[137] The mischiefs which flow from injudicious counsels are seldom removed by the application of partial severities; and, though succeeding princes laboured to restore the strength and numbers of the frontier garrisons, the empire, till the last moment of its dissolution, continued to languish under the mortal wound which had been so rashly or so weakly inflicted by the hand of Constantine.

Reduction of the legion

The same timid policy, of dividing whatever is united, of reducing whatever is eminent, of dreading every active power, and of expecting that the most feeble will prove the most obedient, seems to pervade the institutions of several princes, and particularly those of Constantine. The martial pride of the legions, whose victorious camps had so often been the scene of rebellion, was nourished by the memory of their past exploits and the consciousness of their actual strength. As long as they maintained their ancient establishment of six thousand men, they subsisted, under the reign of Diocletian, each of them singly, a visible and important object in the military history of the Roman empire. A few years afterwards these gigantic bodies were shrunk to a very diminutive size; and, when *seven* legions, with some auxiliaries, defended the city of Amida against the Persians, the total garrison, with the inhabitants of both sexes, and the peasants of the deserted country, did not exceed the number of twenty thousand persons.[138] From this fact, and from similar examples, there is reason to believe that the constitution of the legionary troops, to which they partly owed their valour and discipline, was dissolved by Constantine; and that the bands of Roman infantry, which still assumed the same names and the same honours, consisted only of one thousand or fifteen hundred men.[139] The conspiracy of so many separate

[137] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. i. leg. 1, tit. xii. leg. 1. See Howell's Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 19. That learned historian, who is not sufficiently known, labours to justify the characters and policy of Constantine.

[138] Ammian. l. xix. c. 2. He observes (c. 5), that the desperate sallies of two Gallic legions were like an handful of water thrown on a great conflagration.

[139] Pancirolus ad Notitiam, p. 96. Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxv. p. 491. [This is partly true, but not altogether. See Appendix 12. The *Notitia* gives 62 legions in the West, 70 in the East—Gibbon's 132.]

detachments, each of which was awed by the sense of its own weakness, could easily be checked; and the successors of Constantine might indulge their love of ostentation, by issuing their orders to one hundred and thirty-two legions, inscribed on the muster-roll of their numerous armies. The remainder of their troops was distributed into several hundred cohorts of infantry, and squadrons of cavalry. Their arms, and titles, and ensigns were calculated to inspire terror, and to display the variety of nations who marched under the imperial standard. And not a vestige was left of that severe simplicity which, in the ages of freedom and victory, had distinguished the line of battle of a Roman army from the confused host of an Asiatic monarch.[140] A more particular enumeration, drawn from the *Notitia*, might exercise the diligence of an antiquary; but the historian will content himself with observing that the number of permanent stations or garrisons established on the frontiers of the empire amounted to five hundred and eighty-three; and that, under the successors of Constantine, the complete force of the military establishment was computed at six hundred and forty-five thousand soldiers.[141] An effort so prodigious surpassed the wants of a more ancient, and the faculties of a later, period.

Difficulty of levies

In the various states of society, armies are recruited from very different motives. Barbarians are urged by the love of war; the citizens of a free republic may be prompted by a principle of duty; the subjects, or at least the nobles, of a monarchy are animated by a sentiment of honour; but the timid and luxurious inhabitants of a declining empire must be allured into the service by the hopes of profit, or compelled by the dread of punishment. The resources of the Roman treasury were exhausted by the increase of pay, by the repetition of donatives, and by the invention of new emoluments and indulgences, which, in the opinion of the provincial youth, might compensate the hardships and dangers of a military life. Yet, although the stature was lowered,[142] although slaves, at least by a tacit con-

[140] Romana acies unius prope formæ erat et hominum et armorum genere.—Regia acies varia magis multis gentibus dissimilitudine armorum auxiliorumque erat. T. Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 39, 40. Flaminius, even before the event, had compared the army of Antiochus to a supper, in which the flesh of one vile animal was diversified by the skill of the cooks. See the life of Flaminius in Plutarch.

[141] Agathias, l. v. p. 157, edit. Louvre [P. 305, ed. Bonn. A.D. 558. This was the estimate on paper; the actual strength 150,000. For an estimate by Mommsen, see App. 12. The number of frontier garrisons, in the *Notitia*, is 305, not 583.]

[142] Valentinian (Cod. Theodos. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 3) fixes the standard at five feet seven inches, about five feet four inches and a half English measure. It had formerly been five feet ten inches, and in the best corps six Roman feet. Sed tunc erat amplior multitudo, et plures sequebantur militiam armatam. Vegetius de Re Militari, l. i. c. 5.

nivance, were indiscriminately received into the ranks, the insurmountable difficulty of procuring a regular and adequate supply of volunteers obliged the emperors to adopt more effectual and coercive methods. The lands bestowed on the veterans, as the free reward of their valour, were henceforward granted under a condition, which contains the first rudiments of the feudal tenures; that their sons, who succeeded to the inheritance, should devote themselves to the profession of arms, as soon as they attained the age of manhood; and their cowardly refusal was punished by the loss of honour, of fortune, or even of life.[143] But, as the annual growth of the sons of the veterans bore a very small proportion to the demands of the service, levies of men were frequently required from the provinces, and every proprietor was obliged either to take up arms, or to procure a substitute, or to purchase his exemption by the payment of a heavy fine. The sum of forty-two pieces of gold, to which it was *reduced*, ascertains the exorbitant price of volunteers and the reluctance with which the government admitted of this alternative.[144] Such was the horror for the profession of a soldier which had affected the minds of the degenerate Romans that many of the youth of Italy and the provinces chose to cut off the fingers of their right hand to escape from being pressed into the service; and this strange expedient was so commonly practised as to deserve the severe animadversion of the laws[145] and a peculiar name in the Latin language.[146]

[143] See the two titles, De Veteranis, and De Filiis Veteranorum, in the seventh book of the Theodosian Code. The age at which their military service was required varied from twenty-five to sixteen. If the sons of the veterans appeared with a horse, they had a right to serve in the cavalry; two horses gave them some valuable privileges.

[144] Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 7. According to the historian Socrates (see Godefroy ad. loc.), the same emperor Valens sometimes required eighty pieces of gold for a recruit. In the following law it is faintly expressed that slaves shall not be admitted inter optimas lectissimorum militum turmas.

[145] The person and property of a Roman knight, who had mutilated his two sons, were sold by public auction by the order of Augustus (Sueton. in August. c. 27). The moderation of that artful usurper proves that this example of severity was justified by the spirit of the times. Ammianus makes a distinction between the effeminate Italians and the hardy Gauls (l. xv. c. 12). Yet only fifteen years afterwards, Valentinian, in a law addressed to the præfect of Gaul, is obliged to enact that these cowardly deserters shall be burnt alive (Cod. Theod. l. vii. tit. xiii. leg. 5). Their numbers in Illyricum were so considerable that the province complained of a scarcity of recruits (id. leg. 10).

[146] They were called *Murci*. *Murcidus* is found in Plautus and Festus, to denote a lazy and cowardly person, who, according to Arnobius and Augustin, was under the immediate protection of the goddess *Murcia*. From this particular instance of cowardice, *murcare* is used as synonymous to *mutilare*, by the writers of the middle Latinity. See Lindenbrogius, and Valesius ad Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 12.

Increase of Barbarian auxiliaries

The introduction of Barbarians into the Roman armies became every day more universal, more necessary, and more fatal. The most daring of the Scythians, of the Goths, and of the Germans, who delighted in war, and who found it more profitable to defend than to ravage the provinces, were enrolled, not only in the auxiliaries of their respective nations, but in the legions themselves, and among the most distinguished of the Palatine troops. As they freely mingled with the subjects of the empire, they gradually learned to despise their manners and to imitate their arts. They abjured the implicit reverence which the pride of Rome had exacted from their ignorance, while they acquired the knowledge and possession of those advantages by which alone she supported her declining greatness. The Barbarian soldiers who displayed any military talents were advanced, without exception, to the most important commands; and the names of the tribunes, of the counts and dukes, and of the generals themselves, betray a foreign origin, which they no longer condescended to disguise. They were often entrusted with the conduct of a war against their countrymen; and, though most of them preferred the ties of allegiance to those of blood, they did not always avoid the guilt, or at least the suspicion, of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemy, of inviting his invasion, or of sparing his retreat. The camps and the palace of the son of Constantine were governed by the powerful faction of the Franks, who preserved the strictest connexion with each other and with their country, and who resented every personal affront as a national indignity.[147] When the tyrant Caligula was suspected of an intention to invest a very extraordinary candidate with the consular robes, the sacrilegious profanation would have scarcely excited less astonishment, if, instead of a horse, the noblest chieftain of Germany or Britain had been the object of his choice. The revolution of three centuries had produced so remarkable a change in the prejudices of the people that, with the public approbation, Constantine shewed his successors the example of bestowing the honours of the consulship on the Barbarians who, by their merit and services, had deserved to be ranked among the first of the Romans.[148] But as these hardy veterans, who had been edu-

147 Malarichus—adhibitis Francis quorum eâ tempestate in palatio multitudo florebat, erectius jam loquebatur tumultuabaturque. Ammian. l. xv. c. 5.

148 Barbaros omnium primus, ad usque fasces auxerat et trabeas consulares. Ammian. l. xx. c. 10. Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 7) and Aurelius Victor seem to confirm the truth of this assertion; yet in the thirty-two consular Fasti of the reign of Constantine I cannot discover the name of a single Barbarian. I

cated in the ignorance or contempt of the laws, were incapable of exercising any civil offices, the powers of the human mind were contracted by the irreconcileable separation of talents as well as of professions. The accomplished citizens of the Greek and Roman republics, whose characters could adapt themselves to the bar, the senate, the camp, or the schools, had learned to write, to speak, and to act, with the same spirit, and with equal abilities.

Seven ministers of the palace

IV. Besides the magistrates and generals, who at a distance from the court diffused their delegated authority over the provinces and armies, the emperor conferred the rank of *Illustrious* on seven of his more immediate servants, to whose fidelity he entrusted his safety, or his counsels, or his treasures. 1. The private apartments of the palace were governed by a favourite eunuch, who, in the language of that age, was styled the *præpositus* or præfect of the sacred bed-chamber. His duty was to attend the emperor in his hours of state, or in those of amusement, and to perform about his person all those menial services which can only derive their splendour from the influence of royalty. Under a prince who deserved to reign, the great chamberlain (for such we may call him) was an useful and humble domestic; but an artful domestic, who improves every occasion of unguarded confidence, will insensibly acquire over a feeble mind that ascendant which harsh wisdom and uncomplying virtue can seldom obtain. The degenerate grandsons of Theodosius, who were invisible to their subjects and contemptible to their enemies, exalted the præfects of their bed-chamber above the heads of all the ministers of the palace;[149] and even his deputy, the first of the splendid train of slaves who waited in the presence, was thought worthy to rank before the *respectable* proconsuls of Greece or Asia. The jurisdiction of the chamberlain was acknowledged by the *counts*, or superintendents, who regulated the two important provinces of the magnificence of the wardrobe and of the luxury of the imperial table.[150] 2. The principal administration of public affairs was committed to the diligence and abilities of the *master*

The chamberlain

should therefore interpret the liberality of that prince, as relative to the ornaments, rather than to the office, of the consulship.

[149] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 8.

[150] By a very singular metaphor, borrowed from the military character of the first emperors, the steward of their household was styled the count of their camp (comes castrensis). Cassiodorius very seriously represents to him that his own fame, and that of the empire, must depend on the opinion which foreign ambassadors may conceive of the plenty and magnificence of the royal table (Variar. l. vi. epistol. 9).

of the offices.[151] He was the supreme magistrate of the palace, inspected the discipline of the civil and military *schools*, and received appeals from all parts of the empire; in the causes which related to that numerous army of privileged persons who, as the servants of the court, had obtained, for themselves and families, a right to decline the authority of the ordinary judges. The correspondence between the prince and his subjects was managed by the four *scrinia* or offices of this minister of state. The first was appropriated to memorials, the second to epistles, the third to petitions, and the fourth to papers and orders of a miscellaneous kind.[152] Each of these was directed by an inferior *master* of *respectable* dignity, and the whole business was dispatched by an hundred and forty-eight secretaries, chosen for the most part from the profession of the law, on account of the variety of abstracts of reports and references which frequently occurred in the exercise of their several functions. From a condescension, which in former ages would have been esteemed unworthy of the Roman majesty, a particular secretary was allowed for the Greek language; and interpreters were appointed to receive the ambassadors of the Barbarians: but the department of foreign affairs, which constitutes so essential a part of modern policy, seldom diverted the attention of the master of the offices. His mind was more seriously engaged by the general direction of the posts and arsenals of the empire. There were thirty-four cities, fifteen in the east, and nineteen in the west, in which regular companies of workmen were perpetually employed in fabricating defensive armour, offensive weapons of all sorts, and military engines, which were deposited in the arsenals, and occasionally delivered for the service of the troops.[153] 3. In the course of nine centuries, the office of *quæstor* had experienced a very singular revolution. In the infancy of Rome, two inferior magistrates were annually elected by the people, to relieve the consuls from the invidious manage-

The master of the offices

The quæstor

[151] Gutherius (de Officiis Domûs Augustæ, l. ii. c. 20, l. iii.) has very accurately explained the functions of the master of the offices and the constitution of his subordinate *scrinia*. But he vainly attempts, on the most doubtful authority, to deduce from the time of the Antonines, or even of Nero, the origin of a magistrate who cannot be found in history before the reign of Constantine. [His importance —if not his origin—probably dated from the reign of Constantine, and gradually developed during the fourth century. The original title was *tribunus et mag. off.* (Cod. Theod. ii. 9. 1), which further obscures the origin.]

[152] [*Scr. dispositionum*, of which one duty was to make dispositions in case of an imperial journey.]

[153] [It should not be overlooked that the mag. off. was head of the school of agentes in rebus; see below, note 170.]

ment of the public treasure;[154] a similar assistant was granted to every proconsul, and to every prætor, who exercised a military or provincial command; with the extent of conquest, the two quæstors were gradually multiplied to the number of four, of eight, of twenty, and, for a short time, perhaps, of forty;[155] and the noblest citizens ambitiously solicited an office which gave them a seat in the senate, and a just hope of obtaining the honours of the republic. Whilst Augustus affected to maintain the freedom of election, he consented to accept the annual privilege of recommending, or rather indeed of nominating, a certain proportion of candidates; and it was his custom to select one of these distinguished youths, to read his orations or epistles in the assemblies of the senate.[156] The practice of Augustus was imitated by succeeding princes; the occasional commission was established as a permanent office; and the favoured quæstor, assuming a new and more illustrious character, alone survived the suppression of his ancient and useless colleagues.[157] As the orations which he composed in the name of the emperor[158] acquired the force, and, at length, the form of

[154] Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22) says that the first quæstors were elected by the people, sixty-four years after the foundation of the republic; but he is of opinion that they had, long before that period, been annually appointed by the consuls, and even by the kings. But this obscure point of antiquity is contested by other writers. [Mommsen (Staatsrecht, 2, p. 525) thinks that the quæstorship originated simultaneously with the consulsnip.]

[155] Tacitus (Annal. xi. 22) seems to consider twenty [fixed by Sulla] as the highest number of quæstors; and Dion. (l. xliii. p. 374 [c. 47; cp. 51]) insinuates that, if the dictator Cæsar once created forty, it was only to facilitate the payment of an immense debt of gratitude. Yet the augmentation which he made of prætors subsisted under the succeeding reigns.

[156] Sueton. in August. c. 65, and Torrent. ad loc. Dion. Cas. p. 755.

[157] The youth and inexperience of the quæstors, who entered on that important office in their twenty-fifth year (Lips. Excurs. ad Tacit. l. iii. D.), engaged Augustus to remove them from the management of the treasury; and, though they were restored by Claudius, they seem to have been finally dismissed by Nero (Tacit. Annal. xxii. 29. Sueton. in Aug. c. 36, in Claud. c. 24, Dion. p. 696 [liii. 2], 961 [lx. 24], &c.; Plin. Epistol. x. 20, et alib.). In the provinces of the Imperial division, the place of the quæstors was more ably supplied by the *procurators* (Dion. Cass. p. 707 [liii. 15]; Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 15); or, as they were afterwards called, *rationales* (Hist. August. p. 130 [xviii. 45, 46]). But in the provinces of the senate we may still discover a series of quæstors till the reign of Marcus Antoninus (see the Inscriptions of Gruter, the Epistles of Pliny, and a decisive fact in the Augustan history, p. 64). From Ulpian we may learn (Pandect. l. i. tit. 13) that, under the government of the house of Severus, their provincial administration was abolished; and in the subsequent troubles the annual or triennial elections of quæstors must have naturally ceased. [The quæstorship continued to exist under the Constantinian monarchy, but it became virtually a municipal office at Rome, and the quæstors were no longer "commended" by the Emperor, but were entirely appointed by the Senate. Their chief function was to defray the cost of games.]

[158] Cum patris nomine et epistolas ipse dictaret, et edicta conscriberet, orationesque in senatu recitaret, etiam quæstoris vice. Sueton. in Tit. c. 6. The office must

absolute edicts, he was considered as the representative of the legislative power, the oracle of the council, and the original source of the civil jurisprudence. He was sometimes invited to take his seat in the supreme judicature of the Imperial consistory, with the Prætorian præfects, and the master of the offices; and he was frequently requested to resolve the doubts of inferior judges; but, as he was not oppressed with a variety of subordinate business, his leisure and talents were employed to cultivate that dignified style of eloquence which, in the corruption of taste and language, still preserves the majesty of the Roman laws.[159] In some respects, the office of the Imperial quæstor may be compared with that of a modern chancellor; but the use of a great seal, which seems to have been adopted by the illiterate Barbarians, was never introduced to attest the public acts of the emperors. 4. The extraordinary title of *count of the sacred largesses* was bestowed on the treasurer-general of the revenue, with the intention perhaps of inculcating that every payment flowed from the voluntary bounty of the monarch. To conceive the almost infinite detail of the annual and daily expense of the civil and military administration in every part of a great empire would exceed the powers of the most vigorous imagination. The actual account employed several hundred persons, distributed into eleven different offices, which were artfully contrived to examine and control their respective operations. The multitude of these agents had a natural tendency to increase; and it was more than once thought expedient to dismiss to their native homes the useless supernumeraries, who, deserting their honest labours, had pressed with too much eagerness into the lucrative profession of the finances.[160] Twenty-nine pro-

The public treasurer

have acquired new dignity, which was occasionally executed by the heir-apparent of the empire. Trajan entrusted the same care to Hadrian his quæstor and cousin. See Dodwell, Prælection. Cambden. x. xi. p. 362-394. [It is not at all likely that the *quæstor* of the new Monarchy can be derived from the quæstor who read the orations of Augustus in the Senate. Mommsen proposes (Ephem. Epig. 5, 625 ff.) to derive him from the *vicarius a consiliis sacris*, the president (as he believes) of the consistorium. In any case he was probably instituted by Constantine (Zos. v. 32). As a rule, he had precedence of the master of offices. Observe that to both these officials were diverted functions which formerly belonged to the præt. prefect. The quæstor took his place in the consistorium (cp. App. 10), while the master of offices superseded him as commander of the palace guards.]

[159] —— —— —— Terris edicta daturus;
Supplicibus responsa.—Oracula regis
Eloquio crevere tuo; nec dignius unquam
Majestas meminit sese Romana locutam.
Claudian in Consulat. Mall. Theodor. 33. See likewise Symmachus (Epistol. i. 17 [= 23, ed. Seeck]), and Cassiodorius (Variar. vi. 5).

[160] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. 30. Cod Justinian. l. xii. tit. 24. [The *sacred largesses*

[Rationales] vincial receivers, of whom eighteen were honoured with the title of count, corresponded with the treasurer; and he extended his jurisdiction over the mines, from whence the precious metals were extracted, over the mints, in which they were converted into the current coin, and over the public treasuries of the most important cities, where they were deposited for the service of the state. The foreign trade of the empire was regulated by this minister, who directed likewise all the linen and woollen manufactures, in which the successive operations of spinning, weaving, and dyeing were executed, chiefly by women of a servile condition, for the use of the palace and army. Twenty-six of these institutions are enumerated in the west, where the arts had been more recently introduced, and a still larger proportion may be allowed for the industrious provinces of the east.[161] 5. Besides the public revenue, which an absolute monarch might levy and expend according to his pleasure, the emperors, in the capacity of opulent citizens, possessed a very extensive property, which was administered by the *count*, or treasurer, of *the private estate*. Some part had perhaps been the ancient demesnes of kings and republics; some accessions might be derived from the families which were successively invested with the purple; but the most considerable portion flowed from the impure source of confiscations and forfeitures. The Imperial estates were scattered through the provinces, from Mauritania to Britain; but the rich and fertile soil of Cappadocia tempted the monarch to acquire in that country his fairest possessions,[162] and either Constantine or his successors embraced the occasion of justifying avarice by religious zeal. They suppressed the rich temple of Comana, where the high priest of the goddess of war supported the dignity of a sovereign prince; and they applied to their private use the consecrated lands, which were inhabited by six thousand

The private treasurer

corresponds to the fiscus of the principate. The title *comes sacrarum largitionum* came into use about the middle of the fourth century; under Constantine he was called *rationalis summæ rei* (C. I. L. 6, 1145), and had the rank of a *count of the first order*. At first a *perfectissimus*, he finally became an *illustris*.]

[161] In the departments of the two counts of the treasury, the eastern part of the *Notitia* happens to be very defective. It may be observed that we had a treasury-chest in London, and a gyneceum or manufacture [of wool] at Winchester. But Britain was not thought worthy either of a mint or of an arsenal. Gaul alone possessed three of the former, and eight of the latter.

[162] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxx. leg. 2, and Gothofroy ad loc. [With Diocletian there ceased to be any real distinction between the fiscus and the res privata, but the double treasury was maintained. Under Diocletian the title was *magister*; Constantine changed it to *rationalis rei privatae*; subsequently this minister is called *comes largitionum privatarum*.]

subjects or slaves of the Deity and her ministers.[163] But these were not the valuable inhabitants; the plains that stretch from the foot of Mount Argæus to the banks of the Sarus bred a generous race of horses, renowned above all others in the ancient world for their majestic shape and incomparable swiftness. These *sacred* animals, destined for the service of the palace and the Imperial games, were protected by the laws from the profanation of a vulgar master.[164] The demesnes of Cappadocia were important enough to require the inspection of a *count*;[165] officers of an inferior rank were stationed in the other parts of the empire; and the deputies of the private, as well as those of the public, treasurer were maintained in the exercise of their independent functions, and encouraged to control the authority of the provincial magistrates.[166] 6, 7. The chosen bands of cavalry and infantry which guarded the person of the emperor, were under the immediate command of the *two counts of the domestics*. The whole number consisted of three thousand five hundred men, divided into seven *schools*, or troops, of five hundred each; and in the east, this honourable service was almost entirely appropriated to the Armenians. Whenever, on public ceremonies, they were drawn up in the courts and porticoes of the palace, their lofty stature, silent order, and splendid arms of silver and gold displayed a martial pomp, not unworthy of the Roman majesty.[167] From the seven schools two companies of horse and foot were selected, of the protectors, whose advantageous station was the hope and reward of the most deserving soldiers. They mounted guard in the interior apartments, and were occasionally dispatched into the provinces to execute with celerity and vigour the orders of their master.[168]

The counts of the domestics

Protectores

[163] Strabon. Geograph. l. xii. p. 809. The other temple of Comana, in Pontus, was a colony from that of Cappadocia, l. xii. p. 825. The president Des Brosses (see his Saluste, tom. ii. p. 21) conjectures that the deity adored in both Comanas was Beltis, the Venus of the east, the goddess of generation; a very different being indeed from the goddess of war.

[164] Cod. Theod. l. x. tit. vi. de Grege Dominico. Godefroy has collected every circumstance of antiquity relative to the Cappadocian horses. One of the finest breeds, the Palmatian, was the forfeiture of a rebel, whose estate lay about sixteen miles from Tyana, near the great road between Constantinople and Antioch.

[165] Justinian (Novell. 30 [44, ed Zachariä]) subjected the province of the count of Cappadocia to the immediate authority of the favourite eunuch who presided over the sacred bed-chamber. [The divina domus Cappadociae is placed under the praep. sacri cubiculi in the Notitia orientis, x.]

[166] Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. leg. 4, &c.

[167] Pancirolus, p. 102, 136. The appearance of these military domestics is described in the Latin poem of Corippus, de Laudibus Justin. l. iii. 157-179, p. 419, 420 of the Appendix Hist. Byzantin. Rom. 1777. [See Appendix 13.]

[168] Ammianus Marcellinus, who served so many years, obtained only the rank of a Protector. The first ten among these honourable soldiers were *Clarissimi*,

The counts of the domestics had succeeded to the office of the Prætorian præfects; like the præfects, they aspired from the service of the palace to the command of armies.

Agents or official spies

The perpetual intercourse between the court and the provinces was facilitated by the construction of roads and the institution of posts. But these beneficial establishments were accidentally connected with a pernicious and intolerable abuse. Two or three hundred *agents* or messengers were employed, under the jurisdiction of the master of the offices, to announce the names of the annual consuls and the edicts or victories of the emperors. They insensibly assumed the licence of reporting whatever they could observe of the conduct either of magistrates or of private citizens; and were soon considered as the eyes of the monarch,[169] and the scourge of the people. Under the warm influence of a feeble reign, they multiplied to the incredible number of ten thousand, disdained the mild though frequent admonitions of the laws, and exercised in the profitable management of the posts a rapacious and insolent oppression. These official spies, who regularly corresponded with the palace, were encouraged, by favour and reward, anxiously to watch the progress of every treasonable design, from the faint and latent symptoms of disaffection to the actual preparation of an open revolt. Their careless or criminal violation of truth and justice was covered by the consecrated mask of zeal; and they might securely aim their poisoned arrows at the breast either of the guilty or the innocent, who had provoked their resentment or refused to purchase their silence. A faithful subject, of Syria perhaps, or of Britain, was exposed to the danger, or at least to the dread, of being dragged in chains to the court of Milan or Constantinople, to defend his life and fortune against the malicious charge of these privileged informers. The ordinary administration was conducted by those methods which extreme necessity can alone palliate; and the defects of evidence were diligently supplied by the use of torture.[170]

[169] Xenophon, Cyropæd. l. viii. Brisson, de Regno Persico, l. i. No. 190, p. 264. The emperors adopted with pleasure this Persian metaphor. [Originally, like the *frumentarii*, superintendents of the supplies of public corn, the *agentes in rebus* acted as secret police and became so much detested that Diocletian abolished them. They were revived as a military schola, and employed in the same way as confidential agents.]

[170] For the *Agentes in Rebus*, see Ammian. l. xv. c. 3, l. xvi. c. 5, l. xxii. c. 7, with the curious annotations of Valesius. Cod. Theod. l. vi. t. xxvii., xxviii., xxix. Among the passages collected in the Commentary of Godefroy, the most remarkable one is from Libanius, in his discourse concerning the death of Julian,

The deceitful and dangerous experiment of the criminal *question*, as it is emphatically styled, was admitted, rather than approved, in the jurisprudence of the Romans. They applied this sanguinary mode of examination only to servile bodies, whose sufferings were seldom weighed by those haughty republicans in the scale of justice or humanity: but they would never consent to violate the sacred person of a citizen, till they possessed the clearest evidence of his guilt.[171] The annals of tyranny, from the reign of Tiberius to that of Domitian, circumstantially relate the executions of many innocent victims; but, as long as the faintest remembrance was kept alive of the national freedom and honour, the last hours of a Roman were secure from the danger of ignominious torture.[172] The conduct of the provincial magistrates was not, however, regulated by the practice of the city or the strict maxims of the civilians. They found the use of torture established, not only among the slaves of oriental despotism, but among the Macedonians, who obeyed a limited monarch; among the Rhodians, who flourished by the liberty of commerce; and even among the sage Athenians, who had asserted and adorned the dignity of human kind.[173] The acquiescence of the provincials encouraged their governors to acquire, or perhaps to usurp, a discretionary power of employing the rack, to extort from vagrants or plebeian criminals the confession of their guilt, till they insensibly proceeded to confound the distinction of rank and to disregard the privileges of Roman citizens. The apprehensions of the subjects urged them to solicit, and the interest of the sovereign engaged him to grant, a variety of special exemptions, which tacitly allowed, and even authorized, the general use of torture. They protected all persons of illustrious or honourable rank, bishops and their presbyters, professors of the liberal arts, soldiers and their families, municipal officers, and their posterity to the third generation, and all

Use of torture

171 The Pandects (l. xlviii. tit. xviii.) contain the sentiments of the most celebrated civilians on the subject of torture. They strictly confine it to slaves; and Ulpian himself is ready to acknowledge that Res est fragilis, et periculosa, et quæ veritatem fallat.

172 In the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, Epicharis (libertina mulier) was the only person tortured; the rest were *intacti tormentis*. It would be superfluous to add a weaker, and it would be difficult to find a stronger, example. Tacit. Annal. xv. 57.

173 Dicendum . . . de institutis Atheniensium, Rhodiorum, doctissimorum hominum, apud quos etiam (id quod acerbissimum est) liberi civesque torquentur. Cicero. Partit. Orat. c. 34. We may learn from the trial of Philotas the practice of the Macedonians (Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. p. 604. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 11).

children under the age of puberty.[174] But a fatal maxim was introduced into the new jurisprudence of the empire, that in the case of treason, which included every offence that the subtlety of lawyers could derive from an *hostile intention* towards the prince or republic,[175] all privileges were suspended, and all conditions were reduced to the same ignominious level. As the safety of the emperor was avowedly preferred to every consideration of justice or humanity, the dignity of age and the tenderness of youth were alike exposed to the most cruel tortures; and the terrors of a malicious information, which might select them as the accomplices, or even as the witnesses, perhaps, of an imaginary crime, perpetually hung over the heads of the principal citizens of the Roman world.[176]

Finances

These evils, however terrible they may appear, were confined to the smaller number of Roman subjects, whose dangerous situation was in some degree compensated by the enjoyment of those advantages, either of nature or of fortune, which exposed them to the jealousy of the monarch. The obscure millions of a great empire have much less to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their masters; and *their* humble happiness is principally affected by the grievance of excessive taxes, which, gently pressing on the wealthy, descend with accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent classes of society. An ingenious philosopher[177] has calculated the universal measure of the public impositions by the degrees of freedom and servitude; and ventures to assert that, according to an invariable law of nature, it must always increase with the former, and diminish in a just proportion to the latter. But this reflection, which would tend to alleviate the miseries of despotism, is contradicted at least by the history of the Roman empire; which accuses the same princes of despoiling the senate of its authority and the provinces of their wealth. Without abolishing all the various customs and duties on merchandises, which are imperceptibly discharged by the

[174] Heineccius (Element. Jur. Civil. part vii. p. 81) has collected these exemptions into one view.

[175] This definition of the sage Ulpian (Pandect. l. xlviii. tit. iv.) seems to have been adapted to the court of Caracalla rather than to that of Alexander Severus. See the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian ad leg. Juliam majestatis.

[176] Arcadius Charisius is the oldest lawyer quoted in the Pandects to justify the universal practice of torture in all cases of treason; but this maxim of tyranny, which is admitted by Ammianus (l. xix. c. 12) with the most respectful terror, is enforced by several laws of the successors of Constantine. See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xxxv. In majestatis crimine omnibus æqua est conditio.

[177] Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xii. c. 13.

apparent choice of the purchaser, the policy of Constantine and his successors preferred a simple and direct mode of taxation, more congenial to the spirit of an arbitrary government.[178]

The general tribute, or indiction

The name and use of the *indictions*,[179] which serve to ascertain the chronology of the middle ages, was derived from the regular practice of the Roman tributes.[180] The emperor subscribed with his own hand, and in purple ink, the solemn edict, or indiction, which was fixed up in the principal city of each diocese during two months previous to the first day of September. And, by a very easy connexion of ideas, the word *indiction* was transferred to the measure of tribute which it prescribed, and to the annual term which it allowed for the payment. This general estimate of the supplies was proportioned to the real and imaginary wants of the state; but, as often as the expense exceeded the revenue, or the revenue fell short of the computation, an additional tax, under the name of *superindiction*, was imposed on the people, and the most valuable attribute of sovereignty was communicated to the Prætorian præfects, who,

[178] Mr. Hume (Essays, vol. i. p. 389) has seen this important truth, with some degree of perplexity.

[179] The cycle of indictions, which may be traced as high as the reign of Constantius, or perhaps of his father Constantine, is still employed by the papal court: but the commencement of the year has been very reasonably altered to the first of January. See l'Art de vérifier les Dates, p. xi.; and Dictionnaire Raison. de la Diplomatique, tom. ii. p. 25; two accurate treatises, which come from the workshop of the Benedictines. [A fifteen-yearly valuation of property, for purposes of taxation, was as old as Hadrian (Mommsen, Staatsrecht, ii. 975). The financial year or "indiction" ran from 1st Sept. to 31st Aug., and thus included unequal parts of two calendar years; as a mode of chronology, it came into general use in the course of the fifth century. On this system 312-13 A.D. was regarded as the first year of the first fifteen-year cycle. Accordingly, if we wish to determine the indiction corresponding to any year, we subtract 312 and divide the difference by 15; the remainder is the indiction to which the first eight months of the given year (and the last four of the preceding year) belong. Take 700 A.D.: (700 − 312) ÷ 15 = 25 with a remainder of 13; therefore 1st Sept. 699 A.D. to 31st Aug. 700 A.D. is a 13th indiction. (If there is no remainder, the indiction is 15.) It is clear that the converse process requires a knowledge of the approximate period in terms of Anni Domini. Thus, if we know the date of the reign of Justinian ii., we may determine the indiction, say, of the first year in that reign, and so reckon which year corresponds to Ind. 13.—In the twelfth century this usage changed; the period of fifteen years was called the indiction; and the Birth of Christ was adopted as the starting-point. A year was known as the first, second, &c. year of such and such an indiction.—It is also to be observed that in Egypt (under the empire) the indictional year did not begin on 1st Sept. or any fixed date, but varied from year to year. This has been shown by Wilcken (*Hermes*, 19, 293 *sqq.*), whereas it had been formerly thought (by Hartel) that the Egyptian ind. began on some day between 11th and 15th June.]

[180] The first twenty-eight titles of the eleventh book of the Theodosian Code are filled with the circumstantial regulations on the important subject of tributes; but they suppose a clearer knowledge of fundamental principles than it is at present in our power to attain.

on some occasions, were permitted to provide for the unforeseen and extraordinary exigencies of the public service. The execution of these laws (which it would be tedious to pursue in their minute and intricate detail) consisted of two distinct operations; the resolving the general imposition into its constituent parts, which were assessed on the provinces, the cities, and the individuals of the Roman world, and the collecting the separate contributions of the individuals, the cities, and the provinces, till the accumulated sums were poured into the Imperial treasuries. But, as the account between the monarch and the subject was perpetually open, and as the renewal of the demand anticipated the perfect discharge of the preceding obligation, the weighty machine of the finances was moved by the same hands round the circle of its yearly revolution. Whatever was honourable or important in the administration of the revenue was committed to the wisdom of the præfects and their provincial representatives; the lucrative functions were claimed by a crowd of subordinate officers, some of whom depended on the treasurer, others on the governor of the province; and who, in the inevitable conflicts of a perplexed jurisdiction, had frequent opportunities of disputing with each other the spoils of the people. The laborious offices, which could be productive only of envy and reproach, of expense and danger, were imposed on the *Decurions*, who formed the corporations of the cities, and whom the severity of the Imperial laws had condemned to sustain the burthens of civil society.[181] The whole landed property of the empire (without excepting the patrimonial estates of the monarch) was the object of ordinary taxation; and every new purchaser contracted the obligations of the former proprietor. An accurate *census*,[182] or survey, was the only equitable mode of ascertaining the proportion which every citizen should be obliged to contribute for the public service; and from the well-known period of the indictions there is reason to believe that this difficult and expensive operation was repeated at the regular distance of fifteen years. The lands were measured by surveyors, who were sent into the provinces; their nature, whether arable or pasture, or vineyards or woods, was dis-

[181] The title concerning the Decurions (l. xii. tit. i.) is the most ample in the whole Theodosian Code; since it contains not less than one hundred and ninety-two distinct laws to ascertain the duties and privileges of that useful order of citizens.

[182] Habemus enim et hominum numerum qui delati sunt, et agrûm modum. Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. viii. 6. See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. x., xi. with Godefroy's Commentary.

tinctly reported; and an estimate was made of their common value from the average produce of five years. The numbers of slaves and of cattle constituted an essential part of the report; an oath was administered to the proprietors, which bound them to disclose the true state of their affairs; and their attempts to prevaricate, or elude the intention of the legislator, were severely watched, and punished as a capital crime which included the double guilt of treason and sacrilege.[183] A large portion of the tribute was paid in money; and of the current coin of the empire, gold alone could be legally accepted.[184] The remainder of the taxes, according to the proportions determined by the annual indiction, was furnished in a manner still more direct, and still more oppressive. According to the different nature of lands, their real produce, in the various articles of wine or oil, corn or barley, wood or iron, was transported by the labour or at the expense of the provincials to the Imperial magazines, from whence they were occasionally distributed, for the use of the court, of the army, and of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople. The commissioners of the revenue were so frequently obliged to make considerable purchases that they were strictly prohibited from allowing any compensation or from receiving in money the value of those supplies which were exacted in kind. In the primitive simplicity of small communities, this method may be well adapted to collect the almost voluntary offerings of the people; but it is at once susceptible of the utmost latitude and of the utmost strictness, which in a corrupt and absolute monarchy must introduce a perpetual contest between the power of oppression and the arts of fraud.[185] The agriculture of the Roman provinces was insensibly ruined, and, in the progress of despotism, which tends to disappoint its own purpose, the emperors were

[183] Siquis sacrilegâ vitem falce succiderit, aut feracium ramorum fœtus hebetaverit, quo declinet fidem censuum, et mentiatur callide paupertatis ingenium, mox detectus capitale subibit exitium, et bona ejus in fisci jura migrabunt. Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. xi. leg. 1. Although this law is not without its studied obscurity, it is, however, clear enough to prove the minuteness of the inquisition, and the disproportion of the penalty.

[184] The astonishment of Pliny would have ceased. Equidem miror P. R. victis gentibus argentum semper imperitasse non aurum. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 15.

[185] Some precautions were taken (see Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. ii. and Cod. Justinian. l. x. tit. xxvii. leg. 1, 2, 3) to restrain the magistrates from the abuse of their authority, either in the exaction or in the purchase of corn: but those who had learning enough to read the orations of Cicero against Verres (iii. de Frumento) might instruct themselves in all the various arts of oppression, with regard to the weight, the price, the quality, and the carriage. The avarice of an unlettered governor would supply the ignorance of precept or precedent.

obliged to derive some merit from the forgiveness of debts, or the remission of tributes, which their subjects were utterly incapable of paying. According to the new division of Italy, the fertile and happy province of Campania, the scene of the early victories and of the delicious retirements of the citizens of Rome, extended between the sea and the Apennine from the Tiber to the Silarus. Within sixty years after the death of Constantine, and on the evidence of an actual survey, an exemption was granted in favour of three hundred and thirty thousand English acres of desert and uncultivated land; which amounted to one-eighth of the whole surface of the province. As the footsteps of the Barbarians had not yet been seen in Italy, the cause of this amazing desolation, which is recorded in the laws, can be ascribed only to the administration of the Roman emperors.[186]

Assessed in the form of a capitation

Either from design or from accident, the mode of assessment seemed to unite the substance of a land-tax with the forms of a capitation.[187] The returns which were sent of every province or district expressed the number of tributary subjects and the amount of the public impositions. The latter of these sums was divided by the former; and the estimate, that such a province contained so many *capita*, or heads of tribute, and that each *head* was rated at such a price, was universally received not only in the popular, but even in the legal computation. The value of a tributary head must have varied, according to many accidental, or at least fluctuating, circumstances; but

[186] Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. xxviii. leg. 2, published the 24th of March, A.D. 395, by the emperor Honorius, only two months after the death of his father Theodosius. He speaks of 528,042 Roman jugera, which I have reduced to the English measure. The jugerum contained 28,800 square Roman feet.

[187] Godefroy (Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 116) argues with weight and learning on the subject of the capitation; but, while he explains the *caput* as a share or measure of property, he too absolutely excludes the idea of a personal assessment. [The old land tax or *tributum* (so called in imperial provinces; *stipendium* in senatorial) now became the *capitatio terrena* (or *iugatio*), and the assessment was made on a valuation, not of the produce, but of the capital. In the Eastern part of the empire, property was divided into a number of unities which paid the same tax and consequently differed in size according to the value of the land. (Seven classes of land were distinguished: 1, wine-producing; 2, 3, oil-producing; 4, 5, 6, arable; 7, pasture.) The unity or *iugum* was valued at 1000 solidi, and might be made up of land of different classes. Under Diocletian this tax was paid in kind, though assessed in money (*annonae*, measures of corn, and *capita*, units of hay, &c., being equated with money-values), but after Constantine's monetary reforms the payment could be made in coin. Landed proprietors had, beside this tax, to supply rations for the support of the government officials and the army. The *cap. terrena* must be distinguished from the *cap. humana* or poll-tax, which is very obscure, but possibly fell on the coloni, as it certainly did on widows and orphans (so Schiller). Compare Mommsen's article in Hermes, 3, 429 *sqq.*; Schiller, *R.G.* ii. 68 *sqq.*]

some knowledge has been preserved of a very curious fact, the more important, since it relates to one of the richest provinces of the Roman empire, and which now flourishes as the most splendid of the European kingdoms. The rapacious ministers of Constantius had exhausted the wealth of Gaul, by exacting twenty-five pieces of gold for the annual tribute of every head. The humane policy of his successor reduced the capitation to seven pieces.[188] A moderate proportion between these opposite extremes of extravagant oppression and of transient indulgence may therefore be fixed at sixteen pieces of gold, or about nine pounds sterling, the common standard perhaps of the impositions of Gaul.[189] But this calculation, or rather indeed the facts from whence it is deduced, cannot fail of suggesting two difficulties to a thinking mind, who will be at once surprised by the *equality* and by the *enormity* of the capitation. An attempt to explain them may perhaps reflect some light on the interesting subject of the finances of the declining empire.

I. It is obvious that, as long as the immutable constitution of human nature produces and maintains so unequal a division of property, the most numerous part of the community would be deprived of their subsistence by the equal assessment of a tax from which the sovereign would derive a very trifling revenue. Such indeed might be the theory of the Roman capitation; but in the practice, this unjust equality was no longer felt, as the tribute was collected on the principle of a *real*, not of a *personal*,

[188] Quid profuerit (*Julianus*) anhelantibus extremâ penuriâ Gallis, hinc maxime claret, quod primitus partes eas ingressus, pro *capitibus* singulis tributi nomine vicenos quinos aureos reperit flagitari; discedens vero septenos tantum munera universa complentes. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 5. [The *caput* is the *iugum*.]

[189] In the calculation of any sum of money under Constantine and his successors, we need only refer to the excellent discourse of Mr. Greaves on the Denarius for the proof of the following principles: 1. That the ancient and modern Roman pound, containing 5256 grains of Troy weight, is about one-twelfth lighter than the English pound, which is composed of 5760 of the same grains. 2. That the pound of gold, which had once been divided into forty-eight *aurei*, was at this time coined into seventy-two smaller pieces of the same denomination. 3. That five of these aurei were the legal tender for a pound of silver, and that consequently the pound of gold was exchanged for fourteen pounds eight ounces of silver according to the Roman, or about thirteen pounds according to the English, weight. 4. That the English pound of silver is coined into sixty-two shillings. From these elements we may compute the Roman pound of gold, the usual method of reckoning large sums, at forty pounds sterling; and we may fix the currency of the *aureus* at somewhat more than eleven shillings. [Before Diocletian 70 aurei were struck from a pound of gold. Diocletian raised the value of the aureus from $\frac{1}{70}$ to $\frac{1}{60}$, and Constantine reduced it again, but to $\frac{1}{72}$. This new Constantinian aureus was also called *Solidus* (whence Ital. *soldo*, French *sou*). Schiller has shown that from 307 to 323 there was a transitional period in which the $\frac{1}{72}$ lb. aureus was struck in the west, but not in the east. Röm. Gesch. ii. p. 222.]

imposition. Several indigent citizens contributed to compose a single *head*, or share of taxation; while the wealthy provincial, in proportion to his fortune, alone represented several of those imaginary beings. In a poetical request, addressed to one of the last and most deserving of the Roman princes who reigned in Gaul, Sidonius Apollinaris personifies his tribute under the figure of a triple monster, the Geryon of the Grecian fables, and entreats the new Hercules that he would most graciously be pleased to save his life by cutting off three of his heads.[190] The fortune of Sidonius far exceeded the customary wealth of a poet; but, if he had pursued the allusion, he must have painted many of the Gallic nobles with the hundred heads of the deadly Hydra spreading over the face of the country and devouring the substance of an hundred families. II. The difficulty of allowing an annual sum of about nine pounds sterling, even for the average of the capitation of Gaul, may be rendered more evident by the comparison of the present state of the same country, as it is now governed by the absolute monarch of an industrious, wealthy, and affectionate people. The taxes of France cannot be magnified, either by fear or by flattery, beyond the annual amount of eighteen millions sterling, which ought perhaps to be shared among four and twenty millions of inhabitants.[191] Seven millions of these, in the capacity of fathers or brothers or husbands, may discharge the obligations of the remaining multitude of women and children; yet the equal proportion of each tributary subject will scarcelv rise above fifty shillings of our money,

[190] Geryones nos esse puta, monstrumque tributum,
Hic *capita*, ut vivam, tu mihi tolle *tria*.
Sidon. Apollinar. Carm. xiii.

The reputation of Father Sirmond led me to expect more satisfaction than I have found in his note (p. 144) on this remarkable passage. The words, suo vel *suorum* nomine, betray the perplexity of the commentator.

[191] This assertion, however formidable it may seem, is founded on the original registers of births, deaths, and marriages, collected by public authority, and now deposited in the *Contrôle Général* at Paris. The annual average of births throughout the whole kingdom, taken in five years (from 1770 to 1774, both inclusive), is 479,649 boys and 449,269 girls, in all 928,918 children. The province of French Hainault alone furnishes 9906 births: and we are assured, by an actual enumeration of the people, annually repeated from the year 1773 to the year 1776, that, upon an average, Hainault contains 257,097 inhabitants. By the rules of fair analogy, we might infer that the ordinary proportion of annual births to the whole people, is about 1 to 26; and that the kingdom of France contains 24,151,868 persons of both sexes and of every age. If we content ourselves with the more moderate proportion of 1 to 25, the whole population will amount to 23,222,950. From the diligent researches of the French government (which are not unworthy of our own imitation), we may hope to obtain a still greater degree of certainty on this important subject.

instead of a proportion almost four times as considerable, which was regularly imposed on their Gallic ancestors. The reason of this difference may be found, not so much in the relative scarcity or plenty of gold and silver, as in the different state of society in ancient Gaul and in modern France. In a country where personal freedom is the privilege of every subject, the whole mass of taxes, whether they are levied on property or on consumption, may be fairly divided among the whole body of the nation. But the far greater part of the lands of ancient Gaul, as well as of the other provinces of the Roman world, were cultivated by slaves, or by peasants whose dependent condition was a less rigid servitude.[192] In such a state the poor were maintained at the expense of the masters, who enjoyed the fruits of their labour; and, as the rolls of tribute were filled only with the names of those citizens who possessed the means of an honourable, or at least of a decent, subsistence, the comparative smallness of their numbers explains and justifies the high rate of their capitation. The truth of this assertion may be illustrated by the following example: The Ædui, one of the most powerful and civilized tribes or *cities* of Gaul, occupied an extent of territory which now contains above five hundred thousand inhabitants in the two ecclesiastical dioceses of Autun and Nevers:[193] and with the probable accession of those of Châlons and Macon,[194] the population would amount to eight hundred

[192] Cod. Theod. l. v. tit. ix., x., xi. Cod. Justinian. l. xi. tit. lxiii. Coloni appellantur qui conditionem debent genitali solo, propter agriculturam sub dominio possessorum. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. x. c. 1.

[193] The ancient jurisdiction of (*Augustodunum*) Autun in Burgundy, the capital of the Ædui, comprehended the adjacent territory of (*Noviodunum*) Nevers. See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 491. The two dioceses of Autun and Nevers are now composed, the former of 610, and the latter of 160, parishes. The registers of births, taken during eleven years, in 476 parishes of the same province of Burgundy, and multiplied by the moderate proportion of 25 (see Messance, Recherches sur la Population, p. 142), may authorize us to assign an average number of 656 persons for each parish, which being again multiplied by the 770 parishes of the diocese of Nevers and Autun will produce the sum of 505,120 persons for the extent of country which was once possessed by the Ædui.

[194] We might derive an additional supply of 301,750 inhabitants from the dioceses of Châlons (*Cabillonum*) and of Macon (*Matisco*); since they contain, the one 200, and the other 260, parishes. This accession of territory might be justified by very specious reasons. 1. Châlons and Macon were undoubtedly within the original jurisdiction of the Ædui (see d'Anville, Notice, p. 187, 443). 2. In the *Notitia* of Gaul, they are enumerated not as *Civitates*, but merely as *Castra*. 3. They do not appear to have been episcopal seats before the fifth and sixth centuries. Yet there is a passage in Eumenius (Panegyr. Vet. viii. 7) which very forcibly deters me from extending the territory of the Ædui, in the reign of Constantine, along the beautiful banks of the navigable Saône.

thousand souls. In the time of Constantine, the territory of the Ædui afforded no more than twenty-five thousand *heads* of capitation, of whom seven thousand were discharged by that prince from the intolerable weight of tribute.[195] A just analogy would seem to countenance the opinion of an ingenious historian,[196] that the free and tributary citizens did not surpass the number of half a million; and if, in the ordinary administration of government, their annual payments may be computed at about four millions and a half of our money, it would appear that, although the share of each individual was four times as considerable, a fourth part only of the modern taxes of France was levied on the Imperial province of Gaul.[197] The exactions of Constantius may be calculated at seven millions sterling, which were reduced to two millions by the humanity or the wisdom of Julian.

Capitation on trade and industry

But this tax or capitation on the proprietors of land would have suffered a rich and numerous class of free citizens to escape. With the view of sharing that species of wealth which is derived from art or labour, and which exists in money or in merchandise, the emperors imposed a distinct and personal tribute on the trading part of their subjects.[198] Some exemptions, very strictly confined both in time and place, were allowed to the proprietors who disposed of the produce of their own estates. Some indulgence was granted to the profession of the liberal arts: but every other branch of commercial industry was affected by the severity of the law. The honourable merchant of Alexandria, who imported the gems and spices of India for the use of the western world; the usurer, who derived from the interest of money a silent and ignominious profit; the ingenious manufacturer, the diligent mechanic, and even the most obscure retailer of a sequestered village, were obliged to admit the officers of the revenue into the partnership of their gain: and the sovereign of the Roman empire, who tolerated the profession, consented to share the infamous salary, of public prostitutes. As this general tax upon industry was collected every fourth year, it was styled the *Lustral Contribution:* and the his-

[195] Eumenius in Panegyr. Vet. viii. 11. [The land of the Ædui contained 32,000 capita of land, which the discharge of 7000 reduced to 25,000. The passage of Eumenius was first explained rightly by Savigny. Smith (ed. of Gibbon, ii. 341) has a good note on the errors of Gibbon's computation.]

[196] L'Abbé du Bos, Hist. Critique de la M. F. tom i. p. 121.

[197] [Gibbon does not take into account the other taxes in the Empire.]

[198] See Cod. Theod. l. xiii. tit. i. and iv.

torian Zosimus[199] laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled by the impending scourge to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their property had been assessed. The testimony of Zosimus cannot indeed be justified from the charge of passion and prejudice; but, from the nature of this tribute, it seems reasonable to conclude that it was arbitrary in the distribution, and extremely rigorous in the mode of collecting. The secret wealth of commerce, and the precarious profits of art or labour, are susceptible only of a discretionary valuation, which is seldom disadvantageous to the interest of the treasury; and, as the person of the trader supplies the want of a visible and permanent security, the payment of the imposition, which, in the case of a land-tax, may be obtained by the seizure of property, can rarely be extorted by any other means than those of corporal punishments. The cruel treatment of the insolvent debtors of the state is attested, and was perhaps mitigated, by a very humane edict of Constantine, who, disclaiming the use of racks and of scourges, allots a spacious and airy prison for the place of their confinement.[200]

Free gifts

These general taxes were imposed and levied by the absolute authority of the monarch; but the occasional offerings of the *coronary gold* still retained the name and semblance of popular consent. It was an ancient custom that the allies of the republic, who ascribed their safety or deliverance to the success of the Roman arms; and even the cities of Italy, who admired the virtues of their victorious general; adorned the pomp of his triumph by their voluntary gifts of crowns of gold, which, after the ceremony, were consecrated in the temple of Jupiter, to remain a lasting monument of his glory to future ages. The progress of zeal and flattery soon multiplied the number, and increased the size, of these popular donations; and the triumph of Cæsar was enriched with two thousand eight hundred and twenty-two massy crowns, whose weight amounted to twenty thousand four hundred and fourteen pounds of gold. This treasure was immediately melted down by the prudent dictator,

199 Zosimus, l. ii. p. 115 [c. 38]. There is probably as much passion and prejudice in the attack of Zosimus as in the elaborate defence of the memory of Constantine by the zealous Dr. Howell. Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 20. [The *lustralis collatio* was also called chrysargyron.]

200 Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. vii. leg. 3.

who was satisfied that it would be more serviceable to his soldiers than to the gods: his example was imitated by his successors; and the custom was introduced of exchanging these splendid ornaments for the more acceptable present of the current gold coin of the empire.[201] The spontaneous offering was at length exacted as the debt of duty; and, instead of being confined to the occasion of a triumph, it was supposed to be granted by the several cities and provinces of the monarchy as often as the emperor condescended to announce his accession, his consulship, the birth of a son, the creation of a Cæsar, a victory over the Barbarians, or any other real or imaginary event which graced the annals of his reign. The peculiar free gift of the senate of Rome was fixed by custom at sixteen hundred pounds of gold, or about sixty-four thousand pounds sterling. The oppressed subjects celebrated their own felicity, that their sovereign should graciously consent to accept this feeble but voluntary testimony of their loyalty and gratitude.[202]

Conclusion

A people elated by pride, or soured by discontent, are seldom qualified to form a just estimate of their actual situation. The subjects of Constantine were incapable of discerning the decline of genius and manly virtue, which so far degraded them below the dignity of their ancestors; but they could feel and lament the rage of tyranny, the relaxation of discipline, and the increase of taxes. The impartial historian, who acknowledges the justice of their complaints, will observe some favourable circumstances which tended to alleviate the misery of their condition. The threatening tempest of Barbarians, which so soon subverted the foundations of Roman greatness, was still repelled, or suspended, on the frontiers. The arts of luxury and literature were cultivated, and the elegant pleasures of society were enjoyed, by the inhabitants of a considerable portion of the globe. The forms, the pomp, and the expense of the civil administration contributed to restrain the irregular licence of the soldiers; and, although the laws were violated by power or perverted by

[201] See Lipsius de Magnitud. Romanâ, l. ii. c. 9. The Tarragonese Spain presented the emperor Claudius with a crown of gold of seven, and Gaul with another of nine, *hundred* pounds' weight. I have followed the rational emendation of Lipsius.

[202] Cod. Theod. l. xii. tit. xiii. The senators were supposed to be exempt from the *Aurum Coronarium;* but the *Auri Oblatio*, which was required at their hands, was precisely of the same nature. [The amount mentioned in the text was that paid on the Decennalia of Valentinian ii. (Symmachus, *Relat.* 13, 3). The senators had also to pay a regular tax, the *follis*, paid by the emperor himself as a senator, which did not free him from the land tax, if he were a proprietor. The follis was of three grades: 8, 4, and 2 pounds of gold.]

subtlety, the sage principles of the Roman jurisprudence preserved a sense of order and equity, unknown to the despotic governments of the east. The rights of mankind might derive some protection from religion and philosophy; and the name of freedom, which could no longer alarm, might sometimes admonish, the successors of Augustus that they did not reign over a nation of slaves or barbarians.[203]

[203] The great Theodosius, in his judicious advice to his son (Claudian in iv. Consulat. Honorii, 214, &c.), distinguishes the station of a Roman prince from that of a Partnian monarch. Virtue was necessary for the one; birth might suffice for the other. [In connexion with Constantine's finance, it should be observed that the oppressiveness of taxation in the latter part of his reign, as noticed by Zosimus, ii. 38, was probably caused in a great measure by the enormous expenses connected with the foundation of his new city (cp. Schiller, ii. 226). We must notice too the immunities from taxation which he allowed to certain favoured classes and communities; *e.g.*, to physicians and professors, Cod. Theod. 13, 4, 1; Athens received supplies of corn, Julian, Or. i. 10.]

CHAPTER XVIII

Character of Constantine—Gothic War—Death of Constantine—Division of the Empire among his three Sons—Persian War—Tragic Deaths of Constantine the Younger and Constans—Usurpation of Magnentius—Civil War—Victory of Constantius

Character of Constantine

THE character of the prince who removed the seat of empire and introduced such important changes into the civil and religious constitution of his country has fixed the attention, and divided the opinions, of mankind. By the grateful zeal of the Christians, the deliverer of the church has been decorated with every attribute of a hero, and even of a saint; while the discontent of the vanquished party has compared Constantine to the most abhorred of those tyrants, who, by their vice and weakness, dishonoured the Imperial purple. The same passions have in some degree been perpetuated to succeeding generations, and the character of Constantine is considered, even in the present age, as an object either of satire or of panegyric. By the impartial union of those defects which are confessed by his warmest admirers and of those virtues which are acknowledged by his most implacable enemies, we might hope to delineate a just portrait of that extraordinary man, which the truth and candour of history should adopt without a blush.[1] But it would soon appear that the vain attempt to blend such discordant colours, and to reconcile such inconsistent qualities, must produce a figure monstrous rather than human, unless it is viewed in its proper and distinct lights by a careful separation of the different periods of the reign of Constantine.

His virtues

The person, as well as the mind, of Constantine had been enriched by nature with her choicest endowments. His stature was lofty, his countenance majestic, his deportment graceful; his strength and activity were displayed in every manly exercise,

[1] On ne se trompera point sur Constantin, en croyant tout le mal qu'en dit Eusèbe, et tout le bien qu'en dit Zosime. Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, t. iii. p. 233. Eusebius and Zosimus form indeed the two extremes of flattery and invective. The intermediate shades are expressed by those writers whose character or situation variously tempered the influence of their religious zeal.

and from his earliest youth to a very advanced season of life, he preserved the vigour of his constitution by a strict adherence to the domestic virtues of chastity and temperance. He delighted in the social intercourse of familiar conversation; and, though he might sometimes indulge his disposition to raillery with less reserve than was required by the severe dignity of his station, the courtesy and liberality of his manners gained the hearts of all who approached him. The sincerity of his friendship has been suspected; yet he shewed, on some occasions, that he was not incapable of a warm and lasting attachment. The disadvantage of an illiterate education had not prevented him from forming a just estimate of the value of learning; and the arts and sciences derived some encouragement from the munificent protection of Constantine. In the dispatch of business, his diligence was indefatigable; and the active powers of his mind were almost continually exercised in reading, writing, or meditating, in giving audience to ambassadors, and in examining the complaints of his subjects. Even those who censured the propriety of his measures were compelled to acknowledge that he possessed magnanimity to conceive, and patience to execute, the most arduous designs, without being checked either by the prejudices of education or by the clamours of the multitude. In the field, he infused his own intrepid spirit into the troops, whom he conducted with the talents of a consummate general; and to his abilities, rather than to his fortune, we may ascribe the signal victories which he obtained over the foreign and domestic foes of the republic. He loved glory, as the reward, perhaps as the motive, of his labours. The boundless ambition, which, from the moment of his accepting the purple at York, appears as the ruling passion of his soul, may be justified by the dangers of his own situation, by the character of his rivals, by the consciousness of superior merit, and by the prospect that his success would enable him to restore peace and order to the distracted empire. In his civil wars against Maxentius and Licinius, he had engaged on his side the inclinations of the people, who compared the undissembled vices of those tyrants with the spirit of wisdom and justice which seemed to direct the general tenor of the administration of Constantine.[2]

[2] The virtues of Constantine are collected for the most part from Eutropius and the younger Victor, two sincere pagans, who wrote after the extinction of his family. Even Zosimus and the *Emperor* Julian acknowledge his personal courage and military achievements.

His vices

Had Constantine fallen on the banks of the Tiber, or even in the plains of Hadrianople, such is the character which, with a few exceptions, he might have transmitted to posterity. But the conclusion of his reign (according to the moderate and indeed tender sentence of a writer of the same age) degraded him from the rank which he had acquired among the most deserving of the Roman princes.[3] In the life of Augustus, we behold the tyrant of the republic converted, almost by imperceptible degrees, into the father of his country and of human kind. In that of Constantine, we may contemplate a hero, who had so long inspired his subjects with love and his enemies with terror, degenerating into a cruel and dissolute monarch, corrupted by his fortune, or raised by conquest above the necessity of dissimulation. The general peace which he maintained during the last fourteen years of his reign was a period of apparent splendour rather than of real prosperity; and the old age of Constantine was disgraced by the opposite yet reconcileable vices of rapaciousness and prodigality. The accumulated treasures found in the palaces of Maxentius and Licinius were lavishly consumed; the various innovations introduced by the conqueror were attended with an increasing expense; the cost of his buildings, his court, and his festivals, required an immediate and plentiful supply; and the oppression of the people was the only fund which could support the magnificence of the sovereign.[4] His unworthy favourites, enriched by the boundless liberality of their master, usurped with impunity the privilege of rapine and corruption.[5] A secret but universal decay was felt in every part of the public administration, and the emperor himself, though he still retained the obedience, gradually lost the esteem, of his subjects. The dress and manners, which, towards the decline of life, he chose

A.D. 323-337

[3] See Eutropius, x. 6. In primo Imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus. From the ancient Greek version of Pæanius (edit. Havercamp. p. 697), I am inclined to suspect that Eutropius had originally written *vix* mediis; and that the offensive monosyllable was dropped by the wilful inadvertency of transcribers. Aurelius Victor [Epit. 41] expresses the general opinion by a vulgar and indeed obscure proverb. *Trachala* decem annis præstantissimus; duodecim sequentibus *latro;* decem novissimis *pupillus* ob immodicas profusiones.

[4] Julian. Orat. i. p. 8 [9, ed Hertl.], in a flattering discourse pronounced before the son of Constantine; and Cæsares, p. 335. Zosimus, p. 114, 115 [ii. 38]. The stately buildings of Constantinople, &c., may be quoted as a lasting and unexceptionable proof of the profuseness of their founder.

[5] The impartial Ammianus deserves all our confidence. Proximorum fauces aperuit primus omnium Constantinus. L. xvi. c. 8. Eusebius himself confesses the abuse (Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 29, 54); and some of the imperial laws feebly point out the remedy. See above, p. 172 of this volume.

to affect, served only to degrade him in the eyes of mankind. The Asiatic pomp, which had been adopted by the pride of Diocletian, assumed an air of softness and effeminacy in the person of Constantine. He is represented with false hair of various colours, laboriously arranged by the skilful artists of the times; a diadem of a new and more expensive fashion; a profusion of gems and pearls, of collars and bracelets, and a variegated flowing robe of silk, most curiously embroidered with flowers of gold. In such apparel, scarcely to be excused by the youth and folly of Elagabalus, we are at a loss to discover the wisdom of an aged monarch and the simplicity of a Roman veteran.[6] A mind thus relaxed by prosperity and indulgence was incapable of rising to that magnanimity which disdains suspicion and dares to forgive. The deaths of Maximian and Licinius may perhaps be justified by the maxims of policy, as they are taught in the schools of tyrants; but an impartial narrative of the executions, or rather murders, which sullied the declining age of Constantine, will suggest to our most candid thoughts the idea of a prince who could sacrifice without reluctance the laws of justice and the feelings of nature to the dictates either of his passions or of his interest.

His family

The same fortune which so invariably followed the standard of Constantine seemed to secure the hopes and comforts of his domestic life. Those among his predecessors who had enjoyed the longest and most prosperous reigns, Augustus, Trajan, and Diocletian, had been disappointed of posterity; and the frequent revolutions had never allowed sufficient time for any Imperial family to grow up and multiply under the shade of the purple. But the royalty of the Flavian line, which had been first ennobled by the Gothic Claudius, descended through several generations; and Constantine himself derived from his royal father the hereditary honours which he transmitted to his children. The emperor had been twice married. Minervina, the obscure but lawful object of his youthful attachment,[7] had left

[6] Julian, in the Cæsars, attempts to ridicule his uncle. His suspicious testimony is confirmed however by the learned Spanheim, with the authority of medals (see Commentaire, p. 156, 299, 397, 459). Eusebius (Orat. c. 5) alleges that Constantine dressed for the public, not for himself. Were this admitted, the vainest coxcomb could never want an excuse.

[7] Zosimus [ii. 20] and Zonaras [13, 2] agree in representing Minervina as the concubine of Constantine: but Ducange has very gallantly rescued her character, by producing a decisive passage from one of the panegyrics: "Ab ipso fine pueritiæ te [ilico] matrimonii legibus dedisti [tradidisti]". Incert. Pan. vi. § 4. [The reference is probably to an early (and childless) marriage of Constantine, not to Minervina, who was doubtless his concubine. Cp. Seeck, Gesch. des Untergangs der ant. Welt, i. p. 442. It has been doubted whether the three younger sons were

[Flavius Julius Crispus; Fl. Claudius Constantinus, Fl. Jul. Constantius, Fl. Jul. Constans]

him only one son, who was called Crispus. By Fausta, the daughter of Maximian, he had three daughters, and three sons known by the kindred names of Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The unambitious brothers of the great Constantine Julius Constantius, Dalmatius, and Hannibalianus,[8] were permitted to enjoy the most honourable rank, and the most affluent fortune, that could be consistent with a private station. The youngest of the three lived without a name, and died without posterity. His two elder brothers obtained in marriage the daughters of wealthy senators, and propagated new branches of the Imperial race. Gallus and Julian afterwards became the most illustrious of the children of Julius Constantius, the *Patrician*. The two sons of Dalmatius, who had been decorated with the vain title of *censor*, were named Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The two sisters of the great Constantine, Anastasia and Eutropia, were bestowed on Optatus and Nepotianus, two senators of noble birth and of consular dignity. His third sister, Constantia, was distinguished by her pre-eminence of greatness and of misery. She remained the widow of the vanquished Licinius; and it was by her entreaties that an innocent boy, the offspring of their marriage, preserved for some time, his life, the title of Cæsar, and a precarious hope of the succession. Besides the females and the allies of the Flavian house, ten or twelve males, to whom the language of modern courts would apply the title of princes of the blood, seemed, according to the order of their birth, to be destined either to inherit or to support the throne of Constantine. But in less than thirty years, this numerous and increasing family was reduced to the persons of Constantius and Julian, who alone had survived a series of crimes and calamities, such as the tragic poets have deplored in the devoted lines of Pelops and of Cadmus.

Virtues of Crispus

Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, and the presumptive heir of the empire, is represented by impartial historians as an amiable and accomplished youth. The care of his education, or at least of his studies, was entrusted to Lactantius, the most eloquent of the Christians; a præceptor admirably qualified to

the children of Fausta; Zosimus denies it (ii. 39). We have to accept the fact that the first eight years of the marriage were fruitless, Constantine being born in 315-16 if Julian's statement is true, Or. i. 10, p. 25. Mommsen thinks they may have been adopted by Fausta: C. I. L. 10, 678.]

[8] Ducange (Familiæ Byzantinæ, p. 44) bestows on him, after Zonaras, the name of Constantine; a name somewhat unlikely, as it was already occupied by the elder brother. That of Hannibalianus is mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle, and is approved by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 527. [The correct form of the second brother's name is Delmatius.]

form the taste, and to excite the virtues, of his illustrious disciple.[9] At the age of seventeen, Crispus was invested with the title of Cæsar, and the administration of the Gallic provinces, where the inroads of the Germans gave him an early occasion of signalizing his military prowess. In the civil war which broke out soon afterwards, the father and son divided their powers; and this history has already celebrated the valour as well as conduct displayed by the latter in forcing the straits of the Hellespont, so obstinately defended by the superior fleet of Licinius. This naval victory contributed to determine the event of the war; and the names of Constantine and of Crispus were united in the joyful acclamations of their eastern subjects: who loudly proclaimed that the world had been subdued, and was now governed, by an emperor endowed with every virtue; and by his illustrious son, a prince beloved of heaven, and the lively image of his father's perfections. The public favour, which seldom accompanies old age, diffused its lustre over the youth of Crispus. He deserved the esteem, and he engaged the affections, of the court, the army, and the people. The experienced merit of a reigning monarch is acknowledged by his subjects with reluctance, and frequently denied with partial and discontented murmurs; while, from the opening virtues of his successor, they fondly conceive the most unbounded hopes of private as well as public felicity.[10]

[1st March, A.D. 317]

This dangerous popularity soon excited the attention of Constantine, who, both as a father and as a king, was impatient of an equal. Instead of attempting to secure the allegiance of his son, by the generous ties of confidence and gratitude, he resolved to prevent the mischiefs which might be apprehended from dissatisfied ambition. Crispus soon had reason to complain that, while his infant brother Constantius was sent, with the title of Cæsar, to reign over his peculiar department of the Gallic provinces,[11] *he*, a prince of mature years, who had performed such

Jealousy of Constantine. A.D. 324, October 10

[A.D. 324, 8th Nov.]

[9] Jerom. in Chron. The poverty of Lactantius may be applied either to the praise of the disinterested philosopher or to the shame of the unfeeling patron. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiast. tom. vi. part i. p. 345. Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiast. tom i. p. 205. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History, part ii. vol. vii. p. 66.

[10] Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. l. x. c. 9. Eutropius (x. 6) styles him "egregium virum"; and Julian (Orat. i.) very plainly alludes to the exploits of Crispus in the civil war. See Spanheim, Comment. p. 92.

[11] Compare Idatius and the Paschal Chronicle with Ammianus, l. xiv. c. 5. The *year* in which Constantius was created Cæsar seems to be more accurately fixed by the two chronologists; but the historian who lived in his court could not be ignorant of the *day* of the anniversary. [The day is Nov. 8; so Idatius, con-

recent and signal services, instead of being raised to the superior rank of Augustus, was confined almost a prisoner to his father's court; and exposed, without power or defence, to every calumny which the malice of his enemies could suggest. Under such painful circumstances, the royal youth might not always be able to compose his behaviour, or suppress his discontent; and we may be assured that he was encompassed by a train of indiscreet or perfidious followers, who assiduously studied to inflame, and who were perhaps instructed to betray, the unguarded warmth of his resentment. An edict of Constantine, published about this time, manifestly indicates his real or affected suspicions that a secret conspiracy had been formed against his person and government. By all the allurements of honours and rewards, he invites informers of every degree to accuse without exception his magistrates or ministers, his friends or his most intimate favourites, protesting, with a solemn asseveration, that he himself will listen to the charge, that he himself will revenge his injuries; and concluding with a prayer, which discovers some apprehension of danger, that the providence of the Supreme Being may still continue to protect the safety of the emperor and of the empire.[12]

A.D. 325, October 1

Disgrace and death of Crispus. A.D. 326, July

The informers, who complied with so liberal an invitation, were sufficiently versed in the arts of courts to select the friends and adherents of Crispus as the guilty persons; nor is there any reason to distrust the veracity of the emperor, who had promised an ample measure of revenge and punishment. The policy of Constantine maintained, however, the same appearances of regard and confidence towards a son whom he began to consider as his most irreconcileable enemy. Medals were struck with the customary vows for the long and auspicious reign of the young Cæsar;[13] and as the people, who was not admitted into the secrets of the palace, still loved his virtues and respected his dignity, a poet who solicits his recall from exile, adores with equal devotion the majesty of the father and that of the son.[14] The time was now arrived for celebrating

firmed by the Fasti of Philocalus, C. I. L. i. p. 379. Ammian's *Oct.* is a slip for *Nov.*] For the appointment of the new Cæsar to the provinces of Gaul, see Julian, Orat. i. p. 12; Godefroy, Chronol. Legum, p. 26; and Blondel de la Primauté de l'Eglise, p. 1183. [Idatius gives 324 A.D., Chron. Pasch. 325 A.D. The right year is in Jerome, Chron. 323 A.D. Cp. Stobbe, *Philologus*, 32, p. 85.]

[12] Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. iv. [leg. 1, 4]. Godefroy suspected the secret motives of this law. Comment. tom. iii. p. 9. [But it is very doubtful whether such secret motives, and not rather flagrant abuses, led to this edict.]

[13] Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 28. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 610.

[14] His name was Porphyrius Optatianus. The date of his panegyric, written

the august ceremony of the twentieth year of the reign of Constantine; and the emperor, for that purpose, removed his court from Nicomedia to Rome, where the most splendid preparations had been made for his reception. Every eye and every tongue affected to express their sense of the general happiness, and the veil of ceremony and dissimulation was drawn for a while over the darkest designs of revenge and murder.[15] In the midst of the festival, the unfortunate Crispus was apprehended by order of the emperor, who laid aside the tenderness of a father, without assuming the equity of a judge. The examination was short and private;[16] and, as it was thought decent to conceal the fate of the young prince from the eyes of the Roman people, he was sent under a strong guard to Pola, in Istria, where, soon afterwards, he was put to death, either by the hand of the executioner or by the more gentle operation of poison.[17] The Cæsar Licinius, a youth of amiable manners, was involved in the ruin of Crispus;[18] and the stern [A.D. 326] jealousy of Constantine was unmoved by the prayers and tears of his favourite sister, pleading for the life of a son, whose rank was his only crime, and whose loss she did not long survive. The story of these unhappy princes, the nature and evidence of their guilt, the forms of their trial, and the circumstances of their death, were buried in mysterious obscurity; and the

according to the taste of the age in vile acrostics, is settled by Scaliger ad Euseb. p. 250. Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 607 [cp. p. 221], and Fabricius, Biblioth. Latin. l. iv. c. 1. [Clinton gives the date as 325 A.D. Jerome, Chron., enters it under 329 A.D.]

[15] Zosim. l. ii. p. 103 [29]. Godefroy, Chronol. Legum, p. 28.

[16] Ἀκρίτως, *without a trial*, is the strong, and most probably the just, expression of Suidas. The elder Victor, who wrote under the next reign, speaks with becoming caution. "Natû grandior incertum quâ causâ patris judicio occidisset." If we consult the succeeding writers, Eutropius, the younger Victor, Orosius, Jerom, Zosimus, Philostorgius, and Gregory of Tours; their knowledge will appear gradually to increase, as their means of information must have diminished; a circumstance which frequently occurs in historical disquisition. [See Appendix 14.]

[17] Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 11) uses the general expression of *peremptum*. Codinus (p. 34 [63, ed. Bonn]) beheads the young prince; but Sidonius Apollinaris (Epistol. v. 8), for the sake perhaps of an antithesis to Fausta's *warm* bath, chooses to administer a draught of *cold* poison. [All critics are agreed as to the date, 326, though Chron. Alex. gives 325. The true causes of the tragedy are enveloped in a tantalizing veil of obscurity. It may be noted that the name of Crispus was often erased on inscriptions; cp. C. I. L. 10, 517, &c.]

[18] Sororis filium, commodæ indolis juvenem. Eutropius, x. 6 [date, see Jerome, Chron.]. May I not be permitted to conjecture that Crispus had married Helena, the daughter of the Emperor Licinius, and that on the happy delivery of the princess, in the year 322, a general pardon was granted by Constantine? [So Seeck.] See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 47, and the law (l. ix. tit. xxxviii. [leg. 1]) of the Theodosian Code, which has so much embarrassed the interpreters. Godefroy, tom. iii. p. 267. [As to the younger Licinius, cp. Appendix 14.]

courtly bishop, who has celebrated in an elaborate work the virtues and piety of his hero, observes a prudent silence on the subject of these tragic events.[19] Such haughty contempt for the opinion of mankind, whilst it imprints an indelible stain on the memory of Constantine, must remind us of the very different behaviour of one of the greatest monarchs of the present age. The Czar Peter, in the full possession of despotic power, submitted to the judgment of Russia, of Europe, and of posterity, the reasons which had compelled him to subscribe to the condemnation of a criminal, or at least of a degenerate, son.[20]

The empress Fausta

The innocence of Crispus was so universally acknowledged that the modern Greeks, who adore the memory of their founder, are reduced to palliate the guilt of a parricide, which the common feelings of human nature forbade them to justify. They pretend that, as soon as the afflicted father discovered the falsehood of the accusation by which his credulity had been so fatally misled, he published to the world his repentance and remorse; that he mourned forty days, during which he abstained from the use of the bath and all the ordinary comforts of life; and that, for the lasting instruction of posterity, he erected a golden statue of Crispus, with this memorable inscription: TO MY SON, WHOM I UNJUSTLY CONDEMNED.[21] A tale so moral and so interesting would deserve to be supported by less exceptionable authority; but, if we consult the more ancient and authentic writers, they will inform us that the repentance of Constantine was manifested only in acts of blood and revenge; and that he atoned for the murder of an innocent son, by the execution, perhaps, of a guilty wife. They ascribe the misfortunes of Crispus to the arts of his stepmother Fausta, whose implacable hatred, or whose disappointed love, renewed in the palace of Constantine the ancient tragedy of Hippolytus and of Phædra.[22] Like the daughter of Minos, the daughter of Maximian accused her son-in-law of an incestuous attempt

[19] See the Life of Constantine, particularly l. ii. c. 19, 20. Two hundred and fifty years afterwards, Evagrius (l. iii. c. 41) deduced from the silence of Eusebius a vain argument against the reality of the fact.

[20] Histoire de Pierre le Grand, par Voltaire, part ii. c. x.

[21] In order to prove that the statue was erected by Constantine, and afterwards concealed by the malice of the Arians, Codinus very readily creates (p. 34) two witnesses, Hippolytus and the younger Herodotus, to whose imaginary histories he appeals with unblushing confidence.

[22] Zosimus (l. ii. p. 103 [29]) may be considered as our original. The ingenuity of the moderns, assisted by a few hints from the ancients, has illustrated and improved his obscure and imperfect narrative. [For Seeck's view, see App. 14.]

n the chastity of his father s wife ; and easily obtained, from ıe jealousy of the emperor, a sentence of death against a oung prince whom she considered with reason as the most rmidable rival of her own children. But Helena, the aged ıother of Constantine, lamented and revenged the untimely te of her grandson Crispus : nor was it long before a real or retended discovery was made, that Fausta herself entertained criminal connexion with a slave belonging to the Imperial ables.[23] Her condemnation and punishment were the instant nsequences of the charge ; and the adulteress was suffocated y the steam of a bath, which, for that purpose, had been eated to an extraordinary degree.[24] By some it will perhaps e thought, that the remembrance of a conjugal union of venty years, and the honour of their common offspring, the estined heirs of the throne, might have softened the obdurate eart of Constantine; and persuaded him to suffer his wife, owever guilty she might appear, to expiate her offences in a litary prison. But it seems a superfluous labour to weigh ıe propriety, unless we could ascertain the truth, of this ngular event; which is attended with some circumstances f doubt and perplexity. Those who have attacked, and those ho have defended, the character of Constantine have alike sregarded two very remarkable passages of two orations pro- ounced under the succeeding reign. The former celebrates ıe virtues, the beauty, and the fortune of the empress Fausta, ıe daughter, wife, sister, and mother of so many princes.[25] he latter asserts, in explicit terms, that the mother of the ounger Constantine, who was slain three years after his father's

[23] Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 4. Zosimus (l. ii. p. 104, 116 [29; 39]) imputes to Constan- ıe the death of two wives : of the innocent Fausta, and of an adulteress who was the ther of his three successors. According to Jerom, three or four years elapsed tween the death of Crispus and that of Fausta. The elder Victor is prudently ent. [Thus Jerome's date would be c. 329 A.D. Greg. of Tours, H. F. i. 36, ggests 326 (so Tillemont, iv. p. 224). Clinton decides for 327.]

[24] If Fausta was put to death, it is reasonable to believe that the private apart- ents of the palace were the scene of her execution. The orator Chrysostom dulges his fancy by exposing the naked empress on a desert mountain, to be voured by wild beasts.

[25] Julian. Orat. i. [p. 10, ed. Hertl.]. He seems to call her the mother of Crispus. ıe might assume that title by adoption. At least, she was not considered as his rtal enemy. Julian compares the fortune [not the fate] of Fausta with that of rysatis, the Persian queen. A Roman would have more naturally recollected e second Agrippina :—

Et moi, qui sur le trône ai suivi mes ancêtres :
Moi, fille, femme, sœur et mère de vos maîtres.

death, survived to weep over the fate of her son.[26] Notwithstanding the positive testimony of several writers of the Pagan as well as of the Christian religion, there may still remain some reason to believe, or at least to suspect, that Fausta escaped the blind and suspicious cruelty of her husband. The death of a son, and of a nephew, with the execution of a great number of respectable and perhaps innocent friends,[27] who were involved in their fall, may be sufficient, however, to justify the discontent of the Roman people, and to explain the satirical verses affixed to the palace-gate, comparing the splendid and bloody reigns of Constantine and Nero.[28]

The sons and nephews of Constantine

By the death of Crispus, the inheritance of the empire seemed to devolve on the three sons of Fausta, who have been already mentioned under the names of Constantine, of Constantius, and of Constans. These young princes were successively invested with the title of Cæsar; and the dates of their promotion may be referred to the tenth, the twentieth, and the thirtieth year of the reign of their father.[29] This conduct, though it tended to multiply the future masters of the Roman world, might be excused by the partiality of paternal affection; but it is not easy to understand the motives of the emperor, when he endangered the safety both of his family and of his people, by the unnecessary elevation of his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus. The former was raised, by the title of Cæsar, to an equality with his cousins. In favour of the latter, Constantine invented the new and singular appellation of *Nobilissimus*;[30] which he annexed to the flattering distinction of a robe of purple and gold. But of the whole series of Roman princes in any age of the empire, Hannibalianus alone was distinguished by the

[26] Monod. in Constantin. Jun. c. 4, ad Calcem. Eutrop. edit. Havercamp. The orator styles her the most divine and pious of queens. [Ranke, *Weltgeschichte*, iii. 521, accepts the evidence of this document and rejects the execution of Fausta. But the *Monodia* has nothing to do with Constantine; see Appendix 1.]

[27] Interfecit numerosos amicos. Eutrop. x. 6.

[28] Saturni aurea sæcula quis requirat?
Sunt hæc gemmea, sed Neroniana.
Sidon. Apollinar. v. 8.
It is somewhat singular, that these satirical lines should be attributed, not to the obscure libeller, or a disappointed patriot, but to Ablavius [Ablabius], prætorian minister and favourite of the emperor. We may now perceive that the imprecations of the Roman people were dictated by humanity, as well as by superstition. Zosim. l. ii. p. 105 [29 ad fin., 30 ad in.].

[29] Euseb. Orat. in Constantin. c. 3. These dates are sufficiently correct to justify the orator. [The right dates are 317, 323, 333 respectively.]

[30] Zosim. l. ii. p. 117 [c. 39]. Under the predecessors of Constantine, *Nobilissimus* was a vague epithet rather than a legal and determined title. [Delmatius is named on coins: nob. Cæs. and princ. iuventutis, Cohen, 6.]

tle of KING; a name which the subjects of Tiberius would have etested, as the profane and cruel insult of capricious tyranny. he use of such a title, even as it appears under the reign of onstantine, is a strange and unconnected fact, which can arcely be admitted on the joint authority of imperial medals nd contemporary writers.[31]

Their education

The whole empire was deeply interested in the education of hese five youths, the acknowledged successors of Constantine. he exercises of the body prepared them for the fatigues of war nd the duties of active life. Those who occasionally mention he education or talents of Constantius allow that he excelled the gymnastic arts of leaping and running; that he was a exterous archer, a skilful horseman, and a master of all the fferent weapons used in the service either of the cavalry or of he infantry.[32] The same assiduous cultivation was bestowed, hough not perhaps with equal success, to improve the minds of he sons and nephews of Constantine.[33] The most celebrated rofessors of the Christian faith, of the Grecian philosophy, and f the Roman jurisprudence were invited by the liberality of the mperor, who reserved for himself the important task of instruct- g the royal youths in the science of government and the nowledge of mankind. But the genius of Constantine himself ad been formed by adversity and experience. In the free inter- ourse of private life, and amidst the dangers of the court of alerius, he had learned to command his own passions, to en- ounter those of his equals, and to depend for his present safety nd future greatness on the prudence and firmness of his ersonal conduct. His destined successors had the misfortune f being born and educated in the Imperial purple. Incessantly rrounded with a train of flatterers, they passed their youth in

[31] Adstruunt nummi veteres ac singulares. Spanheim de Usu Numismat. issertat. xii. vol. ii. p. 357 [cp. Eckhel, 8, p. 174]. Ammianus speaks of this oman king (l. xiv. c. 1) and Valesius ad loc. The Valesian fragment styles him ing of kings; and the Paschal Chronicle (p. 286 [p. 532, ed. Bonn]), by em- oying the word Ῥῆγα, acquires the weight of Latin evidence. [Pontic and Ar- enian regions were assigned to him in 335 A.D. with the title of *rex regum*. He as thus to be a vassal king, subordinate to the Emperors. Observe that Ῥῆγα ot βασιλέα) is used of him in the Paschal Chronicle. Mommsen guesses that osporus (in the Chersonesus) was included in this kingdom, from the fact that e last coin of Bosporus dates from 335 A.D. (Röm. Ges. v. 289).]

[32] His dexterity in martial exercise is celebrated by Julian (Orat. i. p. 11 [12], rat. ii. p. 53 [67], and allowed by Ammianus (l. xxi. c. 16).

[33] Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 51. Julian. Orat. i. p. 11-16, with Span- eim's elaborate Commentary. Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 109 [ed. Paris, 1627]. onstantius studied with laudable diligence; but the dulness of his fancy prevented m from succeeding in the art of poetry, or even of rhetoric,

the enjoyment of luxury and the expectation of a throne; no would the dignity of their rank permit them to descend fro that elevated station from whence the various characters o human nature appear to wear a smooth and uniform aspect The indulgence of Constantine admitted them at a very tende age to share the administration of the empire; and they studie the art of reigning at the expense of the people entrusted t their care. The younger Constantine was appointed to hold hi court in Gaul; and his brother Constantius exchanged that de partment, the ancient patrimony of their father, for the mor opulent, but less martial, countries of the East. Italy, th Western Illyricum, and Africa were accustomed to rever Constans, the third of his sons, as the representative of the grea Constantine. He fixed Dalmatius on the Gothic frontier, t which he annexed the government of Thrace, Macedonia, an Greece. The city of Cæsarea was chosen for the residence o Hannibalianus; and the provinces of Pontus, Cappadocia, an the Lesser Armenia were destined to form the extent of his ne kingdom. For each of these princes a suitable establishmen was provided. A just proportion of guards, of legions, and o auxiliaries was allotted for their respective dignity and defence The ministers and generals who were placed about their pe sons were such as Constantine could trust to assist, and even t control, these youthful sovereigns in the exercise of their dele gated power. As they advanced in years and experience, th limits of their authority were insensibly enlarged: but th emperor always reserved for himself the title of Augustus; an while he shewed the *Cæsars* to the armies and provinces, h maintained every part of the empire in equal obedience to it supreme head.[34] The tranquillity of the last fourteen years o his reign was scarcely interrupted by the contemptible insur rection of a camel-driver in the island of Cyprus,[35] or by th active part which the policy of Constantine engaged him t assume in the wars of the Goths and Sarmatians.

Manners of the Sarmatians

Among the different branches of the human race, the Sar

[34] Eusebius ([Vita C.] l. iv. c. 51, 52), with a design of exalting the authorit and glory of Constantine, affirms that he divided the Roman empire as a privat citizen might have divided his patrimony. His distribution of the provinces ma be collected from Eutropius, the two Victors, and the Valesian fragment. [On th division see Appendix 15.]

[35] Calocerus, the obscure leader of this rebellion, or rather tumult, was appre hended and burnt alive in the market-place of Tarsus, by the vigilance o Dalmatius. See the elder Victor, the chronicle of Jerom, and the doubtfu traditions of Theophanes and Cedrenus.

matians form a very remarkable shade; as they seem to unite the manners of the Asiatic barbarians with the figure and complexion of the ancient inhabitants of Europe. According to the various accidents of peace and war, of alliance or conquest, the Sarmatians were sometimes confined to the banks of the Tanais; and they sometimes spread themselves over the immense plains which lie between the Vistula and the Volga.[36] The care of their numerous flocks and herds, the pursuit of game, and the exercise of war, or rather of rapine, directed the vagrant motions of the Sarmatians. The moveable camps or cities, the ordinary residence of their wives and children, consisted only of large waggons, drawn by oxen and covered in the form of tents. The military strength of the nation was composed of cavalry; and the custom of their warriors, to lead in their hand one or two spare horses, enabled them to advance and to retreat with a rapid diligence which surprised the security, and eluded the pursuit, of a distant enemy.[37] Their poverty of iron prompted their rude industry to invent a sort of cuirass, which was capable of resisting a sword or javelin, though it was formed only of horses' hoofs, cut into thin and polished slices, carefully laid over each other in the manner of scales or feathers, and strongly sewed upon an under-garment of coarse linen.[38] The offensive arms of the Sarmatians were short daggers, long lances, and a weighty bow with a quiver of arrows. They were reduced to the necessity of employing fish bones for the points of their weapons; but the custom of dipping them in a venomous liquor that poisoned the wounds which they inflicted is alone sufficient to prove the most savage manners; since a people impressed with a sense of humanity would have abhorred so cruel a practice, and a nation skilled in the arts of war would have disdained so impotent a resource.[39] Whenever these Barbarians

[36] Cellarius has collected the opinions of the ancients concerning the European and Asiatic Sarmatia; and M. d'Anville has applied them to modern geography with the skill and accuracy which always distinguishes that excellent writer.

[37] Ammian. l. xvii. c. 12. The Sarmatian horses were castrated, to prevent the mischievous accidents which might happen from the noisy and ungovernable passions of the males.

[38] Pausanias, l. i. p. 50, edit. Kuhn [c. 21]. That inquisitive traveller had carefully examined a Sarmatian cuirass, which was preserved in the temple of Æsculapius at Athens.

[39] Aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro,
Et telum causas mortis habere duas.
Ovid. ex Ponto, l. iv. ep. 7, ver. 7.

See in the Recherches sur les Américains, tom. ii. p. 236-271, a very curious dissertation on poisoned darts. The venom was commonly extracted from the vegetable reign; but that employed by the Scythians appears to have been drawn from

issued from their deserts in quest of prey, their shaggy beards, uncombed locks, the furs with which they were covered from head to foot, and their fierce countenances, which seemed to express the innate cruelty of their minds, inspired the more civilized provincials of Rome with horror and dismay.

Their settlement near the Danube

The tender Ovid, after a youth spent in the enjoyment of fame and luxury, was condemned to an hopeless exile on the frozen banks of the Danube, where he was exposed, almost without defence, to the fury of these monsters of the desert, with whose stern spirits he feared that his gentle shade might hereafter be confounded. In his pathetic, but sometimes unmanly, lamentations,[40] he describes, in the most lively colours, the dress and manners, the arms and inroads of the Getæ and Sarmatians, who were associated for the purposes of destruction; and from the accounts of history there is some reason to believe that these Sarmatians were the Jazygæ, one of the most numerous and warlike tribes of the nation. The allurements of plenty engaged them to seek a permanent establishment on the frontiers of the empire. Soon after the reign of Augustus, they obliged the Dacians, who subsisted by fishing on the banks of the river Theiss or Tibiscus, to retire into the hilly country, and to abandon to the victorious Sarmatians the fertile plains of the Upper Hungary, which are bounded by the course of the Danube and the semi-circular inclosure of the Carpathian mountains.[41] In this advantageous position, they watched or suspended the moment of attack, as they were provoked by injuries or appeased by presents; they gradually acquired the skill of using more dangerous weapons; and, although the Sarmatians did not illustrate their name by any memorable exploits, they occasionally assisted their eastern and western neighbours, the Goths and the Germans, with a formidable

the viper and a mixture of human blood. The use of poisoned arms, which has been spread over both worlds, never preserved a savage tribe from the arms of a disciplined enemy.

[40] The nine books of Poetical Epistles, which Ovid composed during the seven first years of his melancholy exile, possess, besides the merit of elegance, a double value. They exhibit a picture of the human mind under very singular circumstances; and they contain many curious observations, which no Roman, except Ovid, could have an opportunity of making. Every circumstance which tends to illustrate the history of the Barbarians has been drawn together by the very accurate Count de Buat. Hist. Ancienne des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. iv. c. xvi. p. 286-317. [For Sarmatians cp. App. 16.]

[41] The Sarmatians [? *leg.* Sarmatian] Jazygæ were settled on the banks of the Pathissus or Tibiscus, when Pliny, in the year 79, published his Natural History. See l. iv. c. 25. In the time of Strabo and Ovid, sixty or seventy years before, they appear to have inhabited beyond the Getæ, along the coast of the Euxine.

body of cavalry. They lived under the irregular aristocracy of their chieftains;[42] but, after they had received into their bosom the fugitive Vandals, who yielded to the pressure of the Gothic power, they seem to have chosen a king from that nation, and from the illustrious race of the Astingi, who had formerly dwelt on the shores of the Northern ocean.[43]

The Gothic war, A.D. 331

This motive of enmity must have inflamed the subjects of contention, which perpetually arise on the confines of warlike and independent nations. The Vandal princes were stimulated by fear and revenge; the Gothic kings aspired to extend their dominion from the Euxine to the frontiers of Germany: and the waters of the Maros, a small river which falls into the Theiss, were stained with the blood of the contending Barbarians. After some experience of the superior strength and number of their adversaries, the Sarmatians implored the protection of the Roman monarch, who beheld with pleasure the discord of the nations, but who was justly alarmed by the progress of the Gothic arms. As soon as Constantine had declared himself in favour of the weaker party, the haughty Araric, king of the Goths, instead of expecting the attack of the legions, boldly passed the Danube, and spread terror and devastation through the province of Mæsia. To oppose the inroad of this destroying host, the aged emperor took the field in person; but on this occasion either his conduct or his fortune betrayed the glory which he had acquired in so many foreign and domestic wars. He had the mortification of seeing his troops fly before an inconsiderable detachment of the Barbarians, who pursued them to the edge of their fortified camp and obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate and ignominious retreat.[44] The event of a second and more successful action retrieved the honour of the Roman name; and the powers of art and discipline prevailed, after an obstinate contest, over the efforts of irregular valour. The broken army of the Goths abandoned the field of battle, the wasted province, and the passage of the Danube: and, although the eldest of

[42] Principes Sarmatarum Jazygum penes quos civitatis regimen . . . plebem quoque et vim equitum quâ solâ valent offerebant. Tacit. Hist. iii. 5. This offer was made in the civil war between Vitellius and Vespasian.

[43] This hypothesis of a Vandal king reigning over Sarmatian subjects seems necessary to reconcile the Goth Jornandes with the Greek and Latin historians of Constantine. It may be observed that Isidore, who lived in Spain under the dominion of the Goths, gives them for enemies, not the Vandals, but the Sarmatians. See his Chronicle in Grotius, p. 709.

[44] [There seems to be no evidence for this defeat of Constantine. It is a curious error of Gibbon.]

A.D. 332, April 20th

the sons of Constantine was permitted to supply the place of his father, the merit of the victory, which diffused universal joy, was ascribed to the auspicious counsels of the emperor himself.

He contributed at least to improve this advantage, by his negotiations with the free and warlike people of Chersonesus,[45] whose capital, situate on the western coast of the Tauric or Crimæan peninsula, still retained some vestiges of a Grecian colony, and was governed by a perpetual magistrate, assisted by a council of senators, emphatically styled the Fathers of the City. The Chersonites were animated against the Goths by the memory of the wars which, in the preceding century, they had maintained with unequal forces against the invaders of their country. They were connected with the Romans by the mutual benefits of commerce; as they were supplied from the provinces of Asia with corn and manufactures, which they purchased with their only productions, salt, wax, and hides. Obedient to the requisition of Constantine, they prepared, under the conduct of their magistrate Diogenes, a considerable army, of which the principal strength consisted in crossbows and military chariots. The speedy march and intrepid attack of the Chersonites, by diverting the attention of the Goths, assisted the operations of the imperial generals. The Goths, vanquished on every side, were driven into the mountains, where, in the course of a severe campaign, above an hundred thousand were computed to have perished by cold and hunger. Peace was at length granted to their humble supplications; the eldest son of Araric was accepted as the most valuable hostage; and Constantine endeavoured to convince their chiefs, by a liberal distribution of honours and rewards, how far the friendship of the Romans was preferable to their enmity. In the expressions of his gratitude towards the faithful Chersonites,

[45] I may stand in need of some apology for having used, without scruple, the authority of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in all that relates to the wars and negotiations of the Chersonites. I am aware that he was a Greek of the tenth century, and that his accounts of ancient history are frequently confused and fabulous. But on this occasion his narrative is, for the most part, consistent and probable; nor is there much difficulty in conceiving that an emperor might have access to some secret archives, which had escaped the diligence of meaner historians. For the situation and history of Chersone, see Peyssonel des Peuples barbares qui ont habité les Bords du Danube, c. xvi. p. 84-90. [Const. Porph., de Adm. Imp. c. 53. See St. Martin (note on Lebeau, i. 326), who points out that Gibbon has confounded the city of Cherson, to which Constantine Porph. refers, with the whole peninsula. He is also mistaken in describing the Stephanephoros (who was annually elected) as a perpetual magistrate. Milman calls attention to St. Martin's note.]

the emperor was still more magnificent. The pride of the nation was gratified by the splendid and almost royal decorations bestowed on their magistrate and his successors. A perpetual exemption from all duties was stipulated for their vessels which traded to the ports of the Black Sea. A regular subsidy was promised, of iron, corn, oil, and of every supply which could be useful either in peace or war. But it was thought that the Sarmatians were sufficiently rewarded by their deliverance from impending ruin; and the emperor, perhaps with too strict an economy, deducted some part of the expenses of the war from the customary gratifications which were allowed to that turbulent nation.[46]

Expulsion of the Sarmatians. A.D. 334

Exasperated by this apparent neglect, the Sarmatians soon forgot, with the levity of Barbarians, the services which they had so lately received and the dangers which still threatened their safety. Their inroads on the territory of the empire provoked the indignation of Constantine to leave them to their fate, and he no longer opposed the ambition of Geberic, a renowned warrior, who had recently ascended the Gothic throne. Wisumar, the Vandal king, whilst alone and unassisted he defended his dominions with undaunted courage, was vanquished and slain in a decisive battle, which swept away the flower of the Sarmatian youth. The remainder of the nation embraced the desperate expedient of arming their slaves, a hardy race of hunters and herdsmen, by whose tumultuary aid they revenged their defeat and expelled the invader from their confines. But they soon discovered that they had exchanged a foreign for a domestic enemy, more dangerous and more implacable. Enraged by their former servitude, elated by their present glory, the slaves, under the name of Limigantes, claimed and usurped the possession of the country which they had saved. Their masters, unable to withstand the ungoverned fury of the populace, preferred the hardships of exile to the tyranny of their servants. Some of the fugitive Sarmatians solicited a less ignominious dependence, under the hostile standard of the Goths. A more numerous band retired beyond the Carpathian mountains, among the Quadi, their German allies, and were easily admitted to share a superfluous waste of uncultivated land. But the far greater part of the distressed nation turned their eyes towards the fruitful provinces of Rome. Imploring the protection and forgiveness of

[46] [This is a misconception. No such "deduction" is mentioned in the sources.]

the emperor, they solemnly promised, as subjects in peace and as soldiers in war, the most inviolable fidelity to the empire which should graciously receive them into its bosom. According to the maxims adopted by Probus and his successors, the offers of this Barbarian colony were eagerly accepted; and a competent portion of lands, in the provinces of Pannonia, Thrace, Macedonia, and Italy, were immediately assigned for the habitation and subsistence of three hundred thousand Sarmatians.[47]

Death and funeral of Constantine. A.D. 325, 25th July

By chastising the pride of the Goths, and by accepting the homage of a suppliant nation, Constantine asserted the majesty of the Roman empire; and the ambassadors of Æthiopia, Persia and the most remote countries of India congratulated the peace and prosperity of his government.[48] If he reckoned, among the favours of fortune, the death of his eldest son, of his nephew, and perhaps of his wife, he enjoyed an uninterrupted flow of private as well as public felicity, till the thirtieth year of his reign; a period which none of his predecessors, since Augustus, had been permitted to celebrate. Constantine survived that solemn festival about ten months; and, at the mature age of sixty-four, after a short illness, he ended his memorable life at the palace of Aquyrion, in the suburbs of Nicomedia, whither he had retired for the benefit of the air, and with the hope of recruiting his exhausted strength by the use of the warm baths. The excessive demonstrations of grief, or at least of mourning, surpassed whatever had been practised on any former occasion. Notwithstanding the claims of the senate and people of ancient Rome, the corpse of the deceased emperor, according to his last request, was transported to the city which was destined to pre-

A.D. 337, 22nd May

[47] The Gothic and Sarmatian wars are related in so broken and imperfect a manner that I have been obliged to compare the following writers, who mutually supply, correct, and illustrate each other. Those who will take the same trouble, may acquire a right of criticizing my narrative. Ammianus, l. xvii. c. 12. Anonym. Valesian. p. 715. Eutropius, x. 7, Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 26. Julian. Orat. i. p. 9, and Spanheim, Comment. p. 94. Hieronym. in Chron. Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 6. Socrates, l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. i. c. 8. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 108 [c. 21]. Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 22. Isidorus in Chron. p. 709; in Hist. Gothorum Grotii. Constantin. Porpnyrogenitus de administrat. Imperii. c. 53, p. 208, edit. Meursii. [Add Joan of Antioch, fr. 171 (Müller, F. H. G. 4). It has been conjectured by Böcking that the Sarmatian settlements in Ausonius *Mosella* 819 were made at this time. Sarmatic games were instituted (C. I. L. i. 407) and Constantine is called Sarmaticus in inscriptions. See Henzen, 5576; Eckhel, 8, 87, 101, 107.]

[48] Eusebius (in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 50) remarks three circumstances relative to these Indians. 1. They came from the shores of the eastern ocean; a description which might be applied to the coast of China or Coromandel. 2. They presented shining gems, and unknown animals. 3. They protested their kings had erected statues to represent the supreme majesty of Constantine.

serve the name and memory of its founder. The body of Constantine, adorned with the vain symbols of greatness, the purple and diadem, was deposited on a golden bed in one of the apartments of the palace, which for that purpose had been splendidly furnished and illuminated. The forms of the court were strictly maintained. Every day, at the appointed hours, the principal officers of the state, the army, and the household, approaching the person of their sovereign with bended knees and a composed countenance, offered their respectful homage as seriously as if he had been still alive. From motives of policy, this theatrical representation was for some time continued; nor could flattery neglect the opportunity of remarking that Constantine alone, by the peculiar indulgence of heaven, had reigned after his death.[49]

Factions of the court

But this reign could subsist only in empty pageantry; and it was soon discovered that the will of the most absolute monarch is seldom obeyed, when his subjects have no longer anything to hope from his favour, or to dread from his resentment. The same ministers and generals who bowed with such reverential awe before the inanimate corpse of their deceased sovereign were engaged in secret consultations to exclude his two nephews, Dalmatius and Hannibalianus, from the share which he had assigned them in the succession of the empire. We are too imperfectly acquainted with the court of Constantine to form any judgment of the real motives which influenced the leaders of the conspiracy; unless we should suppose that they were actuated by a spirit of jealousy and revenge against the præfect Ablavius, a proud favourite, who had long directed the counsels and abused the confidence of the late emperor. The arguments by which they solicited the concurrence of the soldiers and people are of a more obvious nature: and they might with decency, as well as truth, insist on the superior rank of the children of Constantine, the danger of multiplying the number of sovereigns, and the impending mischiefs which threatened the republic, from the discord of so many rival princes, who were not connected by the tender sympathy of fraternal affection. The intrigue was conducted with zeal and secrecy till a loud and

[49] Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis, quod sane P. R. ægerrime tulit. Aurelius Victor (Caes. 41). Constantine had prepared for himself a stately tomb in the church of the Holy Apostles. Euseb. l. iv. c. 60. The best, and indeed almost the only, account of the sickness, death, and funeral of Constantine, is contained in the fourth book of his Life, by Eusebius. [The Cæsars did not become Augusti till 9th September, and the dead emperor nominally reigned in the four intervening months.]

unanimous declaration was procured from the troops that they would suffer none except the sons of their lamented monarch to reign over the Roman empire.[50] The younger Dalmatius, who was united with his collateral relations by the ties of friendship and interest, is allowed to have inherited a considerable share of the abilities of the great Constantine; but, on this occasion, he does not appear to have concerted any measures for supporting, by arms, the just claims which himself and his royal brother derived from the liberality of their uncle.[51] Astonished and overwhelmed by the tide of popular fury, they seem to have remained, without the power of flight or of resistance, in the hands of their implacable enemies. Their fate was suspended till the arrival of Constantius, the second, and perhaps the most favoured, of the sons of Constantine.

Massacre of the princes

The voice of the dying emperor had recommended the care of his funeral to the piety of Constantius; and that prince, by the vicinity of his eastern station, could easily prevent the diligence of his brothers, who resided in their distant government of Italy and Gaul. As soon as he had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, his first care was to remove the apprehensions of his kinsmen by a solemn oath, which he pledged for their security. His next employment was to find some specious pretence which might release his conscience from the obligation of an imprudent promise. The arts of fraud were made subservient to the designs of cruelty; and a manifest forgery was attested by a person of the most sacred character. From the hands of the bishop of Nicomedia, Constantius received a fatal scroll affirmed to be the genuine testament of his father; in which the emperor expressed his suspicions that he had been poisoned by his brother; and conjured his sons to revenge his death, and to consult their own safety by the punishment of the guilty.[52] Whatever reasons might have been alleged by these unfortunate

[50] Eusebius (l. iv. c. 6) terminates his narrative by this loyal declaration of the troops, and avoids all the invidious circumstances of the subsequent massacre.

[51] The character of Dalmatius is advantageously, though concisely, drawn by Eutropius (x. 9). Dalmatius Cæsar prosperrimâ indole, neque patruo absimilis, *haud multo* post oppressus est factione militari. As both Jerom and the Alexandrian Chronicle mention the third year of the Cæsar, which did not commence till the 18th or 24th of September, A.D. 337, it is certain that these military factions continued above four months.

[52] I have related this singular anecdote on the authority of Philostorgius, l. ii. c. 16. But, if such a pretext was ever used by Constantine and his adherents, it was laid aside with contempt, as soon as it had served their immediate purpose. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856) mentions the oath which Constantius had taken for the security of his kinsmen. [The story is very doubtful.]

princes to defend their life and honour against so incredible an accusation, they were silenced by the furious clamours of the soldiers, who declared themselves at once their enemies, their judges, and their executioners. The spirit, and even the forms, of legal proceedings were repeatedly violated in a promiscuous massacre; which involved the two uncles of Constantius, seven of his cousins, of whom Dalmatius and Hannibalianus were the most illustrious, the patrician Optatus, who had married a sister of the late emperor, and the præfect Ablavius, whose power and riches had inspired him with some hopes of obtaining the purple. If it were necessary to aggravate the horrors of this bloody scene, we might add that Constantius himself had espoused the daughter of his uncle Julius, and that he had bestowed his sister in marriage on his cousin Hannibalianus. These alliances, which the policy of Constantine, regardless of the public [53] prejudice, had formed between the several branches of the Imperial house, served only to convince mankind that these princes were as cold to the endearments of conjugal affection, as they were insensible to the ties of consanguinity and the moving entreaties of youth and innocence. Of so numerous a family Gallus and Julian alone, the two youngest children of Julius Constantius, were saved from the hands of the assassins, till their rage, satiated with slaughter, had in some measure subsided. The emperor Constantius, who, in the absence of his brothers, was the most obnoxious to guilt and reproach, discovered, on some future occasions, a faint and transient remorse for those cruelties, which the perfidious councils of his ministers and the irresistible violence of the troops had extorted from his unexperienced youth.[54]

[53] Conjugia sobrinarum diu ignorata, tempora addito percrebuisse. Tac. Ann. xii. 6, and Lipsius ad loc. The repeal of the ancient law, and the practice of five hundred years, were insufficient to eradicate the prejudices of the Romans; who still considered the marriages of cousins-german as a species of imperfect incest (Augustin de Civitate Dei, xv. 6); and Julian, whose mind was biassed by superstition and resentment, stigmatizes these unnatural alliances between his own cousins with the opprobrious epithet of γάμων τε οὐ γάμων (Orat. vii. p. 228 [296]). The jurisprudence of the canons has since revived and enforced this prohibition, without being able to introduce it either into the civil or the common law of Europe. See on the subject of these marriages, Taylor's Civil Law, p. 331; Brouer, de Jure Connub. l. ii. c. 12; Hericourt, des Loix Ecclésiastiques, part iii. c. 5; Fleury, Institutions du Droit Canonique, tom. i. p. 331. Paris, 1767; and Fra Paolo, Istoria del Concilio Trident. l. viii.

[54] Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 270 [i. p. 348, ed. Hertl.]) charges his cousin Constantius with the whole guilt of a massacre from which he himself so narrowly escaped. His assertion is confirmed by Athanasius, who, for reasons of a very different nature, was not less an enemy of Constantius (tom. i. p. 856 [ad. mon. 69]). Zosimus joins in the same accusation. But the three abbreviators, Eutropius and the Victors, use very qualifying expressions; "sinente potius quam jubente;" "incertum quo suasore;" "vi militum". [But Julian also says Constantius acted under compulsion; cp. Or. i. p. 19.]

Division of the empire. A.D. 337, 11th Sept. [?]

The massacre of the Flavian race was succeeded by a new division of the provinces; which was ratified in a personal interview of the three brothers. Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, obtained, with a certain pre-eminence of rank, the possession of the new capital, which bore his own name and that of his father. Thrace and the countries of the east were allotted for the patrimony of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged as the lawful sovereign of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. The armies submitted to their hereditary right; and they condescended, after some delay, to accept from the Roman Senate the title of *Augustus*. When they [9th Sept., A.D. 337] first assumed the reins of government, the eldest of these princes was twenty-one, the second twenty, and the third only seventeen, years of age.[55]

Sapor, king of Persia. A.D. 310 [September]

While the martial nations of Europe followed the standards of his brothers, Constantius, at the head of the effeminate troops of Asia, was left to sustain the weight of the Persian war. At the decease of Constantine, the throne of the east was filled by Sapor, son of Hormouz or Hormisdas, and grandson of Narses, who, after the victory of Galerius, had humbly confessed the superiority of the Roman power. Although Sapor was in the thirtieth year of his long reign, he was still in the vigour of youth, as the date of his accession, by a very strange fatality, had preceded that of his birth. The wife of Hormouz remained pregnant at the time of her husband's death; and the uncertainty of the sex, as well as of the event, excited the ambitious hopes of the princes of the house of Sassan. The apprehensions of civil war were at length removed, by the positive assurance of the Magi that the widow of Hormouz had conceived, and would safely produce, a son. Obedient to the voice of superstition, the Persians prepared, without delay, the ceremony of his coronation. A royal bed, on which the queen lay in state, was exhibited in the midst of the palace; the diadem was placed on the spot which might be supposed to conceal the future heir of Artaxerxes, and the prostrate Satraps adored the majesty of their invisible and insensible sovereign.[56]

[55] Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 69. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 117 [39]. Idat. in Chron. See two notes of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1086-1091 [p. 666-668]. The reign of the eldest brother at Constantinople is noticed only in the Alexandrian Chronicle. [But see App. 15.]

[56] Agathias, who lived in the sixth century, is the author of this story (l. iv. p. 135, edit. Louvre [p. 262, ed. Bonn]). He derived his information from some extracts of the Persian Chronicles, obtained and translated by the interpreter Sergius, during his embassy at that court. The coronation of the mother of Sapor is likewise mentioned by Schikard (Tarikh. p. 116) and d'Herbelot (Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 763). [Tabari does not mention the ceremony; Noldeke, 51-2.]

If any credit can be given to this marvellous tale, which seems however to be countenanced by the manners of the people and by the extraordinary duration of his reign, we must admire not only the fortune, but the genius, of Sapor. In the soft sequestered education of a Persian harem, the royal youth could discover the importance of exercising the vigour of his mind and body; and, by his personal merit, deserved a throne, on which he had been seated while he was yet unconscious of the duties and temptations of absolute power. His minority was exposed to the almost inevitable calamities of domestic discord; his capital was surprised and plundered by Thair, a powerful king of Yemen, or Arabia; and the majesty of the royal family was degraded by the captivity of a princess, the sister of the deceased king. But, as soon as Sapor attained the age of manhood, the presumptuous Thair, his nation, and his country fell beneath the first effort of the young warrior; who used his victory with so judicious a mixture of rigour and clemency that he obtained from the fears and gratitude of the Arabs the title of *Dhoulacnaf*, or protector of the nation.[57] [Dhû-l-Ikṉâf]

State of Mesopotamia and Armenia

The ambition of the Persian, to whom his enemies ascribe the virtues of a soldier and a statesman, was animated by the desire of revenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. The military fame of Constantine, and the real or apparent strength of his government, suspended the attack; and, while the hostile conduct of Sapor provoked the resentment, his artful negotiations amused the patience, of the imperial court. The death of Constantine was the signal of war,[58] and the actual condition of the Syrian and Armenian frontier seemed to encourage the Persians by the prospect of a rich spoil and an easy conquest. The example of the massacres of the palace diffused a spirit of licentiousness and sedition among the troops of the east, who were no longer restrained by their habits of obedience to a veteran commander. By the prudence of Constantius, who, from the interview with his brothers in Pannonia,

[57] D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 764.

[58] Sextus Rufus (c. 26.), who on this occasion is no contemptible authority, affirms that the Persians sued in vain for peace, and that Constantine was preparing to march against them: yet the superior weight of the testimony of Eusebius obliges us to admit the preliminaries, if not the ratification, of the treaty. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 420. [An important feature in connexion with these wars is Sapor's persecution of the Christians in his dominion. See Ruinart, Acta sinc. p. 584 *sqq.*, and Görres, Das Christenthum im Sassanidenreiche, in Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theol., vol. 31, 1888, p. 449 *sqq.*]

immediately hastened to the banks of the Euphrates, the legions were gradually restored to a sense of duty and discipline; but the season of anarchy had permitted Sapor to form the siege of Nisibis, and to occupy several of the most important fortresses [A.D. 338] of Mesopotamia.[59] In Armenia, the renowned Tiridates had long enjoyed the peace and glory which he deserved by his valour and fidelity to the cause of Rome. The firm alliance which he maintained with Constantine was productive of spiritual as well as of temporal benefits: by the conversion of Tiridates, the character of a saint was applied to that of a hero, the Christian faith was preached and established from the Euphrates to the shores of the Caspian, and Armenia was attached to the empire by the double ties of policy and of religion. But, as many of the Armenian nobles still refused to abandon the plurality of their gods and of their wives, the public tranquillity was disturbed by a discontented faction, which insulted the feeble age of their sovereign, and impatiently A.D. 342 expected the hour of his death. He died at length after a [But see Appendix 18] reign of fifty-six years, and the fortune of the Armenian monarchy expired with Tiridates. His lawful heir was driven into exile, the Christian priests were either murdered or expelled from their churches, the barbarous tribes of Albania were solicited to descend from their mountains; and two of the most powerful governors, usurping the ensigns or the power of royalty, implored the assistance of Sapor, and opened the gates of their cities to the Persian garrisons. The Christian party, under the guidance of the Archbishop of Artaxata, the immediate successor of St. Gregory the Illuminator, had recourse to the piety of Constantius. After the troubles had continued about three years, Antiochus, one of the officers of the household, executed with success the imperial commission of restoring Chosroes, the son of Tiridates, to the throne of his fathers, of distributing honours and rewards among the faithful servants of the house of Arsaces, and of proclaiming a general amnesty, which was accepted by the greater part of the rebellious Satraps. But the Romans derived more honour than advantage from this revolution. Chosroes was a prince of a puny stature and a pusillanimous spirit. Unequal to the fatigues of war, averse to the society of mankind, he withdrew from his capital to a retired palace, which he built on the banks of the river

[59] Julian. Orat. i. p. 20 [p. 24, ed. Hertl. From some successes gained possibly in the campaign of this year Constantius won the title of Adiabenicus Maximus. C. I. L. 3, 3705].

Eleutherus, and in the centre of a shady grove; where he consumed his vacant hours in the rural sports of hunting and hawking. To secure this inglorious ease, he submitted to the conditions of peace which Sapor condescended to impose; the payment of an annual tribute, and the restitution of the fertile province of Atropatene, which the courage of Tiridates and the victorious arms of Galerius had annexed to the Armenian monarchy.[60]

The Persian war. A.D. 337-360

During the long period of the reign of Constantius, the provinces of the east were afflicted by the calamities of the Persian war. The irregular incursions of the light troops alternately spread terror and devastation beyond the Tigris and beyond the Euphrates, from the gates of Ctesiphon to those of Antioch; and this active service was performed by the Arabs of the desert, who were divided in their interest and affections; some of their independent chiefs being enlisted in the party of Sapor, whilst others had engaged their doubtful fidelity to the emperor.[61] The more grave and important operations of the war were conducted with equal vigour; and the armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody fields, in two of which Constantius himself commanded in person.[62]

Battle of Singara. A.D. 348 [A.D. 344]

The event of the day was most commonly adverse to the Romans, but in the battle of Singara[63] their imprudent valour

[60] Julian. Orat. i. p. 20, 21 [24, 25]. Moses of Chorene, l. ii. c. 89, l. iii. c. 1-9, p. 226-240. The perfect agreement between the vague hints of the contemporary orator and the circumstantial narrative of the national historian gives light to the former and weight to the latter. For the credit of Moses it may be likewise observed that the name of Antiochus is found a few years before in a civil office of inferior dignity. See Godefroy, Cod. Theod. tom. vi. p. 350. [For the Armenian affairs see Append. 18.]

[61] Ammianus (xiv. 4) gives a lively description of the wandering and predatory life of the Saracens, who stretched from the confines of Assyria to the cataracts of the Nile. It appears from the adventures of Malchus, which Jerom has related in so entertai ing a manner, that the high road between Berœa and Edessa was infested by these robbers. See Hieronym. tom. i. p. 256.

[62] We shall take from Eutropius the general idea of the war (x. 10). A Persis enim multa et gravia perpessus, sæpe captis oppidis, obsessis urbibus, cæsis exercitibus, nullumque ei contra Saporem prosperum prælium fuit, nisi quod apud Singaram, &c. This honest account is confirmed by the hints of Ammianus, Rufus, and Jerom. The two first orations of Julian and the third oration of Libanius exhibit a more flattering picture; but the recantation of both those orators, after the death of Constantius, while it restores us to the possession of the truth, degrades their own character, and that of the emperor. The commentary of Spanheim on the first oration of Julian is profusely learned. See likewise the judicious observations of Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 656. [Julian puts the campaign about six years before the revolt of Magnentius, that would be 344 (Or. i. p. 32, ἕκτον που μάλιστα μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἔτος). See App. 17.]

[63] [Singara, now called Sinjâr, is situated due west of Nineveh (Môsil), and about the same distance—a geographical degree, roughly—east of the river

had almost achieved a signal and decisive victory. Th stationary troops of Singara retired on the approach of Sapor who passed the Tigris over three bridges, and occupied near th village of Hilleh an advantageous camp, which, by the labour o his numerous pioneers, he surrounded in one day with a deep ditch and a lofty rampart. His formidable host, when it wa drawn out in order of battle, covered the banks of the river the adjacent heights, and the whole extent of a plain of abov twelve miles, which separated the two armies. Both were alik impatient to engage; but the Barbarians, after a slight resist ance, fled in disorder; unable to resist, or desirous to weary the strength of the heavy legions, who, fainting with heat and thirst, pursued them across the plain, and cut in pieces a line o cavalry, clothed in complete armour, which had been poste before the gates of the camp to protect their retreat. Con stantius, who was hurried along in the pursuit, attempted without effect, to restrain the ardour of his troops, by repre senting to them the dangers of the approaching night and the certainty of completing their success with the return of day. As they depended much more on their own valour than on the experience or the abilities of their chief, they silenced by thei clamours his timid remonstrances; and rushing with fury t the charge filled up the ditch, broke down the rampart, and dispersed themselves through the tents, to recruit their ex hausted strength and to enjoy the rich harvest of their labours But the prudent Sapor had watched the moment of victory His army, of which the greater part, securely posted on the heights, had been spectators of the action, advanced in silence and under the shadow of the night; and his Persian archers guided by the illumination of the camp, poured a shower o arrows on a disarmed and licentious crowd. The sincerity o history [64] declares that the Romans were vanquished with a dreadful slaughter, and that the flying remnant of the legions was exposed to the most intolerable hardships. Even the tenderness of panegyric, confessing that the glory of the emperor was sullied by the disobedience of his soldiers, chooses to draw a veil over the circumstances of this melancholy retreat. Yet one of those venal orators, so jealous of the fame of Con-

Chaboras. See map in Sachau's Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien, 1883, and p. 327 *sqq*; or Mr. Le Strange's map in Journal of Asiatic Soc., Jan., 1895.]

[64] Acerrimâ nocturnâ concertatione pugnatum est, nostrorum copiis ingenti strage confossis. Ammian. xviii. 5. See likewise Eutropius, x. 10, and S. Rufus [Festus] c. 27.

stantius, relates with amazing coolness an act of such incredible cruelty, as, in the judgment of posterity, must imprint a far deeper stain on the honour of the imperial name. The son of Sapor, the heir of his crown, had been made a captive in the Persian camp. The unhappy youth, who might have excited the compassion of the most savage enemy, was scourged, tortured, and publicly executed by the inhuman Romans.[65]

Siege of Nisibis

Whatever advantages might attend the arms of Sapor in the field, though nine repeated victories diffused among the nations the fame of his valour and conduct, he could not hope to succeed in the execution of his designs, while the fortified towns of Mesopotamia, and, above all, the strong and ancient city of Nisibis, remained in the possession of the Romans. In the space of twelve years, Nisibis, which, since the time of Lucullus, had been deservedly esteemed the bulwark of the east, sustained three memorable sieges against the power of Sapor, and the disappointed monarch, after urging his attacks above sixty, eighty, and an hundred days, was thrice repulsed with loss and ignominy.[66] This large and populous city was situate about two days' journey from the Tigris, in the midst of a pleasant and fertile plain at the foot of Mount Masius. A treble inclosure of brick walls was defended by a deep ditch;[67] and the intrepid assistance of Count Lucilianus and his garrison was seconded by the desperate courage of the people. The citizens of Nisibis were animated by the exhortations of their bishop,[68] enured to arms by the presence of danger, and convinced of the intentions of Sapor to plant a Persian colony in their room and to lead them away into distant and barbarous captivity. The event of the two former sieges elated their confidence, and

[Nisibin]

A.D. 338, 346 [349-], 350

[65] Libanius, Orat. iii. p. 133, with Julian. Orat. i. p. 24 [29-30], and Spanheim's Commentary, p. 179.

[66] See Julian. Orat. i. p. 27 [29], Orat. ii. p. 62 [79], &c., with the Commentary of Spanheim (p. 188-202), who illustrates the circumstances, and ascertains the time of the three sieges of Nisibis. Their dates are likewise examined by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 668, 671, 674). Something is added from Zosimus, l. iii. p. 151 [8], and the Alexandrine Chronicle, p. 290.

[67] Sallust, Fragment. lxxxiv. edit. Brosses, and Plutarch in Lucull. tom. iii. p. 284. Nisibis is now reduced to one hundred and fifty houses; the marshy lands produce rice, and the fertile meadows as far as Mosul and the Tigris, are covered with the ruins of towns and villages. See Niebuhr, Voyages, tom. ii. p. 300-309. [Compare Sachau's description (op. cit. p. 391): "200 poor huts built chiefly of mud and straw," most of them inhabited by Jews.]

[68] The miracles which Theodoret (l. ii. c. 30) ascribes to St. James, Bishop of Edessa, were at least performed in a worthy cause, the defence of his country. He appeared on the walls under the figure of the Roman emperor, and sent an army of gnats to sting the trunks of the elephants, and to discomfit the host of the new Sennacherib.

exasperated the haughty spirit of the Great King, who advanced
[A.D. 49] a third time towards Nisibis, at the head of the united forces of Persia and India. The ordinary machines invented to batter or undermine the walls were rendered ineffectual by the superior skill of the Romans; and many days had vainly elapsed, when Sapor embraced a resolution, worthy of an eastern monarch, who believed that the elements themselves were subject to his power. At the stated season of the melting of the snows in Armenia, the river Mygdonius, which divides the plain and the city of Nisibis, forms, like the Nile,[69] an inundation over the adjacent country. By the labour of the Persians, the course of the river was stopped below the town, and the waters were confined on every side by solid mounds of earth. On this artificial lake, a fleet of armed vessels, filled with soldiers and with engines which discharged stones of five hundred pounds' weight, advanced in order of battle, and engaged, almost upon a level, the troops which defended the ramparts. The irresistible force of the waters was alternately fatal to the contending parties, till at length a portion of the walls, unable to sustain the accumulated pressure, gave way at once, and exposed an ample breach of one hundred and fifty feet. The Persians were instantly driven to the assault, and the fate of Nisibis depended on the event of the day. The heavy armed cavalry, who led the van of a deep column, were embarrassed in the mud, and great numbers were drowned in the unseen holes which had been filled by the rushing waters. The elephants, made furious by their wounds, increased the disorder, and trampled down thousands of the Persian archers. The Great King, who, from an exalted throne, beheld the misfortunes of his arms, sounded, with reluctant indignation, the signal of the retreat, and suspended for some hours the prosecution of the attack. But the vigilant citizens improved the opportunity of the night: and the return of day discovered a new wall of six feet in height, rising every moment to fill up the interval of the breach. Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes, and the loss of more than twenty thousand men, Sapor still

[69] Julian. Orat. i. p. 27. Though Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 307) allows a very considerable swell to the Mygdonius, over which he saw a bridge of *twelve* arches it is difficult, however, to understand this parallel of a trifling rivulet with a mighty river. There are many circumstances obscure, and almost unintelligible, in the description of these stupendous water-works. [The river (now called Jaghjagha) is split into three arms where the bridge spans it. Sachau, who describes the bridge as old but in tolerably good condition, saw the river very full (viel und reissend fliessendes Wasser, p. 390).]

pressed the reduction of Nisibis, with an obstinate firmness which could have yielded only to the necessity of defending the eastern provinces of Persia against a formidable invasion of the Massagetæ.[70] Alarmed by this intelligence, he hastily [A.D. 350] relinquished the siege, and marched with rapid diligence from the banks of the Tigris to those of the Oxus. The danger and difficulties of the Scythian war engaged him soon afterwards to conclude, or at least to observe, a truce with the Roman emperor, which was equally grateful to both princes; as Constantius himself, after the deaths of his two brothers, was involved, by the revolutions of the west, in a civil contest, which required and seemed to exceed the most vigorous exertion of his undivided strength.

Civil war, and death of Constantine. A.D. 340, March

After the partition of the empire three years had scarcely elapsed, before the sons of Constantine seemed impatient to convince mankind that they were incapable of contenting themselves with the dominions which they were unqualified to govern. The eldest of those princes soon complained that he was defrauded of his just proportion of the spoils of their murdered kinsmen; and, though he might yield to the superior guilt and merit of Constantius, he exacted from Constans the cession of the African provinces, as an equivalent for the rich countries of Macedonia and Greece, which his brother had acquired by the death of Dalmatius. The want of sincerity which Constantine experienced in a tedious and fruitless negotiation exasperated the fierceness of his temper; and he eagerly listened to those favourites who suggested to him that his honour, as well as his interest, was concerned in the prosecution of the quarrel. At the head of a tumultuary band, suited for rapine rather than for conquest, he suddenly broke into the dominions of Constans, by the way of the Julian Alps, and the country round Aquileia felt the first effects of his resentment. The measures of Constans, who then resided in Dacia, were directed with more prudence and ability. On the news of his brother's invasion, he dispatched a select and disciplined body of his Illyrian troops, proposing to follow them in person with the remainder of his forces. But the conduct of his lieutenants soon terminated the unnatural contest. By the artful appear-

[70] We are obliged to Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 11 [7]) for this invasion of the Massagetæ, which is perfectly consistent with the general series of events, to which we are darkly led by the broken history of Ammianus. [In memory of the brave resistance and the raising of the siege of Nisibis Constantius founded "Persian Games" in May 350. See Corp. Ins. Lat. i. p. 393.]

ances of flight, Constantine was betrayed into an ambuscade which had been concealed in a wood, where the rash youth with a few attendants, was surprised, surrounded, and slain. His body, after it had been found in the obscure stream of the Alsa, obtained the honours of an imperial sepulchre; but his provinces transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who refusing to admit his elder brother Constantius to any share in these new acquisitions, maintained the undisputed possession of more than two-thirds of the Roman empire.[71]

Murder of Constans. A.D. 350, February

The fate of Constans himself was delayed about ten years longer, and the revenge of his brother's death was reserved for the more ignoble hand of a domestic traitor. The pernicious tendency of the system introduced by Constantine was displayed in the feeble administration of his sons; who, by their vices and weakness, soon lost the esteem and affections of their people. The pride assumed by Constans, from the unmerited success of his arms, was rendered more contemptible by his want of abilities and application. His fond partiality towards some German captives, distinguished only by the charms of youth, was an object of scandal to the people;[72] and Magnentius, an ambitious soldier, who was himself of barbarian extraction, was encouraged by the public discontent to assert the honour of the Roman name.[73] The chosen bands of Jovians and Herculians, who acknowledged Magnentius as their leader, maintained the most respectable and important station in the

[71] The causes and the events of this civil war are related with much perplexity and contradiction. I have chiefly followed Zonaras, and the younger Victor. The monody (ad calcem Eutrop. edit. Havercamp [but cp. App. 1]) pronounced on the death of Constantine, might have been very instructive; but prudence and false taste engaged the orator to involve himself in vague declamation. [Eutropius and others make Constantine invade his brother's land without reason or provocation (Zosimus, ii. 41, states that Constans sent soldiers to murder Constantine). The dissatisfaction of Constantine at the territorial division, given as the cause of the quarrel by Victor, Epit. 41, and Zosimus, and adopted by Gibbon, may be right. Schiller thinks it was a "Kompetenzkonflikt," Constantine claiming a sort of primacy over his brothers, and supports his view by certain coins, which suggest that Constantine held an isolated position among the Augusti (ii. 241).]

[72] Quarum (*gentium*) obsides pretio quæsitos pueros venustiores, quod cultius habuerat, libidine hujusmodi arsisse *pro certo* habetur [Cæs. 41]. Had not the depraved tastes of Constans been publicly avowed, the elder Victor, who held a considerable office in his brother's reign, would not have asserted it in such positive terms.

[73] Julian. Orat. i. and ii. Zosim. l. ii. p. 134 [42]. Victor in Epitome. There is reason to believe that [Fl. Magnus] Magnentius was born in one of those Barbarian Colonies which Constantius Chlorus had established in Gaul (see this History, vol. i. p. 362): His behaviour may remind us of the patriot Earl of Leicester, the famous Simon de Montfort, who could persuade the good people of England that he, a Frenchman by birth, had taken arms to deliver them from foreign favourites.

Imperial camp. The friendship of Marcellinus, count of the sacred largesses, supplied with a liberal hand the means of seduction. The soldiers were convinced, by the most specious arguments, that the republic summoned them to break the bonds of hereditary servitude and, by the choice of an active and vigilant prince, to reward the same virtues which had raised the ancestors of the degenerate Constans from a private condition to the throne of the world. As soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, Marcellinus, under the pretence of celebrating his son's birthday, gave a splendid entertainment to the *illustrious* and *honourable* persons of the court of Gaul, which then resided in the city of Autun. The intemperance of the feast was artfully protracted till a very late hour of the night; and the unsuspecting guests were tempted to indulge themselves in a dangerous and guilty freedom of conversation. On a sudden the doors were thrown open, and Magnentius, who had retired for a few moments, returned into the apartment, invested with the diadem and purple. The conspirators instantly saluted him with the titles of Augustus and Emperor. The surprise, the terror, the intoxication, the ambitious hopes, and the mutual ignorance of the rest of the assembly, prompted them to join their voices to the general acclamation. The guards hastened to take the oath of fidelity; the gates of the town were shut; and, before the dawn of day, Magnentius became master of the troops and treasure of the palace and city of Autun. By his secrecy and diligence he entertained some hopes of surprising the person of Constans, who was pursuing in the adjacent forest his favourite amusement of hunting, or perhaps some pleasures of a more private and criminal nature. The rapid progress of fame allowed him, however, an instant for flight, though the desertion of his soldiers and subjects deprived him of the power of resistance. Before he could reach a seaport in Spain, where he intended to embark, he was overtaken near Helena,[74] at the foot of the Pyrenees, by a party of light cavalry, whose chief, regardless of the sanctity of a temple, executed his commission by the murder of the son of Constantine.[75]

[Augustodunum]

[A.D. 350, 18th Jan.]

[74] This ancient city had once flourished under the name of Illiberis (Pomponius Mela, ii. 5). The munificence of Constantine gave it new splendour, and his mother's name. Helena (it is still called Elne) became the seat of a bishop, who long afterwards transferred his residence to Perpignan, the capital of modern Rousillon. See d'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 380; Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 223, and the Marca Hispanica, l. i. c. 2.

[75] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 119, 120 [42]; Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 13 [6], and the Abbreviators.

Magnentius and Vetranio assume the purple. A.D. 350, 1st March

As soon as the death of Constans had decided this easy but important revolution, the example of the court of Autun was imitated by the provinces of the west. The authority of Magnentius was acknowledged through the whole extent of the two great præfectures of Gaul and Italy;[76] and the usurper prepared, by every act of oppression, to collect a treasure, which might discharge the obligation of an immense donative and supply the expenses of a civil war. The martial countries of Illyricum, from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, had long obeyed the government of Vetranio, an aged general, beloved for the simplicity of his manners, and who had acquired some reputation by his experience and services in war.[77] Attached, by habit, by duty, and by gratitude, to the house of Constantine, he immediately gave the strongest assurances to the only surviving son of his late master that he would expose with unshaken fidelity, his person and his troops, to inflict a just revenge on the traitors of Gaul. But the legions of Vetranio were seduced rather than provoked by the example of rebellion; their leader soon betrayed a want of firmness, or a want of sincerity; and his ambition derived a specious pretence from the approbation of the princess Constantina. That cruel and aspiring woman, who had obtained from the great Constantine her father the rank of *Augusta*, placed the diadem with her own hands on the head of the Illyrian general; and seemed to expect from his victory the accomplishment of those unbounded hopes of which she had been disappointed by the death of her husband Hannibalianus. Perhaps it was without the consent of Constantina that the new emperor formed a necessary, though dishonourable, alliance with the usurper of the west, whose purple was so recently stained with her brother's blood.[78]

[76] [This fact is confirmed in detail by inscriptions: see list in Schiller, ii. 249. In religion, Magnentius was probably a pagan; he permitted pagan sacrifices. But he professed to be a Christian of Nicene views, sought the support of Athanasius; and issued coins with the anti-Arian symbol A ρ Ω.]

[77] Eutropius (x. 10) describes Vetranio with more temper, and probably with more truth, than either of the two Victors. Vetranio was born of obscure parents in the wildest parts of Mæsia; and so much had his education been neglected that, after his elevation, he studied the alphabet. [For the part played by Constantina see Chron. Pasch. i, 539, 540. The coins seem to support the hypothesis that Vetranio was loyal; see next note. Vetranio coins with Concordia militum, and Virtus Augustorum, are referred by Schiller to an understanding between Vetranio and Constantius.]

[78] The doubtful, fluctuating conduct of Vetranio is described by Julian in his first oration [p. 32 *sqq.*, ed. Hertl.] and accurately explained by Spanheim, who discusses the situation and behaviour of Constantina. [Schiller (ii. 250 *sqq.*) discusses the conduct of Vetranio and concludes that he was loyal throughout to the house of Constantine; that he assumed the purple lest a true rebel should be pro-

The intelligence of these important events, which so deeply affected the honour and safety of the Imperial house, recalled the arms of Constantius from the inglorious prosecution of the Persian war. He recommended the care of the east to his lieutenants, and afterwards to his cousin Gallus, whom he raised from a prison to a throne; and marched towards Europe, with a mind agitated by the conflict of hope and fear, of grief and indignation. On his arrival at Heraclea in Thrace, the emperor gave audience to the ambassadors of Magnentius and Vetranio. The first author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, who in some measure had bestowed the purple on his new master, boldly accepted this dangerous commission; and his three colleagues were selected from the illustrious personages of the state and army. These deputies were instructed to soothe the resentment, and to alarm the fears, of Constantius. They were empowered to offer him the friendship and alliance of the western princes, to cement their union by a double marriage; of Constantius with the daughter of Magnentius, and of Magnentius himself with the ambitious Constantina; and to acknowledge in the treaty the pre-eminence of rank, which might justly be claimed by the emperor of the east. Should pride and mistaken piety urge him to refuse these equitable conditions, the ambassadors were ordered to expatiate on the inevitable ruin which must attend his rashness, if he ventured to provoke the sovereigns of the west to exert their superior strength and to employ against him that valour, those abilities, and those legions, to which the house of Constantine had been indebted for so many triumphs. Such propositions and such arguments appeared to deserve the most serious attention; the answer of Constantius was deferred till the next day; and, as he had reflected on the importance of justifying a civil war in the opinion of the people, he thus addressed his council, who listened with real or affected credulity: "Last night," said he, "after I retired to rest, the shade of the great Constantine, embracing the corpse of my murdered brother, rose before my eyes; his well-known voice awakened me to revenge, forbade me to despair of the republic, and assured me of the success and immortal glory which would crown the justice of my arms". The authority of such a vision, or rather of the prince who alleged it, silenced every doubt, and excluded all negotiation. The ignominious terms of peace were rejected with disdain. One of the ambassadors of the tyrant

Constantius refuses to treat. A.D. 350

[November]

claimed; and that the dramatic scene of his repentance and resignation was prearranged between himself and Constantius.]

was dismissed with the haughty answer of Constantius; h colleagues, as unworthy of the privileges of the law of nation were put in irons; and the contending powers prepared to wag an implacable war.[79]

Deposes Vetranio. A.D. 350, Dec. 25

Such was the conduct, and such perhaps was the duty, of th brother of Constans towards the perfidious usurper of Gau The situation and character of Vetranio admitted of milde measures; and the policy of the eastern emperor was directe to disunite his antagonists, and to separate the forces o Illyricum from the cause of rebellion. It was an easy task t deceive the frankness and simplicity of Vetranio, who, fluctuat ing some time between the opposite views of honour and interes displayed to the world the insincerity of his temper, and was in sensibly engaged in the snares of an artful negotiation. Con stantius acknowledged him as a legitimate and equal colleague i the empire, on condition that he would renounce his disgracefu alliance with Magnentius and appoint a place of interview o the frontiers of their respective provinces, where they migh pledge their friendship by mutual vows of fidelity and regulat by common consent the future operations of the civil war. I consequence of this agreement, Vetranio advanced to the cit

[Sona] of Sardica,[80] at the head of twenty thousand horse and of a mor numerous body of infantry; a power so far superior to the force of Constantius that the Illyrian emperor appeared to commanc the life and fortunes of his rival, who, depending on the success of his private negotiations, had seduced the troops, and under mined the throne, of Vetranio. The chiefs, who had secretly embraced the party of Constantius, prepared in his favour a public spectacle, calculated to discover and inflame the passions of the multitude.[81] The united armies were commanded t assemble in a large plain near the city. In the centre, accord ing to the rules of ancient discipline, a military tribunal, o rather scaffold, was erected, from whence the emperors were accustomed, on solemn and important occasions, to harangue the troops. The well-ordered ranks of Romans and Barbarians with drawn swords or with erected spears, the squadrons o

[79] See Peter the Patrician, in the Excerpta Legationum, p. 27.

[80] Zonaras, t. ii. l. xiii. p. 16 [c. 7]. The position of Sardica, near the modern city of Sophia, appears better suited to this interview than the situation of either Naissus or Sirmium, where it is placed by Jerom, Socrates, and Sozomen.

[81] See the two first orations of Julian, particularly p. 31; and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 122 [c. 44]. The distinct narrative of the historian serves to illustrate the diffuse but vague, descriptions of the orator. [Cp. also Them. Orat. 3, p. 45 C, and 4, p. 56 B · Libanius, Vita, p. 58, Reiske.—Ammian, 21, 8, 1.]

cavalry and the cohorts of infantry, distinguished by the variety of their arms and ensigns, formed an immense circle round the tribunal; and the attentive silence which they preserved was sometimes interrupted by loud bursts of clamour or of applause. In the presence of this formidable assembly, the two emperors were called upon to explain the situation of public affairs: the precedency of rank was yielded to the royal birth of Constantius; and, though he was indifferently skilled in the arts of rhetoric, he acquitted himself, under these difficult circumstances, with firmness, dexterity, and eloquence. The first part of his oration seemed to be pointed only against the tyrant of Gaul; but, while he tragically lamented the cruel murder of Constans, he insinuated that none, except a brother, could claim a right to the succession of his brother. He displayed, with some complacency, the glories of his Imperial race; and recalled to the memory of the troops the valour, the triumphs, the liberality of the great Constantine, to whose sons they had engaged their allegiance by an oath of fidelity, which the ingratitude of his most favoured servants had tempted them to violate. The officers, who surrounded the tribunal and were instructed to act their parts in this extraordinary scene, confessed the irresistible power of reason and eloquence by saluting the emperor Constantius as their lawful sovereign. The contagion of loyalty and repentance was communicated from rank to rank; till the plain of Sardica resounded with the universal acclamation of "Away with these upstart usurpers! Long life and victory to the son of Constantine! Under his banners alone we will fight and conquer." The shout of thousands, their menacing gestures, the fierce clashing of their arms, astonished and subdued the courage of Vetranio, who stood, amidst the defection of his followers, in anxious and silent suspense. Instead of embracing the last refuge of generous despair, he tamely submitted to his fate; and taking the diadem from his head, in view of both armies, fell prostrate at the feet of his conqueror. Constantius used his victory with prudence and moderation; and raising from the ground the aged suppliant, whom he affected to style by the endearing name of Father, he gave him his hand to descend from the throne. The city of Prusa was assigned for the exile or retirement of the abdicated monarch, who lived six years in the enjoyment of ease and affluence. He often expressed his grateful sense of the goodness of Constantius, and, with a very amiable simplicity, advised his benefactor to resign the sceptre of the world, and to seek for content (where alone

it could be found) in the peaceful obscurity of a private condition.[82]

Makes war against Magnentius. A.D. 351

The behaviour of Constantius on this memorable occasion was celebrated with some appearance of justice; and his courtiers compared the studied orations which a Pericles or Demosthenes addressed to the populace of Athens with the victorious eloquence which had persuaded an armed multitude to desert and depose the object of their partial choice.[83] The approaching contest with Magnentius was of a more serious and bloody kind. The tyrant advanced by rapid marches to encounter Constantius, at the head of a numerous army, composed of Gauls and Spaniards, of Franks and Saxons; of those provincials who supplied the strength of the legions, and of those barbarians who were dreaded as the most formidable enemies of the republic. The fertile plains[84] of the Lower Pannonia, between the Drave, the Save, and the Danube, presented a spacious theatre; and the operations of the civil war were protracted during the summer months by the skill or timidity of the combatants.[85] Constantius had declared his intention of deciding the quarrel in the fields of Cibalis, a name that would animate his troops by the remembrance of the victory which, on the same auspicious ground, had been obtained by the arms of his father Constantine. Yet, by the impregnable fortifications with which the emperor encompassed his camp, he appeared to decline, rather than to invite, a general engagement. It was the object of Magnentius to tempt or to compel his adversary to relinquish this advantageous position; and he employed, with that view, the various marches, evolutions, and stratagems, which the knowledge of the art of

[82] The younger Victor assigns to his exile the emphatical appellation of "Voluptarium otium". Socrates (l. ii. c. 28) is the voucher for the correspondence with the emperor, which would seem to prove that Vetranio was, indeed, prope ad stultitiam simplicissimus.

[83] Eum Constantius . . . facundiæ vi dejectum Imperio in privatum otium removit. Quæ gloria post natum Imperium soli processit eloquio clementiâque, &c. Aurelius Victor, Julian, and Themistius (Orat. iii and iv) adorn this exploit with all the artificial and gaudy colouring of their rhetoric.

[84] Busbequius (p. 112) traversed the Lower Hungary and Sclavonia at a time when they were reduced almost to a desert by the reciprocal hostilities of the Turks and Christians. Yet he mentions with admiration the unconquerable fertility of the soil; and observes that the height of the grass was sufficient to conceal a loaded waggon from his sight. See likewise Browne's Travels, in Harris's Collection, vol. ii. p. 762, &c.

[85] Zosimus gives a very large account of the war and the negotiation (l. ii. p. 123-130 [c. 45-49]). But, as he neither shews himself a soldier nor a politician, his narrative must be weighed with attention, and received with caution.

war could suggest to an experienced officer. He carried by assault the important town of Siscia; made an attack on the city of Sirmium, which lay in the rear of the Imperial camp; attempted to force a passage over the Save into the eastern provinces of Illyricum; and cut in pieces a numerous detachment, which he had allured into the narrow passes of Adarne. During the greater part of the summer, the tyrant of Gaul shewed himself master of the field. The troops of Constantius were harassed and dispirited; his reputation declined in the eye of the world; and his pride condescended to solicit a treaty of peace, which would have resigned to the assassin of Constans the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. These offers were enforced by the eloquence of Philip the Imperial ambassador; and the council as well as the army of Magnentius were disposed to accept them. But the haughty usurper, careless of the remonstrances of his friends, gave orders that Philip should be detained as a captive, or at least as a hostage; while he dispatched an officer to reproach Constantius with the weakness of his reign, and to insult him by the promise of a pardon, if he would instantly abdicate the purple. "That he should confide in the justice of his cause and the protection of an avenging Deity," was the only answer which honour permitted the emperor to return. But he was so sensible of the difficulties of his situation that he no longer dared to retaliate the indignity which had been offered to his representative. The negotiation of Philip was not, however, ineffectual, since he determined Sylvanus, the Frank, a general of merit and reputation, to desert with a considerable body of cavalry, a few days before the battle of Mursa.

Battle of Mursa. A.D. 351, Sept. 28

The city of Mursa, or Essek, celebrated in modern times for a bridge of boats five miles in length over the river Drave and the adjacent morasses,[86] has been always considered as a place of importance in the wars of Hungary. Magnentius, directing his march towards Mursa, set fire to the gates, and, by a sudden assault, had almost scaled the walls of the town. The vigilance of the garrison extinguished the flames; the approach of Constantius left him no time to continue the operations of the siege; and the emperor soon removed the only obstacle that could embarrass his motions, by forcing a

[86] This remarkable bridge, which is flanked with towers, and supported on large wooden piles, was constructed, A.D. 1566, by Sultan Soliman, to facilitate the march of his armies into Hungary. See Browne's Travels, and Busching's System of Geography, vol. ii. p. 90.

body of troops which had taken post in an adjoining amphi theatre. The field of battle round Mursa was a naked an level plain: on this ground the army of Constantius formed with the Drave on their right; while their left, either from the nature of their disposition or from the superiority of thei cavalry, extended far beyond the right flank of Magnentius.[87] The troops on both sides remained under arms in anxiou expectation during the greatest part of the morning; and th son of Constantine, after animating his soldiers by an eloquen speech, retired into a church at some distance from the fiel of battle, and committed to his generals the conduct of thi decisive day.[88] They deserved his confidence by the valou and military skill which they exerted. They wisely began th action upon the left; and, advancing their whole wing o cavalry in an oblique line, they suddenly wheeled it on th right flank of the enemy, which was unprepared to resist th impetuosity of their charge. But the Romans of the Wes soon rallied, by the habits of discipline; and the Barbarian of Germany supported the renown of their national bravery. The engagement soon became general; was maintained wit various and singular turns of fortune; and scarcely ended wit the darkness of the night. The signal victory which Constantiu obtained is attributed to the arms of his cavalry. His cuirassier are described as so many massy statues of steel, glittering wit their scaly armour, and breaking with their ponderous lance the firm array of the Gallic legions. As soon as the legion gave way, the lighter and more active squadrons of the second line rode sword in hand into the intervals, and completed the disorder. In the meanwhile, the huge bodies of the German were exposed almost naked to the dexterity of the orienta archers; and whole troops of those Barbarians were urged by anguish and despair to precipitate themselves into the broad and rapid stream of the Drave.[89] The number of the slain

[87] This position, and the subsequent evolutions, are clearly, though concisely described by Julian, Orat. i. p. 36 [p. 44, ed. Hertl.].

[88] Sulpicius Severus, l. ii. p. 405 [ed. Lugd. Bat. 1647; c. 38]. The emperor passed the day in prayer with Valens, the Arian bishop of Mursa, who gained his confidence by announcing the success of the battle. M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1110) very properly remarks the silence of Julian with regard to the personal prowess of Constantius in the battle of Mursa. The silence of flattery is sometimes equal to the most positive and authentic evidence.

[89] Julian, Orat. i. p. 36, 37 [45, 46, ed. Hertl.]; and Orat. ii. p. 59, 60. Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17 [8]. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 130-133 [49-52]. The last of these celebrates the dexterity of the archer Menelaus, who could discharge three arrows at the same time; an advantage which, according to his apprehension of military affairs, materially contributed to the victory of Constantius.

was computed at fifty-four thousand men, and the slaughter of the conquerors was more considerable than that of the vanquished;[90] a circumstance which proves the obstinacy of the contest, and justifies the observation of an ancient writer that the forces of the empire were consumed in the fatal battle of Mursa, by the loss of a veteran army, sufficient to defend the frontiers or to add new triumphs to the glory of Rome.[91] Notwithstanding the invectives of a servile orator, there is not the least reason to believe that the tyrant deserted his own standard in the beginning of the engagement. He seems to have displayed the virtues of a general and of a soldier till the day was irrecoverably lost, and his camp in the possession of the enemy. Magnentius then consulted his safety, and, throwing away the imperial ornaments, escaped with some difficulty from the pursuit of the light horse, who incessantly followed his rapid flight from the banks of the Drave to the foot of the Julian Alps.[92]

Conquest of Italy. A.D.352

The approach of winter supplied the indolence of Constantius with specious reasons for deferring the prosecution of the war till the ensuing spring. Magnentius had fixed his residence in the city of Aquileia, and shewed a seeming resolution to dispute the passage of the mountains and morasses which fortified the confines of the Venetian province. The surprisal of a castle in the Alps by the secret march of the imperialists could scarcely have determined him to relinquish the possession of Italy, if the inclinations of the people had supported the cause of their tyrant.[93] But the memory of

[90] According to Zonaras, Constantius, out of 80,000 men, lost 30,000, and Magnentius lost 24,000 out of 36,000. The other articles of this account seem probable and authentic, but the numbers of the tyrant's army must have been mistaken, either by the author or his transcribers. Magnentius had collected the whole force of the West, Romans and Barbarians, into one formidable body, which cannot fairly be estimated at less than 100,000 men. Julian, Orat. i. p. 34, 35 [75, 76].

[91] Ingentes R. I. vires eâ dimicatione consumptæ sunt, ad quælibet bella externa idoneæ, quæ multum triumphorum possent securitatisque conferre. Eutropius, x. 13. The younger Victor expresses himself to the same effect. [Cp. Sulpicius Severus, Chron. 2, 38.]

[92] On this occasion, we must prefer the unsuspected testimony of Zosimus and Zonaras to the flattering assertions of Julian. The younger Victor paints the character of Magnentius in a singular light: "Sermonis acer, animi tumidi, et immodice timidus; artifex tamen ad occultandam audaciæ specie formidinem". Is it most likely that in the battle of Mursa his behaviour was governed by nature or by art? I should incline for the latter.

[93] Julian. Orat. i. p. 38, 39 [48, 49]. In that place, however, as well as in Oration ii. p. 97 [124], he insinuates the general disposition of the senate, the people, and the soldiers of Italy, towards the party of the emperor.

the cruelties exercised by his ministers, after the unsuccessful revolt of Nepotian, had left a deep impression of horror and resentment on the minds of the Romans. That rash youth, the son of the princess Eutropia, and the nephew of Constantine, had seen with indignation the sceptre of the West usurped by a perfidious barbarian. Arming a desperate troop of slaves and gladiators, he overpowered the feeble guard of the domestic tranquillity of Rome, received the homage of the senate, and, assuming the title of Augustus, precariously reigned during a [A.D. 350, July] tumult of twenty-eight days. The march of some regular forces put an end to his ambitious hopes: the rebellion was extinguished in the blood of Nepotian, of his mother Eutropia, and of his adherents; and the proscription was extended to all who had contracted a fatal alliance with the name and family of Constantine.[94] But, as soon as Constantius, after the battle of Mursa, became master of the sea-coast of Dalmatia, a band of noble exiles, who had ventured to equip a fleet in some harbour of the Hadriatic, sought protection and revenge in his victorious camp. By their secret intelligence with their countrymen, Rome and the Italian cities were persuaded to display the banners of Constantius on their walls. The grateful veterans, enriched by the liberality of the father, signalized their gratitude and loyalty to the son. The cavalry, the legions, and the auxiliaries of Italy renewed their oath of allegiance to Constantius; and the usurper, alarmed by the general desertion, was compelled, with the remains of his faithful troops, to retire beyond the Alps into the provinces of Gaul. The detachments, however, which were ordered either to press on to intercept the flight of Magnentius, conducted themselves [Before Sept., A.D. 352] with the usual imprudence of success; and allowed him, in the plains of Pavia, an opportunity of turning on his pursuers and of gratifying his despair by the carnage of a useless victory.[95]

Last defeat and death of Magnentius. A.D. 353, August 10 [11]

The pride of Magnentius was reduced, by repeated misfortunes, to sue, and to sue in vain, for peace. He first dispatched a senator, in whose abilities he confided, and

[94] The elder Victor describes in a pathetic manner the miserable condition of Rome: "Cujus stolidum ingenium adeo P. R. patribusque exitio fuit, uti passim domus, fora, viæ, templaque, cruore, cadaveribusque opplerentur bustorum modo". Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677) deplores the fate of several illustrious victims, and Julian (Orat. ii. p. 58 [74]) execrates the cruelty of Marcellinus, the implacable enemy of the house of Constantine. [June is given as the date in Idatius and Chron. Pasch.; but Rossi argues for July; Rev. Arch. 6, 375.]

[95] Zosim. l. ii. p. 133 [52]. Victor in Epitome. The panegyrists of Constantius, with their usual candour, forget to mention this accidental defeat.

afterwards several bishops, whose holy character might obtain a more favourable audience, with the offer of resigning the purple, and the promise of devoting the remainder of his life to the service of the emperor. But Constantius, though he granted fair terms of pardon and reconciliation to all who abandoned the standard of rebellion,[96] avowed his inflexible resolution to inflict a just punishment on the crimes of an assassin, whom he prepared to overwhelm on every side by the effort of his victorious arms. An Imperial fleet acquired the easy possession of Africa and Spain, confirmed the wavering faith of the Moorish nations, and landed a considerable force, which passed the Pyrenees, and advanced towards Lyons, the last and fatal station of Magnentius.[97] The temper of the tyrant, which was never inclined to clemency, was urged by distress to exercise every act of oppression which could extort an immediate supply from the cities of Gaul.[98] Their patience was at length exhausted; and Treves, the seat of prætorian government, gave the signal of revolt by shutting her gates against Decentius, who had been raised by his brother to the rank either of Cæsar or of Augustus.[99] From Treves, Decentius was obliged to retire to Sens, where he was soon surrounded by an army of Germans, whom the pernicious arts of Constantius had introduced into the civil dissensions of Rome.[100] In the meantime the Imperial troops forced the passages of the Cottian Alps, and in the bloody combat of Mount Seleucus irrevocably fixed the title of Rebels on the party of Magnentius.[101] He was unable to bring another army into the field; the fidelity of his [Senones]

[96] Zonaras, tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 17. Julian, in several places of the two orations, expatiates on the clemency of Constantius to the rebels.

[97] Zosim. l. ii. p. 133 [ib.]. Julian, Orat. i. p. 40 [50]; ii. p. 74 [95].

[98] Ammian. xv. 6. Zosim. l. ii. p. 133. Julian, who (Orat. i. p. 40) inveighs against the cruel effects of the tyrant's despair, mentions (Orat. i. p. 34) the oppressive edicts which were dictated by his necessities, or by his avarice. His subjects were compelled to purchase the Imperial demesnes; a doubtful and dangerous species of property, which, in case of a revolution, might be imputed to them as a treasonable usurpation.

[99] The medals of Magnentius celebrate the victories of the *two* Augusti, and of the Cæsar. The Cæsar was another brother, named Desiderius. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 757. [Decentius was only Cæsar. The two Augusti (*Augustorum*) on the coins are Magnentius and Constantius. Magnentius posed as the colleague of Constantius.]

[100] Julian, Orat. i. p. 40, ii. p. 74, with Spanheim, p. 263. His Commentary illustrates the transactions of this civil war. Mons Seleuci was a small place in the Cottian Alps, a few miles distant from Vapincum, or Gap, an episcopal city of Dauphiné. See d'Anville, Notice de la Gaule, p. 464; and Longuerue, Description de la France, p. 327.

[101] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 134 [52]. Liban. Orat. x. p. 268, 269. The latter most vehemently arraigns this cruel and selfish policy of Constantius.

guards was corrupted: and, when he appeared in public to animate them by his exhortations, he was saluted with an unanimous shout of "Long live the emperor Constantius!" The tyrant, who perceived that they were preparing to deserve pardon and rewards by the sacrifice of the most obnoxious criminal, prevented their design by falling on his sword;[102] a death more easy and more honourable than he could hope to obtain from the hands of an enemy, whose revenge would have been coloured with the specious pretence of justice and fraternal piety. The example of suicide was imitated by Decentius, who strangled himself on the news of his brother's death. The author of the conspiracy, Marcellinus, had long since disappeared in the battle of Mursa,[103] and the public tranquillity was confirmed by the execution of the surviving leaders of a guilty and unsuccessful faction. A severe inquisition was extended over all who, either from choice or from compulsion, had been involved in the cause of rebellion. Paul, surnamed Catena, from his superior skill in the judicial exercise of tyranny, was sent to explore the latent remains of the conspiracy in the remote province of Britain. The honest indignation expressed by Martin, vice-præfect of the island, was interpreted as an evidence of his own guilt; and the governor was urged to the necessity of turning against his breast the sword with which he had been provoked to wound the Imperial minister. The most innocent subjects of the West were exposed to exile and confiscation, to death and torture; and, as the timid are always cruel, the mind of Constantius was inaccessible to mercy.[104]

[A.D. 353, 12th Aug.]

[102] Julian, Orat. i. p. 40. Zosimus, l. ii. p. 134 [53]. Socrates, l. ii. c. 32. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 7. The younger Victor describes his death with some horrid circumstances: Transfosso latere, ut erat vasti corporis, vulnere naribusque et ore cruorem effundens, exspiravit. If we can give credit to Zonaras, the tyrant, before he expired, had the pleasure of murdering with his own hands his mother and his brother Desiderius. [The date 11th Aug. must be accepted from Idatius. Gibbon took 10th Aug. from Chron. Pasch., which gives the wrong year, 354.]

[103] Julian (Orat i. p. 58, 59) seems at a loss to determine whether he inflicted on himself the punishment of his crimes, whether he was drowned in the Drave, or whether he was carried by the avenging demons from the field of battle to his destined place of eternal tortures.

[104] Ammian. xiv. 5; xxi. 16. [Several inscriptions are extant celebrating the victory of Constantius; *e.g.*, C. I. L. 6, 1158: restitutor urbis Romæ atque orbis et extinctor pestiferæ tyrannidis. Magnentius had been described as liberator orbis terrarum, &c. Cod. Theod. 15, 14, 5, and 9, 38, 2, annul all the acts of the tyrant.]

CHAPTER XIX

Constantius sole Emperor—Elevation and Death of Gallus—Danger and Elevation of Julian—Sarmatian and Persian Wars—Victories of Julian in Gaul

Power of the eunuchs

THE divided provinces of the empire were again united by the victory of Constantius; but, as that feeble prince was destitute of personal merit, either in peace or war; as he feared his generals and distrusted his ministers; the triumph of his arms served only to establish the reign of the *eunuchs* over the Roman world. Those unhappy beings, the ancient production of oriental jealousy and despotism,[1] were introduced into Greece and Rome by the contagion of Asiatic luxury.[2] Their progress was rapid; and the eunuchs, who, in the time of Augustus, had been abhorred, as the monstrous retinue of an Egyptian queen,[3] were gradually admitted into the families of matrons, of senators, and of the emperors themselves.[4] Restrained by the severe edicts of Domitian and Nerva,[5] cherished by the pride

[1] Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 6) imputes the first practice of castration to the cruel ingenuity of Semiramis, who was supposed to have reigned above nineteen hundred years before Christ. The use of eunuchs is of high antiquity, both in Asia and Egypt. They are mentioned in the law of Moses, Deuteron. xxiii. 1. See Goguet, Origines des Loix, &c. part i. l. i. c. 3.

[2] Eunuchum dixti velle te;
Quia solæ utuntur his reginæ ——
Terent. Eunuch. Act i. scene 2.
This play is translated from Menander, and the original must have appeared soon after the eastern conquests of Alexander.

[3] Miles . . . spadonibus
Servire rugosis potest.
Horat. Carm. v. 9 [Epode 9], and Dacier ad loc.
By the word *spado* the Romans very forcibly expressed their abhorrence of this mutilated condition. The Greek appellation of eunuchs, which insensibly prevailed, had a milder sound and a more ambiguous sense.

[4] We need only mention Posides, a freedman and eunuch of Claudius, in whose favour the emperor prostituted some of the most honourable rewards of military valour. See Sueton. in Claudio, c. 28. Posides employed a great part of his wealth in building.
Ut *spado* vincebat Capitolia nostra
Posides. Juvenal. Sat. xiv. [91].

[5] Castrari mares vetuit. Sueton. in Domitian. c. 7. See Dion Cassius, l. lxvii. p. 1107 [2]; l. lxviii. p. 1119 [2].

of Diocletian, reduced to an humble station by the prudence of Constantine,[6] they multiplied in the palaces of his degenerate sons, and insensibly acquired the knowledge, and at length the direction, of the secret councils of Constantius. The aversion and contempt which mankind has so uniformly entertained for that imperfect species appears to have degraded their character and to have rendered them almost as incapable as they were supposed to be of conceiving any generous sentiment or of performing any worthy action.[7] But the eunuchs were skilled in the arts of flattery and intrigue; and they alternately governed the mind of Constantius by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity.[8] Whilst he viewed in a deceitful mirror the fair appearance of public prosperity, he supinely permitted them to intercept the complaints of the injured provinces, to accumulate immense treasures by the sale of justice and of honours; to disgrace the most important dignities by the promotion of those who had purchased at their hands the powers of oppression, and to gratify their resentment against the few independent spirits who arrogantly refused to solicit the protection of slaves. Of these slaves the most distinguished was the chamberlain Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with such absolute sway that Constantius, according to the sarcasm of an

[6] There is a passage in the Augustan History, p. 137 [xviii. 66], in which Lampridius, whilst he praises Alexander Severus and Constantine for restraining the tyranny of the eunuchs, deplores the mischiefs which they occasioned in other reigns. Huc accedit quod eunuchos nec in consiliis nec in ministeriis habuit; qui soli principes perdunt, dum eos more gentium aut regum Persarum volunt vivere qui a populo etiam amicissimum semovent; qui internuntii sunt, aliud quam respondetur referentes; claudentes principem suum, et agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.

[7] Xenophon (Cyropædia, l. viii. [leg. vii.] p. 540 [c. 5, 60]) has stated the specious reasons which engaged Cyrus to entrust his person to the guard of eunuchs. He had observed in animals that, although the practice of castration might tame their ungovernable fierceness, it did not diminish their strength or spirit; and he persuaded himself that those who were separated from the rest of human kind would be more firmly attached to the person of their benefactor. But a long experience has contradicted the judgment of Cyrus. Some particular instances may occur of eunuchs distinguished by their fidelity, their valour, and their abilities; but, if we examine the general history of Persia, India, and China, we shall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.

[8] See Ammianus Marcellinus, l. xxi. c. 16, l. xxii. c. 4. The whole tenor of his impartial history serves to justify the invectives of Mamertinus, of Libanius, and of Julian himself, who have insulted the vices of the court of Constantius.

[9] Aurelius Victor censures the negligence of his sovereign in choosing the governors of the provinces and the generals of the army, and concludes his history with a very bold observation, as it is much more dangerous under a feeble reign to attack the ministers than the master himself. "Uti verum absolvam brevi, uti Imperatore ipso clarius ita apparitorum plerisque magis atrox nihil" [Cæs. 42].

impartial historian, possessed some credit with his haughty favourite.[10] By his artful suggestions, the emperor was persuaded to subscribe the condemnation of the unfortunate Gallus, and to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which pollute the honour of the house of Constantine.

Education of Gallus and Julian

When the two nephews of Constantine, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the fury of the soldiers, the former was about twelve, and the latter about six, years of age; and, as the eldest was thought to be of a sickly constitution, they obtained with the less difficulty a precarious and dependent life from the affected pity of Constantius, who was sensible that the execution of these helpless orphans would have been esteemed by all mankind an act of the most deliberate cruelty.[11] Different cities of Ionia and Bithynia were assigned for the places of their exile and education; but, as soon as their growing years excited the jealousy of the emperor, he judged it more prudent to secure those unhappy youths in the strong castle of Macellum, near [c. 344 A.D.] Cæsarea. The treatment which they experienced during a six years' confinement was partly such as they could hope from a careful guardian, and partly such as they might dread from a suspicious tyrant.[12] Their prison was an ancient palace, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia; the situation was pleasant, the buildings stately, the inclosure spacious. They pursued their studies, and practised their exercises, under the tuition of the most skilful masters; and the numerous household, appointed to attend, or rather to guard, the nephews of Constantine, was not unworthy of the dignity of their birth. But they could not disguise to themselves that they were deprived of fortune, of

[10] Apud quem (si vere dici debeat) multum Constantius potuit. Ammian. l. xviii. c. 4.

[11] Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 90) reproaches the apostate with his ingratitude towards Mark, bishop of Arethusa, who had contributed to save his life; and we learn, though from a less respectable authority (Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 916), that Julian was concealed in the sanctuary of a church. [Gallus and Julian were step-brothers, being sons of Galla and Basilina respectively. The exact date of Julian's birth has been recently a subject of discussion. Schwarz (de vita et scr. Jul. imp. p. 16) gives Nov.-Dec., 331; Kellerbauer, Sept., 331; C. Radinger (Philologus, 50, p. 761; 1891), May, 331, comparing lemma to Anth. Pal. 14, 148,—very probably as regards the month. But C. J. Neumann, Das Geburtsjahr K. Julians (ib.), shews that if we accept May from Radinger, the year must be 332; for he died in his thirty-second year (Amm. 25, 3, 23) in June. If born in May, 331, his death must have occurred in his thirty-third year.]

[12] The most authentic account of the education and adventures of Julian is contained in the epistle or manifesto which he himself addressed to the senate and people of Athens. Libanius (Orat. Parentalis), on the side of the Pagans, and Socrates (l. iii. c. 1), on that of the Christians, have preserved several interesting circumstances.

freedom, and of safety; secluded from the society of all whom they could trust or esteem; and condemned to pass their melancholy hours in the company of slaves, devoted to the commands of a tyrant, who had already injured them beyond the hope of reconciliation. At length, however, the emergencies of the state compelled the emperor, or rather his eunuchs, to invest Gallus, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, with the title of Cæsar,[13] and to cement this political connexion by his marriage with the princess Constantina.[14] After a formal interview in which the two princes mutually engaged their faith never to undertake anything to the prejudice of each other, they repaired without delay to their respective stations. Constantius continued his march towards the West, and Gallus fixed his residence at Antioch, from whence, with a delegated authority, he administered the five great dioceses of the eastern præfecture.[15] In this fortunate change, the new Cæsar was not unmindful of his brother Julian, who obtained the honours of his rank, the appearances of liberty, and the restitution of an ample patrimony.[16]

Gallus declared Cæsar. A.D. 351, March 6 [15]

The writers the most indulgent to the memory of Gallus, and even Julian himself, though he wished to cast a veil over the frailties of his brother, are obliged to confess that the Cæsar was incapable of reigning. Transported from a prison to a throne, he possessed neither genius nor application, nor docility to compensate for the want of knowledge and experience. A temper naturally morose and violent, instead of being corrected, was soured, by solitude and adversity; the remembrance of what he had endured disposed him to retaliation rather than to sympathy; and the ungoverned sallies of his rage were often fatal to those who approached his person or were subject to his power.[17] Constantina, his wife, is described, not as a

Cruelty and imprudence of Gallus

[13] [Flavius Claudius Constantius.]

[14] [Widow of Hannibalianus.]

[15] For the promotion of Gallus, see Idatius [date 15th, not 5th March], Zosimus, and the two Victors. According to Philostorgius (l. iv. c. 1), Theophilus, an Arian bishop, was the witness, and, as it were, the guarantee, of this solemn engagement. He supported that character with generous firmness; but M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 1120) thinks it very improbable that an heretic should have possessed such virtue.

[16] Julian was at first permitted to pursue his studies at Constantinople, but the reputation which he acquired soon excited the jealousy of Constantius; and the young prince was advised to withdraw himself to the less conspicuous scenes of Bithynia and Ionia.

[17] See Julian ad S. P. Q. A. p. 271 [350], Jerom. in Chron., Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 42. 8], Eutropius, x. 14 [leg. 13]. I shall copy the words of Eutropius, who wrote his abridgment about fifteen years after the death of Gallus, when there was

woman, but as one of the infernal furies tormented with an insatiate thirst of human blood.[18] Instead of employing her influence to insinuate the mild counsels of prudence and humanity, she exasperated the fierce passions of her husband; and, as she retained the vanity, though she had renounced the gentleness, of her sex, a pearl necklace was esteemed an equivalent price for the murder of an innocent and virtuous nobleman.[19] The cruelty of Gallus was sometimes displayed in the undissembled violence of popular or military executions; and was sometimes disguised by the abuse of law, and the forms of judicial proceedings. The private houses of Antioch and the places of public resort were besieged by spies and informers; and the Cæsar himself, concealed in a plebeian habit, very frequently condescended to assume that odious character. Every apartment of the palace was adorned with the instruments of death and torture, and a general consternation was diffused through the capital of Syria. The Prince of the East, as if he had been conscious how much he had to fear, and how little he deserved to reign, selected for the objects of his resentment the provincials, accused of some imaginary treason, and his own courtiers, whom with more reason he suspected of incensing, by their secret correspondence, the timid and suspicious mind of Constantius. But he forgot that he was depriving himself of his only support, the affection of the people; whilst he furnished the malice of his enemies with the arms of truth, and afforded the emperor the fairest pretence of exacting the forfeit of his purple, and of his life.[20]

Massacre of the imperial ministers. A.D. 354

As long as the civil war suspended the fate of the Roman world, Constantius dissembled his knowledge of the weak and cruel administration to which his choice had subjected the East; and the discovery of some assassins, secretly dispatched to

no longer any motive either to flatter or to depreciate his character. "Multis incivilibus gestis Gallus Cæsar . . . vir naturâ ferox [leg. ferus] et ad tyrannidem pronior, si suo jure imperare licuisset."

[18] Megæra quidem mortalis, inflammatrix sævientis assidua, humani cruoris avida, &c. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xiv. c. 1. The sincerity of Ammianus would not suffer him to misrepresent facts or characters, but his love of *ambitious* ornaments frequently betrayed him into an unnatural vehemence of expression.

[19] His name was Clematius of Alexandria, and his only crime was a refusal to gratify the desires of his mother-in-law; who solicited his death, because she had been disappointed of his love. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 1.

[20] See in Ammianus (l. xiv. c. 1 [and c.] 7) a very ample detail of the cruelties of Gallus. His brother Julian (p. 272 [351]) insinuates that a secret conspiracy had been formed against him; and Zosimus names (l. ii. p. 135 [c. 55]) the persons engaged in it; a minister of considerable rank, and two obscure agents, who were resolved to make their fortune.

Antioch by the tyrant of Gaul, was employed to convince th public, that the emperor and the Cæsar were united by th same interest and pursued by the same enemies.[21] But, whe the victory was decided in favour of Constantius, his depende colleague became less useful and less formidable. Every ci cumstance of his conduct was severely and suspiciously e amined, and it was privately resolved either to deprive Gall of the purple or at least to remove him from the indole luxury of Asia to the hardships and dangers of a German wa The death of Theophilus, consular of the province of Syria, wh in a time of scarcity had been massacred by the people c Antioch with the connivance, and almost at the instigation, c Gallus, was justly resented, not only as an act of wanto cruelty, but as a dangerous insult on the supreme majesty c Constantius. Two ministers of illustrious rank, Domitian, th oriental præfect, and Montius, quæstor of the palace, wer empowered by a special commission to visit and reform th state of the East.[22] They were instructed to behave towar Gallus with moderation and respect, and, by the gentlest ar of persuasion, to engage him to comply with the invitation c his brother and colleague. The rashness of the præfect disap pointed these prudent measures, and hastened his own ruin a well as that of his enemy. On his arrival at Antioch, Domitia passed disdainfully before the gates of the palace, and, allegin a slight pretence of indisposition, continued several days i sullen retirement to prepare an inflammatory memorial, whic he transmitted to the Imperial court. Yielding at length t the pressing solicitations of Gallus, the præfect condescende to take his seat in council; but his first step was to signify concise and haughty mandate, importing that the Cæsar shoul immediately repair to Italy, and threatening that he himsel

[21] Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 17, 18 [c. 8]. The assassins had seduced a gre number of legionaries; but their designs were discovered and revealed by an o woman in whose cottage they lodged.

[22] [So Schiller (ii. p. 300): "Constantius therefore sent the præf. præt. orient Domitian, and the minister of justice (quæstor palatii) Montius," &c. But Ammia only says that Domitian was commissioned (xiv. 7, 9); nothing is said of the sendin of Montius,—for the simple reason that he was not sent. Neither Gibbon, nc Schiller, nor Milman (who writes *ad hunc loc.*: "The commission seems to hav been granted to Domitian alone. Montius interfered to support his authority"— but does not explain how Montius came to be there) realized that Montius was th *quæstor palatii* of the Cæsar, not of Constantius. The Cæsars had a household (like the Augusti) and palace officials; thus we find Nebridius as qu. palat. of Julia (Amm. xx. 9, 5). These officials were probably appointed by the Augustus, as w may infer from Julian's demand that Constantius should allow him to appoint a officials in his own province except the prætorian præfect. Amm. xx. 8, 14.]

would punish his delay or hesitation by suspending the usual allowance of his household. The nephew and daughter of Constantine, who could ill brook the insolence of a subject, expressed their resentment by instantly delivering Domitian to the custody of a guard. The quarrel still admitted of some terms of accommodation. They were rendered impracticable by the imprudent behaviour of Montius, a statesman whose art and experience were frequently betrayed by the levity of his disposition.[23] The quæstor reproached Gallus in haughty language that a prince who was scarcely authorized to remove a municipal magistrate should presume to imprison a prætorian præfect; convoked a meeting of the civil and military officers; and required them, in the name of their sovereign, to defend the person and dignity of his representatives. By this rash declaration of war, the impatient temper of Gallus was provoked to embrace the most desperate counsels. He ordered his guards to stand to their arms, assembled the populace of Antioch, and recommended to their zeal the care of his safety and revenge. His commands were too fatally obeyed. They rudely seized the præfect and the quæstor, and, tying their legs together with ropes, they dragged them through the streets of the city, inflicted a thousand insults and a thousand wounds on these unhappy victims, and at last precipitated their mangled and lifeless bodies into the stream of the Orontes.[24]

Dangerous situation of Gallus

After such a deed, whatever might have been the designs of Gallus, it was only in a field of battle that he could assert his innocence with any hope of success. But the mind of that prince was formed of an equal mixture of violence and weakness. Instead of assuming the title of Augustus, instead of employing in his defence the troops and treasures of the East, he suffered himself to be deceived by the affected tranquillity of Constantius, who, leaving him the vain pageantry of a court, imperceptibly recalled the veteran legions from the provinces of Asia. But, as it still appeared dangerous to arrest Gallus

[23] In the present text of Ammianus, we read, *Asper* quidem sed ad *lenitatem* propensior; which forms a sentence of contradictory nonsense. With the aid of an old manuscript Valesius has rectified the first of these corruptions, and we perceive a ray of light in the substitution of the word *vafer*. If we venture to change *lenitatem* into *levitatem*, this alteration of a single letter will render the whole passage clear and consistent. [The best MS. (Vatican, ninth cent.) has *afen*, whence Kiessling has restored *Afer*, which Gardthausen accepts.]

[24] Instead of being obliged to collect scattered and imperfect hints from various sources, we now enter into the full stream of the history of Ammianus, and need only refer to the seventh and ninth chapters of his fourteenth book. Philostorgius, however (l. iii. c. 28), though partial to Gallus, should not be entirely overlooked.

in his capital, the slow and safer arts of dissimulation we practised with success. The frequent and pressing epistles Constantius were filled with professions of confidence an friendship; exhorting the Cæsar to discharge the duties of H high station, to relieve his colleague from a part of the publ cares, and to assist the West by his presence, his counsels an his arms. After so many reciprocal injuries, Gallus had reasc to fear and to distrust. But he had neglected the opportuniti of flight and of resistance; he was seduced by the flatterin assurances of the tribune Scudilo, who, under the semblance a rough soldier, disguised the most artful insinuation; and H depended on the credit of his wife Constantina, till the u seasonable death of that princess completed the ruin in whic he had been involved by her impetuous passions.[25]

His disgrace and death. A D 354, December

After a long delay, the reluctant Cæsar set forwards on h journey to the Imperial court. From Antioch to Hadrianopl he traversed the wide extent of his dominions with a numero and stately train; and, as he laboured to conceal his apprehe sions from the world, and perhaps from himself, he entertaine the people of Constantinople with an exhibition of the gam of the circus. The progress of the journey might, howeve have warned him of the impending danger. In all the princip cities he was met by ministers of confidence, commissioned seize the offices of government, to observe his motions, and prevent the hasty sallies of his despair. The persons dispatche to secure the provinces which he left behind passed him wit cold salutations or affected disdain; and the troops, whos station lay along the public road, were studiously removed c his approach, lest they might be tempted to offer their sworc for the service of a civil war.[26] After Gallus had been pe mitted to repose himself a few days at Hadrianople he receive a mandate, expressed in the most haughty and absolute styl that his splendid retinue should halt in that city, while th Cæsar himself, with only ten post-carriages, should hasten t the Imperial residence at Milan. In this rapid journey, th

[25] She had preceded her husband; but died of a fever on the road, at a litt place in Bithynia, called Cœnum Gallicanum [Cæni Gallicani. There is a goo straightforward narrative of the episode of Gallus in Vita Artemii, Act. Sct., Oct. 20

[26] The Thebæan legions, which were then quartered at Hadrianople, sent a dep tation to Gallus, with a tender of their services. Ammian. l. xiv. c. 11 [15]. Th Notitia (s. 6, 20, 38, edit. Labb.) mentions three several legions which bore th name of Thebæan. The zeal of M. de Voltaire, to destroy a despicable thoug celebrated legend, has tempted him on the slightest grounds to deny the existen of a Thebæan legion in the Roman armies. See Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xv. 1 414, quarto edition.

rofound respect which was due to the brother and colleague f Constantius was insensibly changed into rude familiarity; hd Gallus, who discovered in the countenances of the attend- nts that they already considered themselves as his guards, hd might soon be employed as his executioners, began to ccuse his fatal rashness, and to recollect with terror and re- norse the conduct by which he had provoked his fate. The issimulation which had hitherto been preserved, was laid side at Poetovio in Pannonia. He was conducted to a palace [Pettau] h the suburbs, where the general Barbatio, with a select band f soldiers, who could neither be moved by pity nor corrupted y rewards, expected the arrival of his illustrious victim. In he close of the evening he was arrested, ignominiously stripped f the ensigns of Cæsar, and hurried away to Pola in Istria, a equestered prison which had been so recently polluted with oyal blood. The horror which he felt was soon increased by he appearance of his implacable enemy the eunuch Eusebius, vho, with the assistance of a notary and a tribune, proceeded o interrogate him concerning the administration of the East. The Cæsar sunk under the weight of shame and guilt, confessed ll the criminal actions, and all the treasonable designs, with which he was charged; and, by imputing them to the advice of is wife, exasperated the indignation of Constantius, who re- iewed with partial prejudice the minutes of the examination. The emperor was easily convinced that his own safety was in- ompatible with the life of his cousin: the sentence of death vas signed, dispatched, and executed; and the nephew of Constantine, with his hands tied behind his back, was be- headed in prison like the vilest malefactor.[27] Those who are nclined to palliate the cruelties of Constantius assert that he oon relented and endeavoured to recall the bloody mandate: ut that the second messenger entrusted with the reprieve was letained by the eunuchs, who dreaded the unforgiving temper f Gallus, and were desirous of reuniting to *their* empire the wealthy provinces of the East.[28]

Besides the reigning emperor, Julian alone survived, of all The danger and escape of Julian

[27] See the complete narrative of the journey and death of Gallus in Ammianus, . 14, c. 11. Julian complains that his brother was put to death without a trial; ttempts to justify, or at least to excuse, the cruel revenge which he had inflicted n his enemies; but seems at last to acknowledge that he might justly have been leprived of the purple.

[28] Philostorgius, l. iv. c. 1. Zonaras, l. xiii. tom. ii. p. 19 [c. 9]. But the former vas partial towards an Arian monarch, and the latter transcribed, without choice r criticism, whatever he found in the writings of the ancients.

the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus. The misfortune of his royal birth involved him in the disgrace of Gallus. From [End of A.D. 354] his retirement in the happy country of Ionia, he was conveyed under a strong guard to the court of Milan; where he languished [to June, A.D. 355] above seven months, in the continual apprehension of suffering the same ignominious death which was daily inflicted, almost before his eyes, on the friends and adherents of his persecuted family. His looks, his gestures, his silence, were scrutinized with malignant curiosity, and he was perpetually assaulted by enemies whom he had never offended, and by arts to which he was a stranger.[29] But, in the school of adversity, Julian insensibly acquired the virtues of firmness and discretion. He defended his honour, as well as his life, against the ensnaring subtleties of the eunuchs, who endeavoured to extort some declaration of his sentiments; and, whilst he cautiously suppressed his grief and resentment, he nobly disdained to flatter the tyrant by any seeming approbation of his brother's murder. Julian most devoutly ascribes his miraculous deliverance to the protection of the gods, who had exempted his innocence from the sentence of destruction pronounced by their justice against the impious house of Constantine.[30] As the most effectual instrument of their providence, he gratefully acknowledges the steady and generous friendship of the empress Eusebia,[31] a woman of beauty and merit, who, by the ascendant which she had gained over the mind of her husband, counterbalanced, in some measure, the powerful conspiracy of the eunuchs. By the intercession of his patroness, Julian was admitted into the Imperial presence; he pleaded his cause with a decent freedom, he was heard with favour; and, notwithstanding the efforts of his enemies, who urged the danger of sparing an avenger of the blood of Gallus, the milder sentiment of Eusebia prevailed in the council. But the effects of a second interview were

[29] See Ammianus Marcellin. l. xv. c. 1, 3, 8. Julian himself, in his epistle to the Athenians, draws a very lively and just picture of his own danger, and of his sentiments. He shews, however, a tendency to exaggerate his sufferings, by insinuating, though in obscure terms, that they lasted above a year; a period which cannot be reconciled with the truth of chronology.

[30] Julian has worked the crimes and misfortunes of the family of Constantine into an allegorical fable, which is happily conceived and agreeably related. It forms the conclusion of the seventh Oration, from whence it has been detached and translated by the Abbé de la Bléterie, Vie de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 385-408.

[31] She was a native of Thessalonica in Macedonia, of a noble family, and the daughter as well as sister of consuls. Her marriage with the emperor may be placed in the year 352 [or beginning of 353]. In a divided age the historians of all parties agree in her praises. See their testimonies collected by Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 750-754.

readed by the eunuchs; and Julian was advised to withdraw
or a while into the neighbourhood of Milan, till the emperor He is sent to Athens. A. D. 355, May [at Athens, July to October]
hought proper to assign the city of Athens for the place of
is honourable exile. As he had discovered from his earliest
outh a propensity, or rather passion, for the language, the
anners, the learning, and the religion of the Greeks, he
beyed with pleasure an order so agreeable to his wishes. Far
rom the tumult of arms and the treachery of courts, he spent
ix months amidst the groves of the academy, in a free inter-
ourse with the philosophers of the age, who studied to cultivate
he genius, to encourage the vanity, and to inflame the de-
otion, of their royal pupil. Their labours were not unsuccess-
ul; and Julian inviolably preserved for Athens that tender
egard which seldom fails to arise in a liberal mind from the
ecollection of the place where it has discovered and exercised
ts growing powers. The gentleness and affability of manners,
which his temper suggested and his situation imposed, insensibly
ngaged the affections of the strangers, as well as citizens, with
whom he conversed. Some of his fellow-students might perhaps
xamine his behaviour with an eye of prejudice and aversion;
ut Julian established, in the schools of Athens, a general pre-
ossession in favour of his virtues and talents, which was soon
iffused over the Roman world.[32]

Whilst his hours were passed in studious retirement, the Recalled to Milan
empress, resolute to achieve the generous design which she had
ndertaken, was not unmindful of the care of his fortune. The
leath of the late Cæsar had left Constantius invested with the
ole command, and oppressed by the accumulated weight, of a
nighty empire. Before the wounds of civil discord could be
ealed, the provinces of Gaul were overwhelmed by a deluge of
Barbarians. The Sarmatians no longer respected the barrier of
he Danube. The impunity of rapine had increased the bold-
ess and numbers of the wild Isaurians: those robbers descended
rom their craggy mountains to ravage the adjacent country,
nd had even presumed, though without success, to besiege the
mportant city of Seleucia, which was defended by a garrison of

[32] Libanius and Gregory Nazianzen have exhausted the arts as well as the powers of their eloquence, to represent Julian as the first of heroes, or the worst of tyrants. Gregory was his fellow-student at Athens; and the symptoms, which he so tragically describes, of the future wickedness of the apostate amount only to some bodily imperfections and to some peculiarities in his speech and manner. He protests, however, that he *then* foresaw and foretold the calamities of the church and state (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 121, 122). [See Libanius, *Epitaphios*, 526 *qq.*, ed. Reiske.]

three Roman legions. Above all, the Persian monarch, elated by victory, again threatened the peace of Asia, and the presence of the emperor was indispensably required both in the West and in the East. For the first time, Constantius sincerely acknowledged that his single strength was unequal to such an extent of care and of dominion.[33] Insensible to the voice of flattery, which assured him that his all-powerful virtue and celestial fortune would still continue to triumph over every obstacle, he listened with complacency to the advice of Eusebia, which gratified his indolence, without offending his suspicious pride. As she perceived that the remembrance of Gallus dwelt on the emperor's mind, she artfully turned his attention to the opposite characters of the two brothers, which from their infancy had been compared to those of Domitian and of Titus.[34] She accustomed her husband to consider Julian as a youth of a mild unambitious disposition, whose allegiance and gratitude might be secured by the gift of the purple, and who was qualified to fill, with honour, a subordinate station, without aspiring to dispute the commands, or to shade the glories, of his sovereign and benefactor. After an obstinate, though secret, struggle, the opposition of the favourite eunuchs submitted to the ascendency of the empress; and it was resolved that Julian, after celebrating his nuptials with Helena, sister of Constantius, should be appointed, with the title of Cæsar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.[35]

Although the order which recalled him to court was probably accompanied by some intimation of his approaching greatness, he appeals to the people of Athens to witness his tears of undissembled sorrow, when he was reluctantly torn away from his beloved retirement.[36] He trembled for his life, for his fame, and even for his virtue; and his sole confidence was derived from the persuasion that Minerva inspired all his actions, and that he was protected by an invisible guard of angels, whom for that purpose she had borrowed from the Sun and Moon.

[33] Succumbere tot necessitatibus tamque crebris unum se, quod nunquam fecerat, aperte demonstrans. Ammian. l. xv. c. 8 [2]. He then expresses, in their own words, the flattering assurances of the courtiers.

[34] Tantum a temperatis moribus Juliani differens fratris, quantum inter Vespasiani filios fuit Domitianum et Titum. Amm. l. xiv. c. 11 [28]. The circumstances and education of the two brothers were so nearly the same as to afford a strong example of the innate difference of characters.

[35] Ammianus, l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 137, 138 [2].

[36] Julian. ad S. P. Q. A. p. 275, 276 [354-5]. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 268. Julian did not yield till the gods had signified their will by repeated visions and omens. His piety then forbade him to resist.

He approached with horror the palace of Milan; nor could the ingenuous youth conceal his indignation, when he found himself accosted with false and servile respect by the assassins of his family. Eusebia, rejoicing in the success of her benevolent schemes, embraced him with the tenderness of a sister; and endeavoured, by the most soothing caresses, to dispel his terrors and reconcile him to his fortune. But the ceremony of shaving his beard, and his awkward demeanour, when he first exchanged the cloak of a Greek philosopher for the military habit of a Roman prince, amused, during a few days, the levity of the imperial court.[37]

The emperors of the age of Constantine no longer deigned to consult with the senate in the choice of a colleague; but they were anxious that their nomination should be ratified by the consent of the army. On this solemn occasion, the guards, with the other troops whose stations were in the neighbourhood of Milan, appeared under arms; and Constantius ascended his lofty tribunal, holding by the hand his cousin Julian, who entered the same day into the twenty-fifth year of his age.[38] In a studied speech, conceived and delivered with dignity, the emperor represented the various dangers which threatened the prosperity of the republic, the necessity of naming a Cæsar for the administration of the West, and his own intention, if it was agreeable to their wishes, of rewarding with the honours of the purple the promising virtues of the nephew of Constantine. The approbation of the soldiers was testified by a respectful murmur: they gazed on the manly countenance of Julian, and observed with pleasure that the fire which sparkled in his eyes was tempered by a modest blush, on being thus exposed, for the first time, to the public view of mankind. As soon as the ceremony of his investiture had been performed, Constantius addressed him with the tone of authority which his superior age and station permitted him to assume; and, exhorting the new Cæsar to deserve, by heroic deeds, that sacred and immortal name, the emperor gave his colleague the strongest assurances of a friendship which should never be impaired by time, nor interrupted by their separation into the most distant climates. As soon as the speech was ended, the troops, as a

[37] Julian himself relates (p. 274 [353]), with some humour, the circumstances of his own metamorphosis, his downcast looks, and his perplexity at being thus suddenly transported into a new world, where every object appeared strange and hostile.

[38] See Ammian. Marcellin. l. xv. c. 8. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 139 [1, 2]. Aurelius Victor [Cæs. 42, 16]. Victor Junior in Epitom. [42, 12]. Eutrop. x. 14.

token of applause, clashed their shields against their knees;[39] while the officers who surrounded the tribunal expressed, with decent reserve, their sense of the merits of the representative of Constantius.

and declared Cæsar. A.D. 355, Nov. 6

The two princes returned to the palace in the same chariot; and, during the slow procession, Julian repeated to himself a verse of his favourite Homer, which he might equally apply to his fortune and to his fears.[40] The four-and-twenty days which the Cæsar spent at Milan after his investiture, and the first months of his Gallic reign, were devoted to a splendid but severe captivity; nor could the acquisition of honour compensate for the loss of freedom.[41] His steps were watched, his correspondence was intercepted; and he was obliged, by prudence, to decline the visits of his most intimate friends. Of his former domestics, four only were permitted to attend him; two pages, his physician, and his librarian; the last of whom was employed in the care of a valuable collection of books, the gift of the empress, who studied the inclinations as well as the interest of her friend. In the room of these faithful servants, an household was formed, such indeed as became the dignity of a Cæsar; but it was filled with a crowd of slaves, destitute and perhaps incapable of any attachment for their new master, to whom, for the most part, they were either unknown or suspected. His want of experience might require the assistance of a wise council; but the minute instructions which regulated the service of his table, and the distribution of his hours, were adapted to a youth still under the discipline of his preceptors, rather than to the situation of a prince entrusted with the conduct of an important war. If he aspired to deserve the esteem of his subjects, he was checked by the fear of dis-

[39] Militares omnes horrendo fragore scuta genibus illidentes; quod est prosperitatis indicium plenum; nam contra cum hastis clypei feriuntur, iræ documentum est et doloris. . . . Ammianus [xv. 8, 16] adds, with a nice distinction, Eumque ut potiori reverentia servaretur, nec supra modum laudabant nec infra quam decebat.

[40] ἔλλαβε πορφύρεος θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή. The word *purple*, which Homer had used as a vague but common epithet for death, was applied by Julian to express, very aptly, the nature and object of his own apprehensions [Amm. xv. 8, 17].

[41] He represents in the most pathetic terms (p. 277 [357]) the distress of his new situation. The provision for his table was, however, so elegant and sumptuous that the young philosopher rejected it with disdain. Quum legeret libellum assidue quem Constantius ut privignum ad studia mittens manû suâ conscripserat, prælicenter disponens quid in convivio Cæsaris impendi deberet, phasianum et vulvam et sumen exigi vetuit et inferri. Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvi. c. 5.

leasing his sovereign; and even the fruits of his marriage-bed ere blasted by the jealous artifices of Eusebia[42] herself, who, n this occasion alone, seems to have been unmindful of the enderness of her sex and the generosity of her character. he memory of his father and of his brothers reminded Julian f his own danger, and his apprehensions were increased by the ecent and unworthy fate of Sylvanus. In the summer which receded his own elevation, that general had been chosen to eliver Gaul from the tyranny of the Barbarians; but Sylvanus oon discovered that he had left his most dangerous enemies in he Imperial court. A dexterous informer, countenanced by everal of the principal ministers, procured from him some re-ommendatory letters; and erazing the whole of the contents, xcept the signature, filled up the vacant parchment with atters of high and treasonable import. By the industry and ourage of his friends, the fraud was however detected, and in a reat council of the civil and military officers, held in the pre-nce of the emperor himself, the innocence of Sylvanus was ublicly acknowledged. But the discovery came too late; the eport of the calumny and the hasty seizure of his estate had ready provoked the indignant chief to the rebellion of which e was so unjustly accused. He assumed the purple at his ead-quarters of Cologne, and his active powers appeared to enace Italy with an invasion, and Milan with a siege. In this nergency, Ursicinus, a general of equal rank, regained, by an t of treachery, the favour which he had lost by his eminent rvices in the East. Exasperated, as he might speciously al-ge, by injuries of a similar nature, he hastened with a few llowers to join the standard, and to betray the confidence, of s too credulous friend. After a reign of only twenty-eight ys, Sylvanus was assassinated: the soldiers who, without any iminal intention, had blindly followed the example of their ader, immediately returned to their allegiance; and the tterers of Constantius celebrated the wisdom and felicity of

Fatal end of Sylvanus. A.D. 355, September

[42] If we recollect that Constantine, the father of Helena, died above eighteen ars before in a mature old age, it will appear probable that the daughter, though irgin, could not be very young at the time of her marriage. She was soon erwards delivered of a son, who died immediately, quod obstetrix, corrupta rcede, mox natum præsecto plusquam convenerat umbilico necavit. She companied the emperor and empress in their journey to Rome, and the latter, esitum venenum bibere per fraudem illexit, ut quotiescunque concepisset, maturum abjiceret partum. Ammian. l. xvi. c. 10 [18]. Our physicians will ermine whether there exists such a poison. For my own part, I am inclined to pe that the public malignity imputed the effects of accident as the guilt of Eusebia. he charge seems highly improbable.]

the monarch who had extinguished a civil war without the hazard of a battle.[43]

Constantius visits Rome. A.D. 357, April 28

The protection of the Rhætian frontier, and the persecution of the Catholic Church, detained Constantius in Italy above eighteen months after the departure of Julian. Before the emperor returned into the East, he indulged his pride and curiosity in a visit to the ancient capital.[44] He proceeded from Milan to Rome along the Æmilian and Flaminian ways; and, as soon as he approached within forty miles of the city, the march of a prince who had never vanquished a foreign enemy assumed the appearance of a triumphal procession. His splendid train was composed of all the ministers of luxury; but in a time of profound peace, he was encompassed by the glittering arms of the numerous squadrons of his guards and cuirassiers. Their streaming banners of silk, embossed with gold and shaped in the form of dragons, waved round the person of the emperor. Constantius sat alone in a lofty car resplendent with gold and precious gems; and, except when he bowed his head to pass under the gates of the cities, he affected a stately demeanour of inflexible and, as it might seem, of insensible gravity. The severe discipline of the Persian youth had been introduced by the eunuchs into the Imperial palace; and such were the habits of patience which they had inculcated that, during a slow and sultry march, he was never seen to move his hand towards his face or to turn his eyes either to the right or to the left. He was received by the magistrates and senate of Rome; and the emperor surveyed, with attention, the civil honours of the republic and the consular images of the noble families. The streets were lined with an innumerable multitude. Their repeated acclamations expressed their joy at beholding, after an absence of thirty-two years, the sacred person of their sovereign; and Constantius himself expressed, with some pleasantry, his affected surprise that the human race should thus suddenly be collected on the same spot. The son of Constantine was lodged in the ancient palace of Augustus: he presided in the senate, harangued the people from the tribunal which Cicero had so often ascended, assisted with unusual courtesy at the games of the circus, and accepted the crowns of gold as well as the

[43] Ammianus (xv. 5) was perfectly well informed of the conduct and fate of Sylvanus. He himself was one of the few followers who attended Ursicinus in his dangerous enterprise.

[44] For the particulars of the visit of Constantius to Rome, see Ammianus, l. xvi. c. 10. We have only to add that Themistius was appointed deputy from Constantinople, and that he composed his fourth Oration for this ceremony.

panegyrics which had been prepared for this ceremony by the deputies of the principal cities. His short visit of thirty days was employed in viewing the monuments of art and power which were scattered over the seven hills and the interjacent valleys. He admired the awful majesty of the capitol, the vast extent of the baths of Caracalla and Diocletian, the severe simplicity of the Pantheon, the massy greatness of the amphitheatre of Titus, the elegant architecture of the theatre of Pompey and the Temple of Peace, and, above all, the stately structure of the Forum and column of Trajan; acknowledging that the voice of fame, so prone to invent and to magnify, had made an inadequate report of the metropolis of the world. The traveller, who has contemplated the ruins of ancient Rome, may conceive some imperfect idea of the sentiments which they must have inspired when they reared their heads in the splendour of unsullied beauty.

A new obelisk

The satisfaction which Constantius had received from this journey excited him to the generous emulation of bestowing on the Romans some memorial of his own gratitude and munificence. His first idea was to imitate the equestrian and colossal statue which he had seen in the Forum of Trajan; but, when he had maturely weighed the difficulties of the execution,[45] he chose rather to embellish the capital by the gift of an Egyptian obelisk. In a remote but polished age, which seems to have preceded the invention of alphabetical writing, a great number of these obelisks had been erected, in the cities of Thebes and Heliopolis, by the ancient sovereigns of Egypt, in a just confidence that the simplicity of their form and the hardness of their substance would resist the injuries of time and violence.[46] Several of these extraordinary columns had been transported to Rome by Augustus and his successors, as the most durable monuments of their power and victory;[47] but there remained

[45] Hormisdas, a fugitive prince of Persia, observed to the emperor that, if he made such a horse, he must think of preparing a similar stable (the Forum of Trajan). Another saying of Hormisdas is recorded, "that one thing only had *displeased* him, to find that men died at Rome as well as elsewhere". If we adopt this reading of the text of Ammianus (*displicuisse* instead of *placuisse*), we may consider it as a reproof of Roman vanity. The contrary sense would be that of a misanthrope. [There is no authority for *displ.*, a guess of Valesius.]

[46] When Germanicus visited the ancient monuments of Thebes, the eldest of the priests explained to him the meaning of these hieroglyphics. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 60. But it seems probable that before the useful invention of an alphabet these natural or arbitrary signs were the common characters of the Egyptian nation. See Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, vol. iii. p. 69-243.

[47] See Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxvi. c. 14, 15.

one obelisk which, from its size or sanctity, escaped for a long time the rapacious vanity of the conquerors. It was designed by Constantine to adorn his new city;[48] and, after being removed by his order from the pedestal where it stood before the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, was floated down the Nile to Alexandria. The death of Constantine suspended the execution of his purpose, and this obelisk was destined by his son to the ancient capital of the empire. A vessel of uncommon strength and capaciousness was provided to convey this enormous weight of granite, at least an hundred and fifteen feet in length, from the banks of the Nile to those of the Tiber. The obelisk of Constantius was landed about three miles from the city, and elevated by the efforts of art and labour, in the great Circus of Rome.[49]

The Quadian and Sarmatian war. A.D. 357, 358, 359

The departure of Constantius from Rome was hastened by the alarming intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces. The distractions of civil war, and the irreparable loss which the Roman legions had sustained in the battle of Mursa, exposed those countries, almost without defence, to the light cavalry of the Barbarians; and particularly to the inroads of the Quadi, a fierce and powerful nation, who seem to have exchanged the institutions of Germany for the arms and military arts of their Sarmatian allies.[50] The garrisons of the frontier were insufficient to check their progress; and the indolent monarch was at length compelled to assemble, from the

[48] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 4. He gives us a Greek interpretation of the hieroglyphics, and his commentator Lindenbrogius adds a Latin inscription, which, in twenty verses of the age of Constantius, contain a short history of the obelisk. [The Greek interpretation of Hermapion given by Ammian cannot refer to the obelisk transferred from Heliopolis by Constantius, as may be seen by comparing it with Birch's translation of the hieroglyphics (see Parker's Twelve Egyptian Obelisks). This obelisk was erected by Thothmes III., completed by Thothmes IV. and restored by Ramses II. But the words of Ammian (qui autem notarum textus obelisco incisus est ueteri quem uidemus in Circo) rather suggest, I think, the obelisk of Augustus, which he had mentioned above. This obelisk, now in the Piazza del Popolo, begun by Seti, was completed by Ramses; and the στίχος δεύτερος and στίχος τριτος of Hermapion (Amm. ib. 8, 19, 20) correspond sufficiently closely to he "2nd left column, south side," and the "left column, south side," in Birch's translation (Parker, ib. p. 18). The whole question is passed over in Mr. Parker's work.]

[49] See Donat. Roma Antiqua, l. iii. c. 14, l. iv. c. 12, and the learned, though confused, Dissertation of Bargæus on Obelisks, inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, p. 1897-1936. This Dissertation is dedicated to Pope Sixtus V., who erected the obelisk of Constantius in the square before the patriarchal church of St. John Lateran.

[50] The events of this Quadian and Sarmatian war are related by Ammianus, xvi. 10; xvii. 12, 13; xix. 11.

extremities of his dominions, the flower of the Palatine troops,[51] to take the field in person, and to employ a whole campaign, with the preceding autumn and the ensuing spring, in the serious prosecution of the war. The emperor passed the Danube on a bridge of boats, cut in pieces all that encountered his march, penetrated into the heart of the country of the Quadi, and severely retaliated the calamities which they had inflicted on the Roman province. The dismayed Barbarians were soon reduced to sue for peace: they offered the restitution of his captive subjects as an atonement for the past, and the noblest hostages as a pledge of their future conduct. The generous courtesy which was shown to the first among their chieftains who implored the clemency of Constantius encouraged the more timid, or the more obstinate, to imitate their examples; and the Imperial camp was crowded with the princes and ambassadors of the most distant tribes, who occupied the plains of the Lesser Poland, and who might have deemed themselves secure behind the lofty ridge of the Carpathian mountains. While Constantius gave laws to the Barbarians beyond the Danube, he distinguished with specious compassion the Sarmatian exiles who had been expelled from their native country by the rebellion of their slaves, and who formed a very considerable accession to the power of the Quadi. The emperor, embracing a generous but artful system of policy, released the Sarmatians from the bands of this humiliating dependence, and restored them, by a separate treaty, to the dignity of a nation united under the government of a king, the friend and ally of the republic. He declared his resolution of asserting the justice of their cause, and of securing the peace of the provinces by the extirpation, or at least the banishment, of the Limigantes, whose manners were still infected with the vices of their servile origin. The execution of this design was attended with more difficulty than glory. The territory of the Limigantes was protected against the Romans by the Danube, against the hostile Barbarians by the Theiss. The marshy lands which lay between those rivers, and were often covered by their inundations, formed an intricate wilderness, pervious only to the inhabitants, who were acquainted with its secret paths and inaccessible fortresses. On the approach of Constantius, the Limigantes tried the efficacy of prayers, of fraud, and of arms; but he sternly rejected their supplications, defeated their rude stratagems, and repelled with skill and

[51] [Rather the Comitatenses. See above, p. 177.]

firmness the efforts of their irregular valour. One of their most warlike tribes, established in a small island towards the conflux of the Theiss and the Danube, consented to pass the river with the intention of surprising the emperor during the security of an amicable conference. They soon became the victims of the perfidy which they meditated. Encompassed on every side, trampled down by the cavalry, slaughtered by the swords of the legions, they disdained to ask for mercy; and with an undaunted countenance still grasped their weapons in the agonies of death. After this victory a considerable body of Romans was landed on the opposite banks of the Danube; the [Taifali] Taifalæ, a Gothic tribe engaged in the service of the empire, invaded the Limigantes on the side of the Theiss; and their former masters, the free Sarmatians, animated by hope and revenge, penetrated through the hilly country into the heart of their ancient possessions. A general conflagration revealed the huts of the Barbarians, which were seated in the depth of the wilderness; and the soldier fought with confidence on marshy ground, which it was dangerous for him to tread. In this extremity the bravest of the Limigantes were resolved to die in arms, rather than to yield: but the milder sentiment, enforced by the authority of their elders, at length prevailed; and the suppliant crowd, followed by their wives and children, repaired to the Imperial camp, to learn their fate from the mouth of the conqueror. After celebrating his own clemency, which was still inclined to pardon their repeated crimes and to spare the remnant of a guilty nation, Constantius assigned for the place of their exile a remote country, where they might enjoy a safe and honourable repose. The Limigantes obeyed with reluctance; but before they could reach, at least before they could occupy, their destined habitations, they returned to the banks of the Danube, exaggerating the hardships of their situation, and requesting, with fervent professions of fidelity, that the emperor would grant them an undisturbed settlement within the limits of the Roman provinces. Instead of consulting his own experience of their incurable perfidy, Constantius listened to his flatterers, who were ready to represent the honour and advantage of accepting a colony of soldiers, at a time when it was much easier to obtain the pecuniary contributions than the military service of the subjects of the empire. The Limigantes were permitted to pass the Danube; and the emperor gave audience to the multitude in a large plain near the modern [Acumincum Slankamen] city of Buda. They surrounded the tribunal, and seemed to

ear with respect an oration full of mildness and dignity; when ne of the Barbarians, casting his shoe into the air, exclaimed ith a loud voice, *Marha! Marha!* a word of defiance, which as received as the signal of the tumult. They rushed with ury to seize the person of the emperor; his royal throne and olden couch were pillaged by these rude hands; but the aithful defence of his guards, who died at his feet, allowed him moment to mount a fleet horse, and to escape from the con- usion. The disgrace which had been incurred by a treacherous urprise was soon retrieved by the numbers and discipline of he Romans; and the combat was only terminated by the xtinction of the name and nation of the Limigantes. The ree Sarmatians were reinstated in the possession of their ancient eats; and, although Constantius distrusted the levity of their haracter, he entertained some hopes that a sense of gratitude ight influence their future conduct. He had remarked the bfty stature and obsequious demeanour of Zizais, one of the oblest of their chiefs. He conferred on him the title of King; nd Zizais proved that he was not unworthy to reign by a incere and lasting attachment to the interest of his benefactor, ho, after this splendid success, received the name of *Sarmaticus* rom the acclamations of his victorious army.[52]

The Persian negotiation. A.D. 358

While the Roman emperor and the Persian monarch, at the istance of three thousand miles, defended their extreme limits gainst the Barbarians of the Danube and of the Oxus, their ntermediate frontier experienced the vicissitudes of a languid ar, and a precarious truce. Two of the eastern ministers of onstantius, the prætorian præfect Musonian, whose abilities ere disgraced by the want of truth and integrity, and Cassian, uke of Mesopotamia, a hardy and veteran soldier, opened a ecret negotiation with the satrap Tamsapor.[53] These over- ures of peace, translated into the servile and flattering language f Asia, were transmitted to the camp of the Great King; who esolved to signify, by an ambassador, the terms which he was nclined to grant to the suppliant Romans. Narses, whom he nvested with that character, was honourably received in his assage through Antioch and Constantinople: he reached irmium after a long journey, and, at his first audience, respect- ully unfolded the silken veil which covered the haughty epistle

[52] Genti Sarmatarum magno decore considens apud eos regem dedit. Aurelius ictor [Cæs. 42]. In a pompous oration pronounced by Constantius himself, he xpatiates on his own exploits with much vanity, and some truth.

[53] Ammian. xvi. 9.

of his sovereign. Sapor, King of Kings, and Brother of the Sun and Moon (such were the lofty titles affected by oriental vanity), expressed his satisfaction that his brother, Constantius Cæsar, had been taught wisdom by adversity. As the lawful successor of Darius Hystaspes, Sapor asserted that the river Strymon in Macedonia was the true and ancient boundary of his empire; declaring, however, that, as an evidence of his moderation, he would content himself with the provinces of Armenia and Mesopotamia, which had been fraudulently extorted from his ancestors. He alleged that, without the restitution of these disputed countries, it was impossible to establish any treaty on a solid and permanent basis; and he arrogantly threatened that, if his ambassador returned in vain, he was prepared to take the field in the spring, and to support the justice of his cause by the strength of his invincible arms. Narses, who was endowed with the most polite and amiable manners, endeavoured, as far as was consistent with his duty, to soften the harshness of the message.[54] Both the style and the substance were maturely weighed in the Imperial council, and he was dismissed with the following answer: "Constantius had a right to disclaim the officiousness of his ministers, who had acted without any specific orders from the throne: he was not, however, averse to an equal and honourable treaty; but it was highly indecent, as well as absurd, to propose to the sole and victorious emperor of the Roman world the same conditions of peace which he had indignantly rejected at the time when his power was contracted within the narrow limits of the East: the chance of arms was uncertain; and Sapor should recollect that if the Romans had sometimes been vanquished in battle, they had almost always been successful in the event of the war". A few days after the departure of Narses, three ambassadors were sent to the court of Sapor, who was already returned from the Scythian expedition to his ordinary residence of Ctesiphon. A count, a notary, and a sophist had been selected for this important commission; and Constantius, who was secretly anxious for the conclusion of the peace, entertained some hope that the dignity of the first of these ministers, the dexterity of the second, and the rhetoric of the third[55] would persuade the

[54] Ammianus (xvii. 5) transcribes the haughty letter. Themistius (Orat. iv. p. 57, edit. Petav.) takes notice of the silk covering. Idatius and Zonaras mention the journey of the ambassador; and Peter the Patrician (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 24 [fr. 17, in F. H. G., iv.]) has informed us of his conciliating behaviour.

[55] Ammianus, xvii. 5, and Valesius ad loc. The sophist, or philosopher (in that age these words were almost synonymous), was Eustathius the Cappadocian

Persian monarch to abate the rigour of his demands. But the progress of their negotiation was opposed and defeated by the hostile arts of Antoninus,[56] a Roman subject of Syria, who had fled from the oppression, and was admitted into the councils of Sapor, and even to the royal table, where, according to the custom of the Persians, the most important business was frequently discussed.[57] The dexterous fugitive promoted his interest by the same conduct which gratified his revenge. He incessantly urged the ambition of his new master to embrace the favourable opportunity when the bravest of the Palatine troops were employed with the emperor in a distant war on the Danube. He pressed Sapor to invade the exhausted and defenceless provinces of the East, with the numerous armies of Persia, now fortified by the alliance and accession of the fiercest Barbarians. The ambassadors of Rome retired without success, and a second embassy of a still more honourable rank was detained in strict confinement, and threatened either with death or exile.

Invasion of Mesopotamia by Sapor. A.D. 359

The military historian,[58] who was himself dispatched to observe the army of the Persians, as they were preparing to construct a bridge of boats over the Tigris, beheld from an eminence the plain of Assyria, as far as the edge of the horizon, covered with men, with horses, and with arms. Sapor appeared in the front, conspicuous by the splendour of his purple. On his left hand, the place of honour among the Orientals, Grumbates, king of the Chionites,[59] displayed the stern countenance of an aged and renowned warrior. The monarch had reserved a similar place on his right hand for the king of the Albanians, who led his independent tribes from the shores of the Caspian. The satraps and generals were distributed according to their several ranks, and the whole army, besides the numerous train of oriental luxury, consisted of more than one hundred thousand effective

the disciple of Jamblichus, and the friend of St. Basil. Eunapius (in vit. Ædesii, p. 44-47) fondly attributes to this philosophic ambassador the glory of enchanting the Barbarian king by the persuasive charms of reason and eloquence. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 828, 1132.

[56] Ammian. xviii. 5, 6, 8. The decent and respectful behaviour of Antoninus towards the Roman general sets him in a very interesting light: and Ammianus himself speaks of the traitor with some compassion and esteem.

[57] This circumstance, as it is noticed by Ammianus, serves to prove the veracity of Herodotus (l. i. c. 133), and the permanency of the Persian manners. In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance, and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet. Brisson de Regno Pers. l. ii. p. 462-472, and Chardin, Voyages en Perse, tom. iii. p. 90.

[58] Ammian. l. xviii. 6, 7, 8, 10.

[59] [An uncertain people: some have sought to identify them with the Huns.]

men, inured to fatigue, and selected from the bravest nations of Asia. The Roman deserter, who in some measure guided the councils of Sapor, had prudently advised that, instead of wasting the summer in tedious and difficult sieges, he should march directly to the Euphrates, and press forwards without delay to seize the feeble and wealthy metropolis of Syria. But the Persians were no sooner advanced into the plains of Mesopotamia than they discovered that every precaution had been used which could retard their progress or defeat their design. The inhabitants, with their cattle, were secured in places of strength; the green forage throughout the country was set on fire, the fords of the river were fortified by sharp stakes; military engines were planted on the opposite banks, and a seasonable swell of the waters of the Euphrates deterred the Barbarians from attempting the ordinary passage of the bridge of Thapsacus. Their skilful guide, changing his plan of operations, then conducted the army by a longer circuit, but through a fertile territory, towards the head of the Euphrates, where the infant river is reduced to a shallow and accessible stream. Sapor overlooked, with prudent disdain, the strength of Nisibis; but, as he passed under the walls of Amida, he resolved to try whether the majesty of his presence would not awe the garrison into immediate submission. The sacrilegious insult of a random dart, which glanced against the royal tiara, convinced him of his error; and the indignant monarch listened with impatience to the advice of his ministers, who conjured him not to sacrifice the success of his ambition to the gratification of his resentment. The following day Grumbates advanced towards the gates with a select body of troops, and required the instant surrender of the city as the only atonement which could be accepted for such an act of rashness and insolence. His proposals were answered by a general discharge, and his only son, a beautiful and valiant youth, was pierced through the heart by a javelin, shot from one of the balistæ. The funeral of the prince of the Chionites was celebrated according to the rites of his country; and the grief of his aged father was alleviated by the solemn promise of Sapor that the guilty city of Amida should serve as a funeral pile to expiate the death, and to perpetuate the memory, of his son.

Siege of Amida

The ancient city of Amid or Amida,[60] which sometimes assumed

[60] For the description of Amida, see d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 108; Histoire de Timur Bec, par Cherefeddin Ali, l. iii. c. 41; Ahmed Arabsiades, tom. i. p. 331, c. 43; Voyages de Tavernier, tom. i. p. 301; Voyages d'Otter, tom. i. p. 273; and Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 324-328. The last of these travellers, a learned and accurate Dane, has given a plan of Amida, which illustrates the operations of the siege.

ıe provincial appellation of Diarbekir,[61] is advantageously situate
ı a fertile plain, watered by the natural and artificial channels
f the Tigris, of which the least inconsiderable stream bends in
semicircular form round the eastern part of the city. The
mperor Constantius had recently conferred on Amida the
onour of his own name, and the additional fortifications of
rong walls and lofty towers. It was provided with an arsenal
f military engines, and the ordinary garrison had been rein-
orced to the amount of seven legions, when the place was in-
ested by the arms of Sapor.[62] His first and most sanguine
opes depended on the success of a general assault. To the
everal nations which followed his standard their respective posts
ere assigned; the south to the Vertæ, the north to the Alba-
ians, the east to the Chionites, inflamed with grief and indig-
ation; the west to the Segestans, the bravest of his warriors,
ho covered their front with a formidable line of Indian ele-
hants.[63] The Persians, on every side, supported their efforts,
nd animated their courage; and the monarch himself, careless
f his rank and safety, displayed, in the prosecution of the siege,
he ardour of a youthful soldier. After an obstinate combat
he Barbarians were repulsed; they incessantly returned to
he charge; they were again driven back with a dreadful
laughter, and two rebel legions of Gauls, who had been
anished into the East, signalized their undisciplined courage by
nocturnal sally into the heart of the Persian camp. In one
f the fiercest of these repeated assaults, Amida was betrayed
y the treachery of a deserter, who indicated to the Barbarians
secret and neglected staircase, scooped out of the rock that
angs over the stream of the Tigris. Seventy chosen archers of
he royal guard ascended in silence to the third story of a lofty
ower which commanded the precipice; they elevated on high

[61] Diarbekir, which is styled Amid, or Kara-Amid, in the public writings of the Turks, contains above 16,000 houses, and is the residence of a pasha with three tails. The epithet of *Kara* is derived from the *blackness* of the stone which composes the strong and ancient wall of Amida.

[62] The operations of the siege of Amida are very minutely described by Ammianus (xix. 1-9), who acted an honourable part in the defence, and escaped with difficulty when the city was stormed by the Persians.

[63] Of these four nations, the Albanians are too well known to require any description. The Segestans inhabited a large and level country, which still preserves their name, to the south of Khorasan, and the west of Hindostan (see Geographia Nubiensis, p. 133, and d'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 797). Notwithstanding the boasted victory of Bahram (vol. i. p. 410), the Segestans, above fourscore years afterwards, appear as an independent nation, the ally of Persia. We are ignorant of the situation of the Vertæ and Chionites, but I am inclined to place them (at least the latter) towards the confines of India and Scythia. See Ammian. xvi. 9.

the Persian banner, the signal of confidence to the assailants and of dismay to the besieged; and, if this devoted band could have maintained their post a few minutes longer, the reduction of the place might have been purchased by the sacrifice of their lives. After Sapor had tried, without success, the efficacy of force and of stratagem, he had recourse to the slower but more certain operations of a regular siege, in the conduct of which he was instructed by the skill of the Roman deserters. The trenches were opened at a convenient distance, and the troops destined for that service advanced under the portable cover of strong hurdles, to fill up the ditch and undermine the foundations of the walls. Wooden towers were at the same time constructed, and moved forwards on wheels, till the soldiers, who were provided with every species of missile weapons, could engage almost on level ground with the troops who defended the rampart. Every mode of resistance which art could suggest, or courage could execute, was employed in the defence of Amida, and the works of Sapor were more than once destroyed by the fire of the Romans. But the resources of a besieged city may be exhausted. The Persians repaired their losses, and pushed their approaches; a large breach was made by the battering-ram,[63a] and the strength of the garrison, wasted by the sword and by disease, yielded to the fury of the assault. The soldiers, the citizens, their wives, their children, all who had not time to escape through the opposite gate, were involved by the conquerors in a promiscuous massacre.

Of Singara, &c. A.D. 360

But the ruin of Amida was the safety of the Roman provinces. As soon as the first transports of victory had subsided, Sapor was at leisure to reflect that, to chastise a disobedient city, he had lost the flower of his troops, and the most favourable season for conquest.[64] Thirty thousand of his veterans had fallen under

[63a] [Gibbon has curiously transferred to Amida (which was taken by the crumbling of a mound) the battering-ram which decided the fate of Singara. Cp. Amm. 19, 8, 2, with 20, 6, 5.]

[64] Ammianus has marked the chronology of this year by three signs, which do not perfectly coincide with each other, or with the series of the history. 1. The corn was ripe when Sapor invaded Mesopotamia; "Cum jam stipulâ flavente turgerent;" a circumstance which, in the latitude of Aleppo, would naturally refer us to the month of April or May. See Harmer's Observations on Scripture, vol. i. p. 41. Shaw's Travels, p. 335, edit. 4to. 2. The progress of Sapor was checked by the overflowing of the Euphrates, which generally happens in July and August. Plin. Hist. Nat. v. 21. Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. p. 696. 3. When Sapor had taken Amida, after a siege of seventy-three days, the autumn was far advanced. "Autumno præcipiti hædorumque improbo sidere exorto." To reconcile these apparent contradictions, we must allow for some delay in the Persian king, some inaccuracy in the historian, and some disorder in the seasons. [But see Clinton, Fasti Romani, i. p. 442; we may suppose that Sapor crossed the Tigris early in May, spent two months in Mesopotamia, began siege c. July 27; Amida taken c. Oct. 6-7.]

ıe walls of Amida during the continuance of a siege which sted seventy-three days; and the disappointed monarch re- rned to his capital with affected triumph and secret mortifi- ıtion. It was more than probable that the inconstancy of his arbarian allies was tempted to relinquish a war in which they ad encountered such unexpected difficulties; and that the aged ng of the Chionites, satiated with revenge, turned away with rror from a scene of action where he had been deprived of the ope of his family and nation. The strength as well as spirit f the army with which Sapor took the field in the ensuing pring was no longer equal to the unbounded views of his nbition. Instead of aspiring to the conquest of the East, he as obliged to content himself with the reduction of two fortified ties of Mesopotamia, Singara and Bezabde;[65] the one situate [Bezabde = Jeziret-ibn-Omar] l the midst of a sandy desert, the other in a small peninsula, rrounded almost on every side by the deep and rapid stream f the Tigris. Five Roman legions, of the diminutive size to hich they had been reduced in the age of Constantine, were ade prisoners, and sent into remote captivity on the extreme nfines of Persia. After dismantling the walls of Singara, the nqueror abandoned that solitary and sequestered place; but e carefully restored the fortifications of Bezabde, and fixed in at important post a garrison or colony of veterans, amply pplied with every means of defence, and animated by high ntiments of honour and fidelity. Towards the close of the mpaign, the arms of Sapor incurred some disgrace by an un- ccessful enterprise against Virtha, or Tecrit, a strong, or as it as universally esteemed till the age of Tamerlane, an im- egnable fortress of the independent Arabs.[66]

The defence of the East against the arms of Sapor required, Conduct of the Romans d would have exercised, the abilities of the most consummate eneral: and it seemed fortunate for the state that it was the ctual province of the brave Ursicinus, who alone deserved the nfidence of the soldiers and people. In the hour of danger, rsicinus[67] was removed from his station by the intrigues of

[65] The account of these sieges is given by Ammianus, xx. 6, 7.

[66] For the identity of Virtha and Tecrit, see d'Anville, Géographie Ancienne, m. ii. p. 201. For the siege of that castle by Timur Bec, or Tamerlane, see herefeddin, l. iii. c. 33. The Persian biographer exaggerates the merit and fficulty of this exploit, which delivered the caravans of Bagdad from a formidable ng of robbers. [The identity of Virta is uncertain.]

[67] Ammianus (xviii. 5, 6, xix. 3, xx. 2) represents the merit and disgrace of Ursicinus th that faithful attention which a soldier owed to his general. Some partiality ay be suspected, yet the whole account is consistent and probable.

the eunuchs; and the military command of the East was be stowed, by the same influence, on Sabinian, a wealthy an subtle veteran, who had attained the infirmities, without ac quiring the experience, of age. By a second order, which issue from the same jealous and inconstant counsels, Ursicinus wa again dispatched to the frontier of Mesopotamia, and condemne to sustain the labours of a war, the honours of which had bee transferred to his unworthy rival. Sabinian fixed his indolen station under the walls of Edessa; and, while he amused himsel with the idle parade of military exercise, and moved to the soun of flutes in the Pyrrhic dance, the public defence was abandone to the boldness and diligence of the former general of the East But, whenever Ursicinus recommended any vigorous plan c operations; when he proposed, at the head of a light and activ army, to wheel round the foot of the mountains, to intercept th convoys of the enemy, to harass the wide extent of the Persia lines, and to relieve the distress of Amida; the timid and en vious commander alleged that he was restrained by his positiv orders from endangering the safety of the troops. Amida wa at length taken; its bravest defenders, who had escaped th sword of the Barbarians, died in the Roman camp by the han of the executioner; and Ursicinus himself, after supporting th disgrace of a partial inquiry, was punished for the misconduc of Sabinian by the loss of his military rank. But Constantiu soon experienced the truth of the prediction which hones indignation had extorted from his injured lieutenant, that, a long as such maxims of government were suffered to prevail, th emperor himself would find it no easy task to defend his easter dominions from the invasion of a foreign enemy. When he ha subdued or pacified the Barbarians of the Danube, Constantiu proceeded by slow marches into the East; and, after he ha wept over the smoking ruins of Amida, he formed, with powerful army, the siege of Bezabde. The walls were shake by the reiterated efforts of the most enormous of the batterin rams: the town was reduced to the last extremity; but it wa still defended by the patient and intrepid valour of the garrison till the approach of the rainy season obliged the emperor t [A.D. 360-1] raise the siege, and ingloriously to retreat into his winte quarters at Antioch.[68] The pride of Constantius and the in

[68] Ammian. xx. 11. Omisso vano incepto, hiematurus Antiochiæ redit Syriam ærumnosam, perpessus et ulcerum sed et atrocia, diuque deflenda. It *thus* that James Gronovius has restored an obscure passage; and he thinks tha this correction alone would have deserved a new edition of his author; whos

enuity of his courtiers were at a loss to discover any materials or panegyric in the events of the Persian war; while the glory f his cousin Julian, to whose military command he had entrusted he provinces of Gaul, was proclaimed to the world in the simple nd concise narrative of his exploits.

Invasion of Gaul by the Germans

In the blind fury of civil discord, Constantius had abandoned o the Barbarians of Germany the countries of Gaul, which still cknowledged the authority of his rival. A numerous swarm of ranks and Alemanni were invited to cross the Rhine by presents nd promises, by the hopes of spoil, and by a perpetual grant of ll the territories which they should be able to subdue.[69] But he emperor, who for a temporary service had thus imprudently rovoked the rapacious spirit of the Barbarians, soon discovered nd lamented the difficulty of dismissing these formidable allies, fter they had tasted the richness of the Roman soil. Regardess of the nice distinction of loyalty and rebellion, these unisciplined robbers treated as their natural enemies all the subjects f the empire, who possessed any property which they were esirous of acquiring. Forty-five flourishing cities, Tongres, Cologne, Treves, Worms, Spires, Strasburg, &c., besides a far reater number of towns and villages, were pillaged, and for the ost part reduced to ashes. The Barbarians of Germany, still aithful to the maxims of their ancestors, abhorred the confinehent of walls, to which they applied the odious names of prisons nd sepulchres; and, fixing their independent habitations on the anks of rivers, the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse, they ecured themselves against the danger of a surprise by a rude nd hasty fortification of large trees, which were felled and hrown across the roads. The Alemanni were established in he modern countries of Alsace and Lorraine; the Franks ccupied the island of the Batavians, together with an extensive istrict of Brabant, which was then known by the appellation of *Toxandria*,[70] and may deserve to be considered as the original

ense may now be darkly perceived. I expected some additional light from the ecent labours of the learned Ernestus (Lipsiæ, 1773). [The MSS. have the nmeaning *etulerint sed*, for which Eyssenhardt, followed by Gardthausen, reads *ulta.*]

[69] The ravages of the Germans, and the distress of Gaul, may be collected from ulian himself. Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 277. Ammian. xv. 11 [rather 8, 1]. ibanius, Orat. x. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140 [c. 3]. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 1.

[70] Ammianus (xvi. 8). This name seems to be derived from the Toxandri of liny, and very frequently occurs in the histories of the middle age. Toxandria as a country of woods and morasses which extended from the neighbourhood of ongres to the conflux of the Vahal and the Rhine. See Valesius, Notit. Galliar. 558.

seat of their Gallic monarchy.[71] From the sources to the mouth of the Rhine, the conquests of the Germans extended above forty miles to the west of that river, over a country peopled by colonies of their own name and nation; and the scene of their devastations was three times more extensive than that of their conquests. At a still greater distance the open towns of Gaul were deserted, and the inhabitants of the fortified cities, who trusted to their strength and vigilance, were obliged to content themselves with such supplies of corn as they could raise on the vacant land within the inclosure of their walls. The diminished legions, destitute of pay and provisions, of arms and discipline, trembled at the approach, and even at the name, of the Barbarians.

Conduct of Julian

Under these melancholy circumstances, an unexperienced youth was appointed to save and to govern the provinces of Gaul, or rather, as he expresses it himself, to exhibit the vain image of imperial greatness. The retired scholastic education of Julian, in which he had been more conversant with books than with arms, with the dead than with the living, left him in profound ignorance of the practical arts of war and government; and, when he awkwardly repeated some military exercise which it was necessary for him to learn, he exclaimed with a sigh, "O Plato, Plato, what a task for a philosopher!" Yet even this speculative philosophy, which men of business are too apt to despise, had filled the mind of Julian with the noblest precepts and the most shining examples; had animated him with the love of virtue, the desire of fame, and the contempt of death. The habits of temperance recommended in the schools are still more essential in the severe discipline of a camp. The simple wants of nature regulated the measure of his food and sleep. Rejecting with disdain the delicacies provided for his table, he satisfied his appetite with the coarse and common fare which was allotted to the meanest soldiers. During the rigour of a Gallic winter, he never suffered a fire in his bed-chamber; and after a short and interrupted slumber he frequently rose in the middle of the night from

[71] The paradox of P. Daniel, that the Franks never obtained any permanent settlement on his side of the Rhine before the time of Clovis, is refuted with much learning and good sense by M. Biet who has proved, by a chain of evidence, their uninterrupted possession of Toxandria one hundred and thirty years before the accession of Clovis. The Dissertation of M. Biet was crowned by the Academy of Soissons in the year 1736, and seems to have been justly preferred to the discourse of his more celebrated competitor, the Abbé le Bœuf, an antiquarian whose name was happily expressive of his talents.

carpet spread on the floor, to dispatch any urgent business, o visit his rounds, or to steal a few moments for the prosecu- ion of his favourite studies.[72] The precepts of eloquence which he had hitherto practised on fancied topics of declama- ion were more usefully applied to excite or to assuage the passions of an armed multitude: and, although Julian, from is early habits of conversation and literature, was more fa- miliarly acquainted with the beauties of the Greek language, e had attained a competent knowledge of the Latin tongue.[73] ince Julian was not originally designed for the character of legislator or a judge, it is probable that the civil jurisprudence f the Romans had not engaged any considerable share of his ttention: but he derived from his philosophic studies an in- lexible regard for justice, tempered by a disposition to clemency; he knowledge of the general principles of equity and evidence; nd the faculty of patiently investigating the most intricate nd tedious questions which could be proposed for his discussion. he measures of policy and the operations of war must submit o the various accidents of circumstance and character, and he unpractised student will often be perplexed in the ap- lication of the most perfect theory. But in the acquisition f this important science, Julian was assisted by the active igour of his own genius, as well as by the wisdom and experience f Sallust, an officer of rank, who soon conceived a sincere at- achment for a prince so worthy of his friendship; and whose ncorruptible integrity was adorned by the talent of insinuating he harshest truths without wounding the delicacy of a royal ear.[74]

His first campaign in Gaul. A.D. 356

Immediately after Julian had received the purple at Milan, e was sent into Gaul, with a feeble retinue of three hundred nd sixty soldiers. At Vienna, where he passed a painful and nxious winter, in the hands of those ministers to whom

[72] The private life of Julian in Gaul, and the severe discipline which he em- raced, are displayed by Ammianus (xvi. 5), who professes to praise, and by ulian himself, who affects to ridicule (Misopogon, p. 340), a conduct which, in a rince of the house of Constantine, might justly excite the surprise of mankind.

[73] Aderat Latine quoque disserenti [*leg.* disserendi] sufficiens sermo. Ammianus, i. 5. But Julian, educated in the schools of Greece, always considered the lan- uage of the Romans as a foreign and popular dialect, which he might use on ecessary occasions.

[74] We are ignorant of the actual office of this excellent minister, whom Julian terwards created præfect of Gaul. Sallust was speedily recalled by the jealousy of e emperor; and we may still read a sensible but pedantic discourse (p. 240-252), wh.ch Julian deplores the loss of so valuable a friend, to whom he acknowledges mself indebted for his reputation. See La Bléterie, Préface à la Vie de Jovien, 20.

Constantius had entrusted the direction of his conduct, the
[At Autun. 24th June, 356] Cæsar was informed of the siege and deliverance of Autun. That large and ancient city, protected only by a ruined wall and pusillanimous garrison, was saved by the generous resolution of a few veterans, who resumed their arms for the defence of their country. In his march from Autun through the heart of the Gallic provinces, Julian embraced with ardour the earliest opportunity of signalizing his courage. At the head of a small body of archers and heavy cavalry, he preferred the shorter but the more dangerous of two roads; and sometimes eluding, and sometimes resisting, the attacks of the Barbarians, who were masters of the field, he arrived with honour
[Remi] and safety at the camp near Rheims, where the Roman troops had been ordered to assemble. The aspect of their young prince revived the drooping spirit of the soldiers, and they marched from Rheims in search of the enemy, with a confidence which had almost proved fatal to them. The Alemanni, familiarized to the knowledge of the country, secretly collected their scattered forces and, seizing the opportunity of a dark and rainy day, poured with unexpected fury on the rear-guard of the Romans.[75] Before the inevitable disorder could be remedied two legions were destroyed; and Julian was taught by experience that caution and vigilance are the most important
[Battle of Brotomagus (= Brumath)] lessons of the art of war. In a second and more successful action, he recovered and established his military fame: but as the agility of the Barbarians saved them from the pursuit his victory was neither bloody nor decisive. He advanced, however, to the banks of the Rhine, surveyed the ruins of Cologne, convinced himself of the difficulties of the war, and retreated on the approach of winter, discontented with the court with his army, and with his own success.[76] The power of the enemy was yet unbroken; and the Cæsar had no sooner
[Senones] separated his troops, and fixed his own quarters at Sens, in the centre of Gaul, than he was surrounded and besieged by a numerous host of Germans. Reduced in this extremity to the resources of his own mind, he displayed a prudent intrepidity which compensated for all the deficiencies of the place and garrison; and the Barbarians, at the end of thirty days, were obliged to retire with disappointed rage.

[75] [Julian was on his way to *Decempagi*, now Dieuze, in Lothringen.]

[76] Ammianus (xvi. 2, 3) appears much better satisfied with the success of his first campaign than Julian himself; who very fairly owns that he did nothing of consequence, and that he fled before the enemy.

The conscious pride of Julian, who was indebted only to his sword for this signal deliverance, was embittered by the reflexion that he was abandoned, betrayed, and perhaps devoted to destruction, by those who were bound to assist him by every tie of honour and fidelity. Marcellus, master-general of the cavalry in Gaul, interpreting too strictly the jealous orders of the court, beheld with supine indifference the distress of Julian, and had restrained the troops under his command from marching to the relief of Sens. If the Cæsar had dissembled in silence so dangerous an insult, his person and authority would have been exposed to the contempt of the world; and, if an action so criminal had been suffered to pass with impunity, the emperor would have confirmed the suspicions which received a very specious colour from his past conduct towards the princes of the Flavian family. Marcellus was recalled, and gently dismissed from his office.[77] In his room Severus was appointed general of the cavalry; an experienced soldier, of approved courage and fidelity, who could advise with respect and execute with zeal; and who submitted, without reluctance, to the supreme command which Julian, by the interest of his patroness Eusebia, at length obtained over the armies of Gaul.[78] A very judicious plan of operations was adopted for the approaching campaign. Julian himself, at the head of the remains of the veteran bands, and of some new levies which he had been permitted to form, boldly penetrated into the centre of the German cantonments and carefully re-established the fortifications of Saverne[79] in an advantageous post, which would either check the incursions, or intercept the retreat, of the enemy. At the same time Barbatio, general of the infantry, advanced from Milan with an army of thirty thousand men,[80] and passing the mountains prepared to throw a bridge over the Rhine, in the neighbourhood of Basil. It was reasonable to expect that the Alemanni, pressed on either side by the Roman arms, would soon be forced to evacuate the provinces of Gaul, and to hasten to the defence of their native country. But the hopes of the campaign were defeated by the

His second campaign. A.D. 357

[Tres Tabernae]

[Basilea]

77 Ammian. xvi. 7. Libanius speaks rather more advantageously of the military talents of Marcellus, Orat. x. p. 272. And Julian insinuates that he would not have been so easily recalled, unless he had given other reasons of offence to the court, p. 278.

78 Severus, non discors, non arrogans, sed longæ militiæ frugalitate compertus; et eum recta præeuntem secuturus, ut ductorem morigerus miles. Ammian. xvi. 11. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 140 [c. 2].

79 [In Elsass, the German form of the name, Zabern, is now more familiar. On the restoration of the forts cp. Mommsen, Hermes 16, 489.]

80 [Rather 25,000; see Amm. ib.]

incapacity, or the envy, or the secret instructions, of Barbatio; who acted as if he had been the enemy of the Cæsar and the secret ally of the Barbarians. The negligence with which he permitted a troop of pillagers freely to pass, and to return almost before the gates of his camp, may be imputed to his want of abilities; but the treasonable act of burning a number of boats, and a superfluous stock of provisions, which would have been of the most essential service to the army of Gaul, was an evidence of his hostile and criminal intentions. The Germans despised an enemy who appeared destitute either of power or of inclination to offend them; and the ignominious retreat of Barbatio deprived Julian of the expected support, and left him to extricate himself from a hazardous situation, where he could neither remain with safety nor retire with honour.[81]

Battle of Strasburg. A D 357. August

As soon as they were delivered from the fears of invasion, the Alemanni prepared to chastise the Roman youth, who presumed to dispute the possession of that country which they claimed as their own by the right of conquest and of treaties. They employed three days and as many nights in transporting over the Rhine their military powers. The fierce Chnodomar, shaking the ponderous javelin, which he had victoriously wielded against the brother of Magnentius, led the van of the Barbarians, and moderated by his experience the martial ardour which his example inspired.[82] He was followed by six other kings, by ten princes of regal extraction, by a long train of high-spirited nobles, and by thirty-five thousand of the bravest warriors of the tribes of Germany. The confidence derived from the view of their own strength was increased by the intelligence which they received from a deserter, that the Cæsar, with a feeble army of thirteen thousand men, occupied a post about one-and-twenty miles from their camp of Strasburg. With this inadequate force, Julian resolved to seek and to encounter the

[Argentoratum]

[81] On the design and failure of the co-operation between Julian and Barbatio, see Ammianus, xvi. 11, and Libanius, Orat. x. p. 273. [The "pillagers" who passed were Læti; they surprised Lyons.]

[82] Ammianus (xvi. 12) describes with his inflated eloquence the figure and character of Chnodomar. Audax et fidens ingenti robore lacertorum, ubi ardor prœlii sperabatur immanis, equo spumante, sublimior, erectus in jaculum formidandæ vastitatis, armorumque nitore conspicuus: antea strenuus et miles, et utilis præter cæteros ductor. . . . Decentium Cæsarem superavit æquo marte congressus. [For criticism of the sources for the history of this campaign see Appendix 1. It may be noted that a very important hint for the topography of the battle has been missed by Gibbon. Libanius mentions that a part of the enemy was posted ὑπ' ὀχετῷ μετεώρῳ, a bit of the old aqueduct of Strasburg where it crosses the Musauthal. See F. Vogel, Hist. Zeitschrift, vol. 24, p. 89, 1888.]

Barbarian host; and the chance of a general action was preferred to the tedious and uncertain operation of separately engaging the dispersed parties of the Alemanni. The Romans marched in close order, and in two columns, the cavalry on the right, the infantry on the left; and the day was so far spent when they appeared in sight of the enemy, that Julian was desirous of deferring the battle till the next morning, and of allowing his troops to recruit their exhausted strength by the necessary refreshments of sleep and food. Yielding, however, with some reluctance to the clamours of the soldiers, and even to the opinion of his council, he exhorted them to justify by their valour the eager impatience, which, in case of a defeat, would be universally branded with the epithets of rashness and presumption. The trumpets sounded, the military shout was heard through the field, and the two armies rushed with equal fury to the charge. The Cæsar, who conducted in person his right wing, depended on the dexterity of his archers, and the weight of his cuirassiers. But his ranks were instantly broken by an irregular mixture of light-horse and of light-infantry, and he had the mortification of beholding the flight of six hundred of his most renowned cuirassiers.[83] The fugitives were stopped and rallied by the presence and authority of Julian, who, careless of his own safety, threw himself before them, and, urging every motive of shame and honour, led them back against the victorious enemy. The conflict between the two lines of infantry was obstinate and bloody. The Germans possessed the superiority of strength and stature, the Romans that of discipline and temper; and, as the Barbarians who served under the standard of the empire united the respective advantages of both parties, their strenuous efforts, guided by a skilful leader, at length determined the event of the day. The Romans lost four tribunes, and two hundred and forty-three soldiers, in this memorable battle of Strasburg, so glorious to the Cæsar,[84] and

[83] After the battle, Julian ventured to revive the rigour of ancient discipline by exposing these fugitives in female apparel to the derision of the whole camp. In the next campaign, these troops nobly retrieved their honour. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 142 [c. 3].

[84] Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 279 [359, ed. Hertl.]) speaks of the battle of Strasburg with the modesty of conscious merit; ἐμαχεσάμην οὐκ ἀκλεῶς, ἴσως καὶ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφίκετο ἡ τοιαύτη μάχη. Zosimus compares it with the victory of Alexander over Darius; and yet we are at a loss to discover any of those strokes of military genius which fix the attention of ages on the conduct and success of a single day. [Julian wrote an account of the battle, which is not extant but is mentioned by Eunapius (fr. 9, F. H. G. iv.), and may be the basis of Ammian's account.]

so salutary to the afflicted provinces of Gaul. Six thousand of the Alemanni were slain in the field, without including those who were drowned in the Rhine or transfixed with darts whilst they attempted to swim across the river.[85] Chnodomar himself was surrounded and taken prisoner, with three of his brave companions, who had devoted themselves to follow in life or death the fate of their chieftain. Julian received him with military pomp in the council of his officers; and, expressing a generous pity for the fallen state, dissembled his inward contempt for the abject humiliation, of his captive. Instead of exhibiting the vanquished king of the Alemanni, as a grateful spectacle to the cities of Gaul, he respectfully laid at the feet of the emperor this splendid trophy of his victory. Chnodomar experienced an honourable treatment: but the impatient Barbarian could not long survive his defeat, his confinement, and his exile.[86]

Julian subdues the Franks. A.D. 358

After Julian had repulsed the Alemanni from the provinces of the Upper Rhine, he turned his arms against the Franks, who were seated nearer to the ocean on the confines of Gaul and Germany, and who, from their numbers, and still more from their intrepid valour, had ever been esteemed the most formidable of the Barbarians.[87] Although they were strongly actuated by the allurements of rapine, they professed a disinterested love of war, which they considered as the supreme honour and felicity of human nature; and their minds and bodies were so completely hardened by perpetual action that, according to the lively expression of an orator, the snows of winter were as pleasant to them as the flowers of spring. In the month of December, which followed the battle of Strasburg, Julian attacked a body of six hundred Franks, who had thrown themselves into two castles on the Meuse.[88] In the midst of that severe season

[85] Ammianus, xvi. 12. Libanius adds 2000 more to the number of the slain (Orat. x. p. 274). But these trifling differences disappear before the 60,000 Barbarians whom Zosimus has sacrificed to the glory of his hero (l. iii. p. 141 [c. 3]). We might attribute this extravagant number to the carelessness of transcribers, if this credulous or partial historian had not swelled the army of 35,000 Alemanni to an innumerable multitude of Barbarians, πλῆθος ἄπειρον βαρβάρων. It is our own fault if this detection does not inspire us with proper distrust on similar occasions.

[86] Ammian. xvi. 12. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 276.

[87] Libanius (Orat. iii. p. 137) draws a very lively picture of the manners of the Franks.

[88] Ammianus, xvii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. The Greek orator, by misapprehending a passage of Julian, has been induced to represent the Franks as consisting of a thousand men; and, as his head was always full of the Peloponnesian war, he compares them to the Lacedæmonians, who were besieged and taken in the island of Sphacteria.

hey sustained, with inflexible constancy, a siege of fifty-four lays; till at length, exhausted by hunger, and satisfied that the igilance of the enemy in breaking the ice of the river left hem no hopes of escape, the Franks consented, for the first time, o dispense with the ancient law which commended them to onquer or to die. The Cæsar immediately sent his captives to he court of Constantius, who, accepting them as a valuable pre-ent,[89] rejoiced in the opportunity of adding so many heroes to he choicest troops of his domestic guards. The obstinate resist-nce of this handful of Franks apprized Julian of the difficulties f the expedition which he meditated for the ensuing spring gainst the whole body of the nation. His rapid diligence sur-rised and astonished the active Barbarians. Ordering his oldiers to provide themselves with biscuit for twenty days, he uddenly pitched his camp near Tongres, while the enemy still upposed him in his winter quarters of Paris, expecting the slow rrival of his convoys from Aquitain. Without allowing the Franks o unite or to deliberate, he skilfully spread his legions from ologne to the ocean; and by the terror as well as by the suc-ess of his arms soon reduced the suppliant tribes to implore the lemency, and to obey the commands, of their conqueror. The hamavians submissively retired to their former habitations be-ond the Rhine: but the Salians were permitted to possess their ew establishment of Toxandria, as the subjects and auxiliaries f the Roman empire.[90] The treaty was ratified by solemn oaths; nd perpetual inspectors were appointed to reside among the ranks, with the authority of enforcing the strict observance of he conditions. An incident is related, interesting enough in self, and by no means repugnant to the character of Julian, ho ingeniously contrived both the plot and the catastrophe of he tragedy. When the Chamavians sued for peace, he re-uired the son of their king, as the only hostage on whom he ould rely. A mournful silence, interrupted by tears and groans,

[89] Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 278. According to e expression of Libanius, the emperor δῶρα ὠνόμαζε, which la Bléterie understands ie de Julien, p. 118) as an honest confession, and Valesius (ad Ammian. xvii. 2) a mean evasion, of the truth. Dom. Bouquet (Historiens de France, tom. i. p. 3), by substituting another word, ἐνόμισε, would suppress both the difficulty and e spirit of this passage.

[90] Ammian. xvii. 8. Zosimus l. iii. p. 146-150 [c. 4-7] (his narrative is darkened a mixture of fable); and Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 280 [361, ed. Hertl.]. is expression, ὑπεδεξάμην μὲν μοίραν τοῦ Σαλίων ἔθνους, Χαμάβους δὲ ἐξήλασα. This fference of treatment confirms the opinion that the Salian Franks were permitted retain the settlements in Toxandria. [Cp. Eunapius, 12, 13, ap. Müller, F. H. . 4. Zosimus has confused Chnodomar with Vadomar.]

declared the sad perplexity of the Barbarians; and their age chief lamented in pathetic language that his private loss wa now embittered by a sense of the public calamity. While th Chamavians lay prostrate at the foot of his throne, the roya captive, whom they believed to have been slain, unexpectedl appeared before their eyes; and, as soon as the tumult of jo was hushed into attention, the Cæsar addressed the assembly i the following terms: "Behold the son, the prince, whom yo wept. You had lost him by your fault. God and the Roman have restored him to you. I shall still preserve and educat the youth, rather as a monument of my own virtue than as pledge of your sincerity. Should you presume to violate th faith which you have sworn, the arms of the republic will aveng the perfidy, not on the innocent, but on the guilty." The Bar barians withdrew from his presence, impressed with the warmes sentiments of gratitude and admiration.[91]

Makes three expeditions beyond the Rhine. A.D. 357, 358, 359

It was not enough for Julian to have delivered the province of Gaul from the Barbarians of Germany. He aspired to emu late the glory of the first and most illustrious of the emperors after whose example he composed his own commentaries of th Gallic war.[92] Cæsar has related, with conscious pride, th manner in which he *twice* passed the Rhine. Julian could boas that, before he assumed the title of Augustus, he had carried th Roman Eagles beyond that great river in *three* successful expedi tions.[93] The consternation of the Germans, after the battle c Strasburg, encouraged him to the first attempt; and the reluc tance of the troops soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of leader who shared the fatigues and dangers which he impose on the meanest of the soldiers. The villages on either side c [Moenus] the Main, which were plentifully stored with corn and cattle, fel the ravages of an invading army. The principal houses, con structed with some imitation of Roman elegance, were con sumed by the flames; and the Cæsar boldly advanced about te miles, till his progress was stopped by a dark and impenetrabl

[91] This interesting story, which Zosimus has abridged, is related by Eunapiu (in Excerpt. Legationum, p. 15, 16, 17) with all the amplifications of Grecia rhetoric: but the silence of Libanius, of Ammianus, and of Julian himself, render the truth of it extremely suspicious.

[92] Libanius, the friend of Julian, clearly insinuates (Orat. iv. p. 178) that h hero had composed the history of his Gallic campaigns. But Zosimus (l. iii. p 140 [c. 2]) seems to have derived his information only from the Orations (λογο and the Epistles of Julian. The discourse which is addressed to the Athenian contains an accurate, though general, account of the war against the Germans.

[93] See Ammian. xvii. 1. 10, xviii. 2, and Zosim. l. iii. p. 144. Julian. ad S. P. C Athen. p. 280.

rest, undermined by subterraneous passages, which threatened, ith secret snares and ambush, every step of the assailant. The round was already covered with snow; and Julian, after repair- g an ancient castle which had been erected by Trajan,[94] anted a truce of ten months to the submissive Barbarians. At e expiration of the truce, Julian undertook a second expedi- on beyond the Rhine, to humble the pride of Surmar[95] and ortaire, two of the kings of the Alemanni, who had been pre- nt at the battle of Strasburg. They promised to restore all e Roman captives who yet remained alive; and, as the Cæsar d procured an exact account from the cities and villages of aul, of the inhabitants whom they had lost, he detected every tempt to deceive him with a degree of readiness and accuracy hich almost established the belief of his supernatural know- dge. His third expedition was still more splendid and impor- nt than the two former. The Germans had collected their military owers, and moved along the opposite banks of the river, with design of destroying the bridge and of preventing the passage f the Romans. But this judicious plan of defence was discon- rted by a skilful diversion. Three hundred light-armed and tive soldiers were detached in forty small boats, to fall down e stream in silence, and to land at some distance from the osts of the enemy. They executed their orders with so much oldness and celerity that they had almost surprised the Bar- arian chiefs, who returned in the fearless confidence of intoxi- tion from one of their nocturnal festivals. Without repeating e uniform and disgusting tale of slaughter and devastation, it sufficient to observe that Julian dictated his own conditions of eace to six of the haughtiest kings of the Alemanni, three of hom were permitted to view the severe discipline and martial omp of a Roman camp. Followed by twenty thousand captives, hom he had rescued from the chains of the Barbarians, the æsar repassed the Rhine, after terminating a war, the success of hich has been compared to the ancient glories of the Punic and imbric victories.

As soon as the valour and conduct of Julian had secured an interval of peace, he applied himself to a work more congenial to his humane and philosophic temper. The cities of Gaul, which had suffered from the inroads of the Barbarians, he diligently repaired; and seven important posts, between Mainz and the mouth of the Rhine, are particularly mentioned, as [Moguntiacum]

Restores the cities of Gaul

[94] [Variously supposed to be Gustavsburg or Lupudunum (Ladenburg).]
[95] [The name is Suomar.]

having been rebuilt and fortified by the order of Julian.[96] Th vanquished Germans had submitted to the just but humiliatin condition of preparing and conveying the necessary materiall The active zeal of Julian urged the prosecution of the work and such was the spirit which he had diffused among the troop that the auxiliaries themselves, waving their exemption fro any duties of fatigue, contended in the most servile labou with the diligence of the Roman soldiers. It was incumbent o the Cæsar to provide for the subsistence, as well as for the safet of the inhabitants and of the garrisons. The desertion of th former, and the mutiny of the latter, must have been the fat and inevitable consequences of famine. The tillage of th provinces of Gaul had been interrupted by the calamities o war; but the scanty harvests of the continent were supplied, b his paternal care, from the plenty of the adjacent island. Si hundred large barks, framed in the forest of the Ardenne made several voyages to the coast of Britain; and, returnin from thence laden with corn, sailed up the Rhine, and distr buted their cargoes to the several towns and fortresses along th banks of the river.[97] The arms of Julian had restored a fre and secure navigation, which Constantius had offered to purcha at the expense of his dignity, and of a tributary present of tw thousand pounds of silver. The emperor parsimoniously refuse to his soldiers the sums which he granted with a lavish an trembling hand to the Barbarians. The dexterity, as well a the firmness, of Julian was put to a severe trial, when he took th field with a discontented army, which had already served tw campaigns without receiving any regular pay or any extraordin ary donative.[98]

Civil administration of Julian

A tender regard for the peace and happiness of his subject

[96] Ammian. xviii. 2. Libanius, Orat. x. p. 279, 280. Of these seven posts, fou are at present towns of some consequence; Bingen, Andernach, Bonn, and Neus The other three, Tricesimæ [has been identified with Kellen], Quadriburgiu [Schenkenschanz], and Castra Herculis, or Heraclea [Erkelens], no longer subsis but there is room to believe that, on the ground of Quadriburgium, the Dutch hav constructed the fort of Schenk, a name so offensive to the fastidious delicacy Boileau. See d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 183. Boileau, Epitre i and the notes.

[97] We may credit Julian himself, Orat. ad. S. P. Q. Atheniensem. p. 280 [361, ec Hertl.], who gives a very particular account of the transaction. Zosimus adds tw hundred vessels more, l. iii. p. 145 [c. 5]. If we compute the 600 corn ships of Julia at only seventy tons each, they were capable of exporting 120,000 quarters (se Arbuthnot's Weights and Measures, p. 237); and the country which could bear s large an exportation must already have attained an improved state of agricu ture.

[98] The troops once broke out into a mutiny, immediately before the secon passage of the Rhine. Ammian. xvii. 9.

as the ruling principle which directed, or seemed to direct, e administration of Julian.[99] He devoted the leisure of his nter quarters to the offices of civil government, and affected assume with more pleasure the character of a magistrate than at of a general. Before he took the field, he devolved on the ovincial governors most of the public and private causes which d been referred to his tribunal; but, on his return, he care- lly revised their proceedings, mitigated the rigour of the law, d pronounced a second judgment on the judges themselves. perior to the last temptation of virtuous minds, an indiscreet d intemperate zeal for justice, he restrained, with calmness d dignity, the warmth of an advocate who prosecuted, for tortion, the president of the Narbonnese province. "Who ll ever be found guilty," exclaimed the vehement Delphidius, if it be enough to deny?" "And who," replied Julian, "will er be innocent, if it be sufficient to affirm?" In the general ministration of peace and war, the interest of the sovereign is mmonly the same as that of his people; but Constantius ould have thought himself deeply injured, if the virtues of lian had defrauded him of any part of the tribute which he torted from an oppressed and exhausted country. The prince, ho was invested with the ensigns of royalty, might sometimes esume to correct the rapacious insolence of the inferior ents, to expose their corrupt arts, and to introduce an equal d easier mode of collection. But the management of the hances was more safely entrusted to Florentius, Prætorian æfect of Gaul, an effeminate tyrant, incapable of pity or morse; and the haughty minister complained of the most cent and gentle opposition, while Julian himself was rather clined to censure the weakness of his own behaviour. The esar had rejected with abhorrence a mandate for the levy of extraordinary tax; a new superindiction, which the præfect d offered for his signature; and the faithful picture of the blic misery, by which he had been obliged to justify his fusal, offended the court of Constantius. We may enjoy the easure of reading the sentiments of Julian, as he expresses em with warmth and freedom in a letter to one of his most timate friends. After stating his own conduct, he proceeds the following terms: "Was it possible for the disciple of ato and Aristotle to act otherwise than I have done? Could abandon the unhappy subjects entrusted to my care? Was I

[99] Ammian. xvi. 5. xviii. 1. Mamertinus in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 4.

not called upon to defend them from the repeated injuries o these unfeeling robbers? A tribune who deserts his post i punished with death and deprived of the honours of burial.[10] With what justice could I pronounce *his* sentence, if, in th hour of danger, I myself neglected a duty far more sacred an far more important? God has placed me in this elevated post: his providence will guard and support me. Should I be con demned to suffer, I shall derive comfort from the testimony of pure and upright conscience. Would to heaven that I stil possessed a councillor like Sallust! If they think proper t send me a successor, I shall submit without reluctance; and ha much rather improve the short opportunity of doing good tha enjoy a long and lasting impunity of evil."[101] The precariou and dependent situation of Julian displayed his virtues an concealed his defects. The young hero who supported, in Gau the throne of Constantius was not permitted to reform the vice of the government; but he had courage to alleviate or to pit the distress of the people. Unless he had been able to reviv the martial spirit of the Romans, or to introduce the arts o industry and refinement among their savage enemies, he coul not entertain any rational hopes of securing the public tranquil lity, either by the peace or conquest of Germany. Yet th victories of Julian suspended, for a short time, the inroads o the Barbarians, and delayed the ruin of the Western Empire.

Description of Paris

His salutary influence restored the cities of Gaul, which ha been so long exposed to the evils of civil discord, barbarian war and domestic tyranny; and the spirit of industry was revive with the hopes of enjoyment. Agriculture, manufactures, an commerce again flourished under the protection of the laws and the *curiæ*, or civil corporations, were again filled with usefu and respectable members: the youth were no longer apprehen sive of marriage; and married persons were no longer appre hensive of posterity: the public and private festivals wer celebrated with customary pomp; and the frequent and secur intercourse of the provinces displayed the image of nationa prosperity.[102] A mind like that of Julian must have felt th general happiness of which he was the author · but he viewe

[100] [The reading and meaning of this sentence of Julian are uncertain.]

[101] Ammian. xvii. 3. Julian. Epistol. xv. [*leg.* xvii.] edit. Spanheim [497, ed. Hertl.]. Such a conduct almost justifies the encomium of Mamertinus. Ita illi annī spati divisa sunt, ut aut Barbaros domitet, aut civibus jura restituat; perpetuum professus aut contra hostem, aut contra vitia, certamen.

[102] Libanius, Orat. Parental. in Imp. Julian. c. 38, in Fabricius Bibliothec. Græc tom. vii. p. 263, 264.

ith peculiar satisfaction and complacency the city of Paris, he seat of his winter residence, and the object even of his artial affection.[103] That splendid capital, which now embraces n ample territory on either side of the Seine, was originally nfined to the small island in the midst of the river, from hence the inhabitants derived a supply of pure and salubrious ater. The river bathed the foot of the walls; and the town as accessible only by two wooden bridges. A forest overspread he northern side of the Seine; but on the south, the ground, hich now bears the name of the university, was insensibly vered with houses, and adorned with a palace and amphi-eatre, baths, an aqueduct, and a field of Mars for the exercise r the Roman troops. The severity of the climate was tempered y the neighbourhood of the ocean; and with some precautions, hich experience had taught, the vine and fig-tree were success-lly cultivated. But in remarkable winters, the Seine was eeply frozen; and the huge pieces of ice that floated down the ream might be compared, by an Asiatic, to the blocks of hite marble which were extracted from the quarries of Phrygia. he licentiousness and corruption of Antioch recalled to the emory of Julian the severe and simple manners of his beloved utetia;[104] where the amusements of the theatre were unknown r despised. He indignantly contrasted the effeminate Syrians ith the brave and honest simplicity of the Gauls, and almost rgave the intemperance which was the only stain of the eltic character.[105] If Julian could now revisit the capital of rance, he might converse with men of science and genius, apable of understanding and of instructing a disciple of the reeks; he might excuse the lively and graceful follies of a ation whose martial spirit has never been enervated by the dulgence of luxury; and he must applaud the perfection of hat inestimable art which softens and refines and embellishes he intercourse of social life.

[103] See Julian. in Misopogon. p. 340, 341 [438, 439, ed. Hertl.]. The primitive ate of Paris is illustrated by Henry Valesius (ad Ammian. xx. 4), his brother adrian Valesius, or de Valois, and M. d'Anville (in their respective Notitias of ncient Gaul), the Abbé de Longuerue, Description de la France, tom. i. p. 12, 13, nd M. Bonamy (in the Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 656-1).

[104] Τὴν φίλην Λευκετιαν [Λουκετίαν]. Julian. in Misopogon. p. 340 [438, ed. Hertl.]. eucetia, or Lutetia, was the ancient name of the city which, according to the shion of the fourth century, assumed the territorial appellation of *Parisii*.

[105] Julian. in Misopogon. p. 359, 360 [463, 465, ed. Hertl.].

CHAPTER XX

The Motives, Progress, and Effects of the Conversion of Constantine —Legal Establishment and Constitution of the Christian or Catholic Church

THE public establishment of Christianity may be considered as one of those important and domestic revolutions which excite the most lively curiosity and afford the most valuable instruction. The victories and the civil policy of Constantine no longer influence the state of Europe; but a considerable portion of the globe still retains the impression which it received from the conversion of that monarch; and the ecclesiastical institutions of his reign are still connected, by an indissoluble chain, with the opinions, the passions, and the interests of the present generation.

Date of the conversion of Constantine

In the consideration of a subject which may be examined with impartiality, but cannot be viewed with indifference, a difficulty immediately arises of a very unexpected nature; that of ascertaining the real and precise date of the conversion of Constantine. The eloquent Lactantius, in the midst of his court, seems impatient[1] to proclaim to the world the glorious example of the sovereign of Gaul; who, in the first moments of his reign, acknowledged and adored the majesty of the true and only God.[2] The learned Eusebius has ascribed the faith of

A.D. 306

[1] The date of the Divine Institutions of Lactantius has been accurately discussed; difficulties have been started, solutions proposed, and an expedient imagined of two *original* editions: the former published during the persecution of Diocletian, the latter under that of Licinius. See Dufresnoy, Prefat. p. v. Tillemont, Mém Ecclés. siast. tom. vi. p. 465-470. Lardner's Credibility, part ii. vol. vii. p. 78-86. For my own part, I am *almost* convinced that Lactantius dedicated his Institutions to the sovereign of Gaul, at a time when Galerius, Maximin, and even Licinius, persecuted the Christians; that is, between the years 306 and 311. [The work was probably begun about 304, and finished perhaps by 308, certainly before 311.]

[2] Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1, vii. 27. The first and most important of these passages is indeed wanting in twenty-eight manuscripts; but it is found in nineteen. If we weigh the comparative value of those manuscripts, one of 900 years old, in the king of France's library, may be alleged in its favour; but the passage is omitted in the correct manuscript of Bologna, which the P. de Montfaucon ascribes to the sixth or seventh century (Diarium Italic. p. 409). The taste of most of the editors (except Isæus, see Lactant. edit. Dufresnoy, tom. i. p. 596) has fell

Constantine to the miraculous sign which was displayed in the heavens whilst he meditated and prepared the Italian expedition.[3] The historian Zosimus maliciously asserts that the emperor had imbrued his hands in the blood of his eldest son, before he publicly renounced the gods of Rome and of his ancestors.[4] The perplexity produced by these discordant authorities is derived from the behaviour of Constantine himself. According to the strictness of ecclesiastical language, the first of the *Christian* emperors was unworthy of that name, till the moment of his death; since it was only during his last illness that he received, as a catechumen, the imposition of hands,[5] and was afterwards admitted, by the initiatory rites of baptism, into the number of the faithful.[6] The Christianity of Constantine must be allowed in a much more vague and qualified sense; and the nicest accuracy is required in tracing the slow and almost imperceptible gradations by which the monarch declared himself the protector, and at length the proselyte, of the church. It was an arduous task to eradicate the habits and prejudices of his education, to acknowledge the divine power of Christ, and to understand that the truth of his revelation was incompatible with the worship of the gods. The obstacles which he had probably experienced in his own mind instructed him to proceed with caution in the momentous change of a national religion; and he insensibly discovered his new opinions, as far as he could enforce them with safety and with effect. During the whole course of his reign, the stream of Christianity flowed with a gentle, though accelerated, motion:

A.D. 312

A.D. 326

A.D. 337

the genuine style of Lactantius. [On these and other minor interpolations, see Brandt's papers in the Sitzungsberichte of the Vienna Academy, 118 and 119; cp. Appendix I.]

[3] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 27-32.

[4] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104 [c. 29].

[5] That rite was *always* used in making a catechumen (see Bingham's Antiquities, l. x. c. 1, p. 419; Dom. Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 62) and Constantine received it for the *first* time (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61) immediately before his baptism and death. From the connexion of these two facts, Valesius (ad loc. Euseb.) has drawn the conclusion, which is reluctantly admitted by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 628), and opposed with feeble arguments by Mosheim (p. 968).

[6] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The legend of Constantine's baptism at Rome, thirteen years before his death, was invented in the eighth century, as a proper motive for his *donation*. Such has been the gradual progress of knowledge that a story of which Cardinal Baronius (Annal. Ecclesiast. A.D. 324, No. 43-49) declared himself the unblushing advocate is now feebly supported, even within the verge of the Vatican. See the Antiquitates Christianæ, tom. ii. p. 32; a work published with six approbations at Rome, in the year 1751, by Father Mamachi, a learned Dominican.

but its general direction was sometimes checked, and sometimes diverted, by the accidental circumstances of the times, and by the prudence, or possibly by the caprice, of the monarch. His ministers were permitted to signify the intentions of their master in the various language which was best adapted to their respective principles;[7] and he artfully balanced the hopes and fears of his subjects by publishing in the same A.D. 321 year two edicts; the first of which enjoined the solemn observance of Sunday,[8] and the second directed the regular consultation of the Aruspices.[9] While this important revolution yet remained in suspense, the Christians and the Pagans watched the conduct of their sovereign with the same anxiety, but with very opposite sentiments. The former were prompted by every motive of zeal, as well as vanity, to exaggerate the marks of his favour, and the evidences of his faith. The latter, till their just apprehensions were changed into despair and resentment, attempted to conceal from the world, and from themselves, that the gods of Rome could no longer reckon the emperor in the number of their votaries. The same passions and prejudices have engaged the partial writers of the times to connect the public profession of Christianity with the most glorious or the most ignominious æra of the reign of Constantine.

His Pagan superstition

Whatever symptoms of Christian piety might transpire in the discourses or actions of Constantine, he persevered till he was near forty years of age in the practice of the established religion;[10] and the same conduct, which in the court of Nicomedia might be imputed to his fear, could be ascribed only to the inclination or policy of the sovereign of Gaul. His liberality restored and enriched the temples of the gods: the medals which issued from his Imperial mint are impressed with the

[7] The quæstor, or secretary, who composed the law of the Theodosian Code, makes his master say with indifference, "hominibus supradictæ religionis" (l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 1). The minister of ecclesiastical affairs was allowed a more devout and respectful style, τῆς ἐνθέσμου καὶ ἁγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκείας, the legal, most holy, and catholic worship. See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. x. c. 6.

[8] Cod. Theodos. l. ii. tit. viii. leg. 1. Cod. Justinian. l. iii. tit. xii. leg. iii. Constantine styles the Lord's day *dies solis*, a name which could not offend the ears of his Pagan subjects.

[9] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. x. leg. 1. Godefroy, in the character of a commentator, endeavours (tom. vi. p. 257) to excuse Constantine; but the more zealous Baronius (Annal. Eccl. A.D. 321, No. 18) censures his profane conduct with truth and asperity.

[10] Theodoret (l. i. c. 18) seems to insinuate that Helena gave her son a Christian education; but we may be assured, from the superior authority of Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 47), that she herself was indebted to Constantine for the knowledge of Christianity.

figures and attributes of Jupiter and Apollo, of Mars and Hercules; and his filial piety increased the council of Olympus by the solemn apotheosis of his father Constantius.[11] But the devotion of Constantine was more peculiarly directed to the genius of the Sun, the Apollo of Greek and Roman mythology; and he was pleased to be represented with the symbols of the God of Light and Poetry. The unerring shafts of that deity, the brightness of his eyes, his laurel wreath, immortal beauty, and elegant accomplishments, seem to point him out as the patron of a young hero. The altars of Apollo were crowned with the votive offerings of Constantine; and the credulous multitude were taught to believe that the emperor was permitted to behold with mortal eyes the visible majesty of their tutelar deity, and that, either waking or in a vision, he was blessed with the auspicious omens of a long and victorious reign. The Sun was universally celebrated as the invincible guide and protector of Constantine; and the Pagans might reasonably expect that the insulted god would pursue with unrelenting vengeance the impiety of his ungrateful favourite.[12]

He protects the Christians of Gaul. A.D. 306-312

As long as Constantine exercised a limited sovereignty over the provinces of Gaul, his Christian subjects were protected by the authority, and perhaps by the laws, of a prince who wisely left to the gods the care of vindicating their own honour. If we may credit the assertion of Constantine himself, he had been an indignant spectator of the savage cruelties which were inflicted, by the hands of Roman soldiers, on those citizens whose religion was their only crime.[13] In the East and in the West, he had seen the different effects of severity and indulgence; and, as the former was rendered still more odious by the example of Galerius, his implacable enemy, the latter was recommended to his imitation by the authority and advice of a dying father. The son of Constantius immediately suspended or repealed the edicts of persecution, and granted the free exercise of their

[11] See the medals of Constantine in Ducange and Banduri. As few cities had obtained the privilege of coining, almost all the medals of that age issued from the mint under the sanction of the Imperial authority.

[12] The panegyric of Eumenius (vii. inter Panegyr. Vet.), which was pronounced a few months before the Italian war, abounds with the most unexceptionable evidence of the Pagan superstition of Constantine, and of his particular veneration for Apollo, or the Sun; to which Julian alludes (Orat. vii. p. 228, ἀπολείπων σε). See Commentaire de Spanheim sur les Césars, p. 317.

[13] Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 25. But it might easily be shewn that the Greek translator has improved the sense of the Latin original; and the aged emperor might recollect the persecution of Diocletian with a more lively abhorrence than he had actually felt in the days of his youth and Paganism.

religious ceremonies to all those who had already professed themselves members of the church. They were soon encouraged to depend on the favour as well as on the justice of their sovereign, who had imbibed a secret and sincere reverence for the name of Christ and for the God of the Christians.[14]

A.D. 313. March. Edict of Milan

About five months after the conquest of Italy, the emperor made a solemn and authentic declaration of his sentiments, by the celebrated edict of Milan, which restored peace to the Catholic Church. In the personal interview of the two western princes, Constantine, by the ascendant of genius and power, obtained the ready concurrence of his colleague Licinius; the union of their names and authority disarmed the fury of Maximin; and, after the death of the tyrant of the East, the edict of Milan was received as a general and fundamental law of the Roman world.[15] The wisdom of the emperors provided for the restitution of all the civil and religious rights of which the Christians had been so unjustly deprived. It was enacted that the places of worship, and public lands, which had been confiscated, should be restored to the church, without dispute, without delay, and without expense: and this severe injunction was accompanied with a gracious promise that, if any of the purchasers had paid a fair and adequate price, they should be indemnified from the Imperial treasury. The salutary regulations which guard the future tranquillity of the faithful are framed on the principles of enlarged and equal toleration; and such an equality must have been interpreted by a recent sect as an advantageous and honourable distinction. The two emperors proclaim to the world that they have granted a free and absolute power to the Christians, and to all others, of following the religion which each individual thinks proper to prefer, to which he has addicted his mind, and which he may deem the best adapted to his own use. They carefully explain every ambiguous word, remove every exception, and exact from the governors of the provinces a strict obedience to the true and simple meaning of an edict which was designed to establish and secure, without any limitation, the claims of religious liberty. They condescend to assign two weighty reasons which have induced them to allow this universal toleration: the hu-

[14] See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. viii. 13, l. ix. 9, and in Vit. Const. l. i. c. 16, 17. Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. Cæcilius de Mort. Persecut. c. 25.

[15] Cæcilius (de Mort. Persecut. c. 48) has preserved the Latin original; and Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 5) has given a Greek translation of this perpetual edict, which refers to some provisional regulations. [O. Seeck holds that there was no such thing as the Edict of Milan, Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch., 12, p. 181; cp. Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt, i., p. 457.]

mane intention of consulting the peace and happiness of their people; and the pious hope that, by such a conduct, they shall appease and propitiate *the Deity*, whose seat is in heaven. They gratefully acknowledge the many signal proofs which they have received of the divine favour; and they trust that the same Providence will for ever continue to protect the prosperity of the prince and people. From these vague and indefinite expressions of piety, three suppositions may be deduced, of a different, but not of an incompatible, nature. The mind of Constantine might fluctuate between the Pagan and the Christian religions. According to the loose and complying notions of Polytheism, he might acknowledge the God of the Christians as *one* of the *many* deities who composed the hierarchy of heaven. Or perhaps he might embrace the philosophic and pleasing idea that, notwithstanding the variety of names, of rites, and of opinions, all the sects and all the nations of mankind are united in the worship of the common Father and Creator of the universe.[16]

Use and beauty of the Christian morality

But the counsels of princes are more frequently influenced by views of temporal advantage than by considerations of abstract and speculative truth. The partial and increasing favour of Constantine may naturally be referred to the esteem which he entertained for the moral character of the Christians; and to a persuasion that the propagation of the gospel would inculcate the practice of private and public virtue. Whatever latitude an absolute monarch may assume in his own conduct, whatever indulgence he may claim for his own passions, it is undoubtedly his interest that all his subjects should respect the natural and civil obligations of society. But the operation of the wisest laws is imperfect and precarious. They seldom inspire virtue, they cannot always restrain vice. Their power is insufficient to prohibit all that they condemn, nor can they always punish the actions which they prohibit. The legislators of antiquity had summoned to their aid the powers of education and of opinion. But every principle which had once maintained the vigour and purity of Rome and Sparta was long since extinguished in a declining and despotic empire. Philosophy still exercised her

[16] A panegyric of Constantine, pronounced seven or eight months after the edict of Milan (see Gothofred. Chronolog. Legum, p. 7, and Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 246), uses the following remarkable expression: "Summe rerum sator, cujus tot nomina sunt, quot linguas gentium esse voluisti, quem enim te ipse dici velis, scire non possumus". Panegyr. Vet. ix. 26. In explaining Constantine's progress in the faith, Mosheim (p. 971, &c.) is ingenious, subtle, prolix.

temperate sway over the human mind, but the cause of virtue derived very feeble support from the influence of the Pagan superstition. Under these discouraging circumstances, a prudent magistrate might observe with pleasure the progress of a religion, which diffused among the people a pure, benevolent, and universal system of ethics, adapted to every duty and every condition of life; recommended as the will and reason of the Supreme Deity, and enforced by the sanction of eternal rewards or punishments. The experience of Greek and Roman history could not inform the world how far the system of national manners might be reformed and improved by the precepts of a divine revelation; and Constantine might listen with some confidence to the flattering, and indeed reasonable, assurances of Lactantius. The eloquent apologist seemed firmly to expect, and almost ventured to promise, *that* the establishment of Christianity would restore the innocence and felicity of the primitive age; *that* the worship of the true God would extinguish war and dissension among those who mutually considered themselves as the children of a common parent; *that* every impure desire, every angry or selfish passion, would be restrained by the knowledge of the gospel; and *that* the magistrates might sheathe the sword of justice among a people who would be universally actuated by the sentiments of truth and piety, of equity and moderation, of harmony and universal love.[17]

Theory and practice of passive obedience

The passive and unresisting obedience which bows under the yoke of authority, or even of oppression, must have appeared, in the eyes of an absolute monarch, the most conspicuous and useful of the evangelic virtues.[18] The primitive Christians derived the institution of civil government, not from the consent of the people, but from the decrees of heaven. The reigning emperor, though he had usurped the sceptre by treason and murder, immediately assumed the sacred character of vicegerent of the Deity. To the Deity alone he was accountable for the abuse of his power; and his subjects were indissolubly bound, by their oath of fidelity, to a tyrant who had violated every law of nature and society. The humble Christians were sent into the world as sheep among wolves; and, since they were not permitted to employ force, even in the defence of their

[17] See the elegant description of Lactantius (Divin. Institut. v. 8), who is much more perspicuous and positive than it becomes a discreet prophet.

[18] The political system of the Christians is explained by Grotius, de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. i. c. 3, 4. Grotius was a republican and an exile, but the mildness of his temper inclined him to support the established powers.

religion, they should be still more criminal if they were tempted to shed the blood of their fellow-creatures in disputing the vain privileges, or the sordid possessions, of this transitory life. Faithful to the doctrine of the apostle who in the reign of Nero had preached the duty of unconditional submission, the Christians of the three first centuries preserved their conscience pure and innocent of the guilt of secret conspiracy or open rebellion. While they experienced the rigour of persecution, they were never provoked either to meet their tyrants in the field or indignantly to withdraw themselves into some remote and sequestered corner of the globe.[19] The Protestants of France, of Germany, and of Britain, who asserted with such intrepid courage their civil and religious freedom, have been insulted by the invidious comparison between the conduct of the primitive and of the reformed Christians.[20] Perhaps, instead of censure, some applause may be due to the superior sense and spirit of our ancestors, who had convinced themselves that religion cannot abolish the unalienable rights of human nature.[21] Perhaps the patience of the primitive church may be ascribed to its weakness, as well as to its virtue. A sect of unwarlike plebeians, without leaders, without arms, without fortifications, must have encountered inevitable destruction in a rash and fruitless resistance to the master of the Roman legions. But the Christians, when they deprecated the wrath of Diocletian, or solicited the favour of Constantine, could allege, with truth and confidence, that they held the principle of passive obedience, and that, in the space of three centuries, their conduct had always been conformable to their principles. They might add that the throne of the emperors would be established on a fixed and permanent basis, if all their subjects, embracing the Christian doctrine, should learn to suffer and to obey.

Divine right of Constantine

In the general order of Providence, princes and tyrants are considered as the ministers of Heaven, appointed to rule or to

[19] Tertullian. Apolog. c. 32, 34, 35, 36. Tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani. Ad Scapulam, c. 2. If this assertion be strictly true, it excludes the Christians of that age from all civil and military employments, which would have compelled them to take an active part in the service of their respective governors. See Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 349.

[20] See the artful Bossuet (Hist. des Variations des Eglises Protestantes, tom. iii. p. 210-258), and the malicious Bayle (tom. ii. p. 620). I *name* Bayle, for he was certainly the author of the Avis aux Refugiés; consult the Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepié, tom. i. part ii. p. 145.

[21] Buchanan is the earliest, or at least the most celebrated, of the reformers, who has justified the theory of resistance. See his Dialogue de Jure Regni apud Scotos, tom. ii. p. 28, 30, edit. fol. Ruddiman.

chastise the nations of the earth. But sacred history affords many illustrious examples of the more immediate interposition of the Deity in the government of his chosen people. The sceptre and the sword were committed to the hands of Moses, of Joshua, of Gideon, of David, of the Maccabees; the virtues of those heroes were the motive or the effect of the divine favour, the success of their arms was destined to achieve the deliverance or the triumph of the church. If the judges of Israel were occasional and temporary magistrates, the kings of Judah derived from the royal unction of their great ancestor an hereditary and indefeasible right, which could not be forfeited by their own vices, nor recalled by the caprice of their subjects. The same extraordinary providence, which was no longer confined to the Jewish people, might elect Constantine and his family as the protectors of the Christian world; and the devout Lactantius announces, in a prophetic tone, the future glories of his long and universal reign.[22] Galerius and Maximin, Maxentius and Licinius, were the rivals who shared with the favourite of Heaven the provinces of the empire. The tragic deaths of Galerius and Maximin soon gratified the resentment, and fulfilled the sanguine expectations, of the Christians. The success of Constantine against Maxentius and Licinius removed the two formidable competitors who still opposed the triumph of the second David, and his cause might seem to claim the peculiar interposition of Providence. The character of the Roman tyrant disgraced the purple and human nature; and, though the Christians might enjoy his precarious favour, they were exposed, with the rest of his subjects, to the effects of his wanton and capricious cruelty. The conduct of Licinius soon betrayed the reluctance with which he had consented to the wise and humane regulations of the edict of Milan. The convocation of provincial synods was prohibited in his dominions; his Christian officers were ignominiously dismissed; and, if he avoided the guilt, or rather danger, of a general persecution, his partial oppressions were rendered still more odious by the violation of a solemn and voluntary engagement.[23] While the

[22] Lactant. Divin. Institut. i. 1. Eusebius, in the course of his history, his life, and his oration, repeatedly inculcates the divine right of Constantine to the empire.

[23] Our imperfect knowledge of the persecution of Licinius is derived from Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 8; Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 49-56, l. ii. c. 1, 2). Aurelius Victor mentions his cruelty in general terms. [Cp. Gorres, die Licinianische Christenverfolgung. He has shown that the persecution was not attended with much bloodshed. Some bishops were executed. P. 32 *sqq.*]

st, according to the lively expression of Eusebius, was involved the shades of infernal darkness, the auspicious rays of celestial ht warmed and illuminated the provinces of the West. The ty of Constantine was admitted as an unexceptionable proof the justice of his arms; and his use of victory confirmed the nion of the Christians, that their hero was inspired, and ducted by the Lord of Hosts. The conquest of Italy pro- ed a general edict of toleration: and, as soon as the defeat Licinius had invested Constantine with the sole dominion of Roman world, he immediately, by circular letters, exhorted A.D. 324 his subjects to imitate, without delay, the example of their ereign, and to embrace the divine truth of Christianity.[24]

Loyalty and zeal of the Christian party

The assurance that the elevation of Constantine was intimately nected with the designs of Providence instilled into the nds of the Christians two opinions, which, by very different ans, assisted the accomplishment of the prophecy. Their rm and active loyalty exhausted in his favour every resource human industry; and they confidently expected that their enuous efforts would be seconded by some divine and mirac- us aid. The enemies of Constantine have imputed to erested motives the alliance which he insensibly contracted h the Catholic church, and which apparently contributed [24a] to success of his ambition. In the beginning of the fourth tury, the Christians still bore a very inadequate proportion the inhabitants of the empire; but among a degenerate ple, who viewed the change of masters with the indifference slaves, the spirit and union of a religious party might assist popular leader to whose service, from a principle of science, they had devoted their lives and fortunes.[25] The mple of his father had instructed Constantine to esteem and reward the merit of the Christians; and in the distribution public offices, he had the advantage of strengthening his vernment, by the choice of ministers or generals in whose elity he could repose a just and unreserved confidence. By influence of these dignified missionaries, the proselytes of the w faith must have multiplied in the court and army; the rbarians of Germany, who filled the ranks of the legions, were

[24] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. ii. c. 24-42, 48-60.

[24a] [This seems a necessary correction of "contributes," which appears in the 1to ed.]

[25] In the beginning of the last century, the Papists of England were only a *thirtieth*, the Protestants of France only a *fifteenth*, part of the respective nations, to om their spirit and power were a constant object of apprehension. See the tions which Bentivoglio (who was then nuncio at Brussels, and afterwards linal) transmitted to the court of Rome (Relazione, tom. ii. p. 211. 241). tivoglio was curious, well-informed, but somewhat partial.

of a careless temper, which acquiesced without resistance in t religion of their commander; and, when they passed the Al it may fairly be presumed that a great number of the soldi had already consecrated their swords to the service of Chr and of Constantine.[26] The habits of mankind, and the inter of religion, gradually abated the horror of war and bloodsh which had so long prevailed among the Christians; and, in t councils which were assembled under the gracious protection Constantine, the authority of the bishops was seasonably e ployed to ratify the obligation of the military oath, and to flict the penalty of excommunication on those soldiers who thr away their arms during the peace of the church.[27] Wh Constantine, in his own dominions, increased the number a zeal of his faithful adherents, he could depend on the suppo of a powerful faction in those provinces which were st possessed or usurped by his rivals. A secret disaffection w diffused among the Christian subjects of Maxentius and Licinius and the resentment which the latter did not attempt to conce served only to engage them still more deeply in the interest his competitor. The regular correspondence which connect the bishops of the most distant provinces enabled them free to communicate their wishes and their designs, and to transm without danger any useful intelligence, or any pious cont butions, which might promote the service of Constantine, w publicly declared that he had taken up arms for the deliveran of the church.[28]

Expectation and belief of a miracle

The enthusiasm which inspired the troops, and perhaps th emperor himself, had sharpened their swords, while it satisfie their conscience. They marched to battle with the fu assurance that the same God, who had formerly opened a pa sage to the Israelites through the waters of Jordan, and ha thrown down the walls of Jericho at the sound of the trumpe

[26] This careless temper of the Germans appears almost uniformly in the histo of the conversion of each of the tribes. The legions of Constantine were recruite with Germans (Zosimus, l. ii. p. 86 [c. 15]); and the court even of his father had bee filled with Christians. See the first book of the Life of Constantine, by Eusebiu

[27] De his qui arma projiciunt in *pace*, placuit eos abstinere a communion Concil. Arelat. Canon iii. The best critics apply these words to the *peace of th church.*

[28] Eusebius always considers the second civil war against Licinius as a sort religious crusade. At the invitation of the tyrant, some Christian officers ha resumed their *zones*; or, in other words, had returned to the military service. The conduct was afterwards censured by the 12th canon of the Council of Nice; if th particular application may be received, instead of the loose and general sense c the Greek interpreters, Balsamon, Zonaras, and Alexis Aristenus. See Beveridge Pandect. Eccles. Græc. tom. i. p. 72 tom. ii. p. 78, Annotation.

Joshua, would display his visible majesty and power in the tory of Constantine. The evidence of ecclesiastical history prepared to affirm that their expectations were justified by conspicuous miracle to which the conversion of the first ristian emperor has been almost unanimously ascribed. The l or imaginary cause of so important an event deserves and mands the attention of posterity; and I shall endeavour to m a just estimate of the famous vision of Constantine, by a tinct consideration of the *standard*, the *dream*, and the *celestial n*; by separating the historical, the natural, and the mar- lous parts of this extraordinary story, which, in the com- ition of a specious argument, have been artfully confounded ne splendid and brittle mass.

The "Labarum," or standard of the cross

. An instrument of the tortures which were inflicted only on ves and strangers became an object of horror in the eyes of oman citizen; and the ideas of guilt, of pain, and of ignominy e closely united with the idea of the cross.[29] The piety her than the humanity of Constantine soon abolished in his inions the punishment which the Saviour of mankind had descended to suffer;[30] but the emperor had already learned despise the prejudices of his education, and of his people, ore he could erect in the midst of Rome his own statue, bear- a cross in its right hand, with an inscription which referred victory of his arms, and the deliverance of Rome, to the ue of that salutary sign, the true symbol of force and rage.[31] The same symbol sanctified the arms of the soldiers Constantine; the cross glittered on their helmets, was en- ved on their shields, was interwoven into their banners; and consecrated emblems which adorned the person of the peror himself were distinguished only by richer materials and

Nomen ipsum *crucis* absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam gitatione, oculis, auribus. Cicero pro Rabirio, c. 5. The Christian writers, n, Minucius Felix, Tertullian, Jerom, and Maximus of Turin, have investigated tolerable success the figure or likeness of a cross in almost every object of re or art; in the intersection of the meridian and equator, the human face, a flying, a man swimming, a mast and yard, a plough, a *standard*, &c. &c. &c. Lipsius de Cruce, l. i. c. 9.

See Aurelius Victor, who considers this law as one of the examples of Con- ine's piety. An edict so honourable to Christianity deserved a place in the odosian Code, instead of the indirect mention of it, which seems to result from comparison of the vth and xviiith titles of the ixth book.

Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. i. c. 40. The statue, or at least the cross and iption, may be ascribed with more probability to the second, or even the , visit of Constantine to Rome. Immediately after the defeat of Maxentius, minds of the senate and people were scarcely ripe for this public monument. App. 19.]

more exquisite workmanship.[32] But the principal standard wh displayed the triumph of the cross was styled the *Labarum*,[33] obscure though celebrated name, which has been vainly deriv from almost all the languages of the world. It is described [34] a long pike intersected by a transversal beam. The silken w which hung down from the beam was curiously enwrought w the images of the reigning monarch and his children. The su mit of the pike supported a crown of gold which inclosed t mysterious monogram, at once expressive of the figure of t cross and the initial letters of the name of Christ.[35] The safe of the labarum was entrusted to fifty guards, of approved valo and fidelity; their station was marked by honours and emo ments; and some fortunate accidents soon introduced opinion that, as long as the guards of the labarum were engag in the execution of their office, they were secure and invuln able amidst the darts of the enemy. In the second civil w Licinius felt and dreaded the power of this consecrated bann the sight of which, in the distress of battle, animated t soldiers of Constantine with an invincible enthusiasm, a scattered terror and dismay through the ranks of the adve legions.[36] The Christian emperors, who respected the exam

[32] Agnoscas regina libens mea signa necesse est;
In quibus effigies *crucis* aut gemmata refulget
Aut longis solido ex auro præfertur in hastis.
Hoc signo invictus, transmissis Alpibus Ultor
Servitium solvit miserabile Constantinus.

* * * * * * *

Christus *purpureum* gemmanti textus in auro
Signabat *Labarum*, clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat; ardebat summis *crux* addita cristis.
Prudentius, in Symmachum, l. ii. 464, 486.

[33] The derivation and meaning of the word *Labarum* or *Laborum*, whic employed by Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, Prudentius, &c. still remain tot unknown; in spite of the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c. in search of etymology. See Ducange, in Gloss. Med. et infim. Latinitat. sub voce *Labar* and Godefroy, ad Cod. Theodos. tom. ii. p. 143.

[34] Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. i. c. 30, 31. Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 3 No. 26) has engraved a representation of the Labarum.

[35] Transversâ X literâ, summo capite circumflexo, Christum in scutis not Cæcilius de M. P. c. 44. Cuper (ad. M. P. in edit. Lactant. tom. ii. p. 500) a Baronius (A.D. 312, No. 25) have engraved from ancient monuments seve specimens (as thus ☧ or ☩) of these monograms, which became extrem fashionable in the Christian world.

[36] Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 7, 8, 9. He introduces the Labarum bef the Italian expedition; but his narrative seems to indicate that it was never she at the head of an army, till Constantine, above ten years afterwards, decla himself the enemy of Licinius and the deliverer of the church.

Constantine, displayed in all their military expeditions the dard of the cross; but, when the degenerate successors of odosius had ceased to appear in person at the head of their ies, the labarum was deposited as a venerable but useless in the palace of Constantinople.[37] Its honours are still pre- ed on the medals of the Flavian family. Their grateful otion has placed the monogram of Christ in the midst of the gns of Rome. The solemn epithets of, safety of the re- lic, glory of the army, restoration of public happiness, are ally applied to the religious and military trophies; and there ill extant a medal of the emperor Constantius, where the dard of the labarum is accompanied with these memorable ds, By this sign thou shalt conquer.[38]

The dream of Constantine

I. In all occasions of danger or distress, it was the practice he primitive Christians to fortify their minds and bodies by sign of the cross, which they used, in all their ecclesiastical s, in all the daily occurrences of life, as an infallible pre- ative against every species of spiritual or temporal evil.[39] authority of the church might alone have had sufficient ght to justify the devotion of Constantine, who, in the same lent and gradual progress, acknowledged the truth, and med the symbol, of Christianity. But the testimony of a temporary writer, who in a former treatise has avenged the se of religion, bestows on the piety of the emperor a more ul and sublime character. He affirms, with the most perfect fidence, that, in the night which preceded the last battle inst Maxentius, Constantine was admonished in a dream to ribe the shields of his soldiers with the *celestial sign of God*, sacred monogram of the name of Christ; that he executed commands of heaven; and that his valour and obedience e rewarded by the decisive victory of the Milvian Bridge. he considerations might perhaps incline a sceptical mind to pect the judgment or the veracity of the rhetorician, whose

[37] See Cod. Theod. l. vi. tit. xxv. Sozomen, l. i. c. 2. Theophan. Chronogr. p. Theophanes lived towards the end of the eighth century, almost five hundred s after Constantine. The modern Greeks were not inclined to display in the the standard of the empire and of Christianity; and, though they depended very superstitious hope of *defence*, the promise of *victory* would have appeared old a fiction.

[38] The Abbé du Voisin, p. 103, &c. alleges several of these medals, and quotes a icular dissertation of a Jesuit, the Père de Grainville, on this subject.

[39] Tertullian de Corona, c. 3. Athanasius, tom. i. p. 101. The learned Jesuit vius (Dogmata Theolog. l. xv. c. 9, 10) has collected many similar passages on virtues of the cross, which in the last age embarrassed our Protestant dis- nts.

pen, either from zeal or interest, was devoted to the cause
the prevailing faction.[40] He appears to have published
deaths of the persecutors at Nicomedia about three years af
the Roman victory; but the interval of a thousand miles, an
thousand days, will allow an ample latitude for the invention
declaimers, the credulity of party, and the tacit approbation
the emperor himself; who might listen without indignation
a marvellous tale, which exalted his fame and promoted
designs. In favour of Licinius, who still dissembled his a
mosity to the Christians, the same author has provided a simi
vision, of a form of prayer, which was communicated by
angel, and repeated by the whole army before they engag
the legions of the tyrant Maximin. The frequent repetition
miracles serves to provoke, where it does not subdue, the reas
of mankind;[41] but, if the dream of Constantine is separat
considered, it may be naturally explained either by the pol
or the enthusiasm of the emperor. Whilst his anxiety for t
approaching day, which must decide the fate of the empi
was suspended by a short and interrupted slumber, the ven
able form of Christ, and the well-known symbol of his religi
might forcibly offer themselves to the active fancy of a prin
who reverenced the name, and had perhaps secretly implor
the power, of the God of the Christians. As readily migh
consummate statesman indulge himself in the use of one
those military stratagems, one of those pious frauds, whi
Philip and Sertorius had employed with such art and effec

[40] Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 44. It is certain that this historical declamation
composed and published while Licinius, sovereign of the East, still preserved
friendship of Constantine and of the Christians. Every reader of taste m
perceive that the style is of a very different and inferior character to that
Lactantius; and such indeed is the judgment of Le Clerc and Lardner (Bib
thèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 438. Credibility of the Gospel, &c. p
ii. vol. vii. p. 94). Three arguments from the title of the book, and from
names of Donatus and Cæcilius, are produced by the advocates for Lactantius (
the P. Lestocq, tom. ii. p. 46-60). Each of these proofs is singly weak a
defective; but their concurrence has great weight. I have often fluctuated, a
shall *tamely* follow the Colbert Ms. in calling the author (whoever he w
Cæcilius. [See Appendix 1.]

[41] Cæcilius, de M. P. c. 46. There seems to be some reason in the observat
of M. de Voltaire (Oeuvres, t. xiv. p. 307), who ascribes to the success of C
stantine the superior fame of his Labarum above the angel of Licinius. Yet e
this angel is favourably entertained by Pagi, Tillemont, Fleury, &c. who are fo
of increasing their stock of miracles.

[42] Besides these well-known examples, Tollius (Preface to Boileau's translat
of Longinus) has discovered a vision of Antigonus, who assured his troops that
had seen a pentagon (the symbol of safety) with these words, "In this conque
But Tollius has most inexcusably omitted to produce his authority; and his o
character, literary as well as moral, is not free from reproach (see Chauffep

e præternatural origin of dreams was universally admitted by e nations of antiquity, and a considerable part of the Gallic ny was already prepared to place their confidence in the utary sign of the Christian religion. The secret vision of nstantine could be disproved only by the event; and the repid hero who had passed the Alps and the Apennine might w with careless despair the consequences of a defeat under e walls of Rome. The senate and people, exulting in their n deliverance from an odious tyrant, acknowledged that the tory of Constantine surpassed the powers of man, without ing to insinuate that it had been obtained by the protection the *Gods*. The triumphal arch which was erected about ee years after the event proclaims, in ambiguous language, t, by the greatness of his own mind and by an *instinct* or pulse of the Divinity, he had saved and avenged the Roman ublic.[43] The pagan orator, who had seized an earlier opportunity of celebrating the virtues of the conqueror, supposes that alone enjoyed a secret and intimate commerce with the preme Being, who delegated the care of mortals to his subinate deities; and thus assigns a very plausible reason why subjects of Constantine should not presume to embrace the w religion of their sovereign.[44]

II. The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the ams and omens, the miracles and prodigies, of profane or n of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude that, if the s of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, understanding of the readers has much more frequently n insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or acci-t, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the Deity; the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given pe and colour, language and motion, to the fleeting but unmon meteors of the air.[45] Nazarius and Eusebius are the

Appearance of a cross in the sky

ionnaire Critique, t. iv. p. 460). Without insisting on the silence of Diodorus, arch. Justin, &c. it may be observed that Polyænus, who in a separate chapter v. c. 6) has collected nineteen military stratagems of Antigonus, is totally rant of this remarkable vision.

[43] Instinctu Divinitatis, mentis magnitudine. [Seeck thinks this an allusion to dream.] The inscription on the triumphal arch of Constantine, which has been ed by Baronius, Gruter, &c., may still be perused by every curious traveller.

[44] Habes profecto aliquid cum illâ mente Divinâ secretum; quæ delegatâ nostrâ Minoribus curâ uni se tibi dignatur ostendere. Panegyr. Vet. ix. 2.

[45] M. Freret (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, t. iv. p. 411-437) ains, by physical causes, many of the prodigies of antiquity; and Fabricius, is abused by both parties, vainly tries to introduce the celestial cross of Constine among the solar halos. Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vi. p. 8-29.

two most celebrated orators who, in studied panegyrics, ha
laboured to exalt the glory of Constantine. Nine years af
A.D. 321 the Roman victory, Nazarius[46] describes an army of divi
warriors, who seemed to fall from the sky: he marks th
beauty, their spirit, their gigantic forms, the stream of lig
which beamed from their celestial armour, their patience
suffering themselves to be heard, as well as seen, by mortal
and their declaration that they were sent, that they flew, to t
assistance of the great Constantine. For the truth of this p
digy, the Pagan orator appeals to the whole Gallic nation,
whose presence he was then speaking; and seems to hope th
the ancient apparitions[47] would now obtain credit from t
recent and public event. The Christian fable of Eusebi
A.D. 338 which in the space of twenty-six years might arise from t
original dream, is cast in a much more correct and elega
mould. In one of the marches of Constantine, he is report
to have seen with his own eyes the luminous trophy of t
cross, placed above the meridian sun, and inscribed with t
following words: By this conquer. This amazing object
the sky astonished the whole army, as well as the emper
himself, who was yet undetermined in the choice of a religio
but his astonishment was converted into faith by the vision
the ensuing night. Christ appeared before his eyes; and, d
playing the same celestial sign of the cross, he directed Co
stantine to frame a similar standard, and to march, with a
assurance of victory, against Maxentius and all his enemies.
The learned bishop of Cæsarea appears to be sensible that t
recent discovery of this marvellous anecdote would excite son
surprise and distrust among the most pious of his readers. Y
instead of ascertaining the precise circumstances of time an
place, which always serve to detect falsehood or establi
truth;[49] instead of collecting and recording the evidence of

[46] Nazarius inter Panegyr. Vet. x. 14, 15. It is unnecessary to name the modern
whose undistinguishing and ravenous appetite has swallowed even the Pagan b
of Nazarius.

[47] The apparitions of Castor and Pollux, particularly to announce the Mac
donian victory, are attested by historians and public monuments. See Cicero
Naturâ Deorum, ii. 2, iii. 5, 6, Florus, ii. 12. Valerius Maximus, l. i. c. 8, No.
Yet the most recent of these miracles is omitted, and indirectly denied, by Li
(xlv. 1).

[48] Eusebius, l. i. c. 28, 29, 30. The silence of the same Eusebius, in his Ecc
siastical History, is deeply felt by those advocates for the miracle who are n
absolutely callous.

[49] The narrative of Constantine seems to indicate that he saw the cross in t
sky before he passed the Alps against Maxentius. The scene has been fixed
provincial vanity at Treves, Besançon, &c. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereu
tom. iv. p. 573.

any living witnesses, who must have been spectators of this upendous miracle;[50] Eusebius contents himself with alleging very singular testimony; that of the deceased Constantine, ho, many years after the event, in the freedom of conversa-on, had related to him this extraordinary incident of his own fe, and had attested the truth of it by a solemn oath. The rudence and gratitude of the learned prelate forbade him to uspect the veracity of his victorious master; but he plainly ntimates that, in a fact of such a nature, he should have efused his assent to any meaner authority. This motive of redibility could not survive the power of the Flavian family; nd the celestial sign, which the Infidels might afterwards eride,[51] was disregarded by the Christians of the age which mmediately followed the conversion of Constantine.[52] But the atholic Church, both of the East and of the West, has adopted prodigy, which favours, or seems to favour, the popular wor-hip of the cross. The vision of Constantine maintained an onourable place in the legend of superstition, till the bold nd sagacious spirit of criticism presumed to depreciate the iumph, and to arraign the truth of the first Christian mperor.[53]

The protestant and philosophic readers of the present age ill incline to believe that, in the account of his own conversion onstantine attested a wilful falsehood by a solemn and de-berate perjury. They may not hesitate to pronounce that, n the choice of a religion, his mind was determined only by sense of interest; and that (according to the expression of a

The con-version of Constantine might be sincere

[50] The pious Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1317) rejects with a sigh the eful Acts of Artemius, a veteran and a martyr, who attests as an eye-witness the sion of Constantine. [Acta Sanctorum, Oct. 20; cp. App. 15.]

[51] Gelasius Cyzic. in Act. Concil. Nicen. l. i. c. 4.

[52] The advocates for the vision are unable to produce a single testimony from e Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries, who, in their voluminous writings, peatedly celebrate the triumph of the church and of Constantine. As these nerable men had not any dislike to a miracle, we may suspect (and the suspicion confirmed by the ignorance of Jerom) that they were all unacquainted with the e of Constantine by Eusebius. This tract was recovered by the diligence of ose who translated or continued his Ecclesiastical History, and who have repre-nted in various colours the vision of the cross.

[53] Godefroy was the first who, in the year 1643 (Not. ad Philostorgium, l. i. c. p. 16), expressed any doubt of a miracle which had been supported with equal al by Cardinal Baronius and the Centuriators of Magdeburg. Since that time, any of the Protestant critics have inclined towards doubt and disbelief. The jections are urged, with great force, by M. Chauffepié (Dictionnaire Critique, m. iv. p. 6-11), and, in the year 1774, a doctor of Sorbonne, the Abbé du Voisin, blished an Apology, which deserves the praise of learning and moderation.

profane poet[54]) he used the altars of the church as a convenient footstool to the throne of the empire. A conclusion so harsh and so absolute is not, however, warranted by our knowledge of human nature, of Constantine, or of Christianity. In an age of religious fervour, the most artful statesmen are observed to feel some part of the enthusiasm which they inspire; and the most orthodox saints assume the dangerous privilege of defending the cause of truth by the arms of deceit and falsehood. Personal interest is often the standard of our belief, as well as of our practice; and the same motives of temporal advantage which might influence the public conduct and professions of Constantine would insensibly dispose his mind to embrace a religion so propitious to his fame and fortunes. His vanity was gratified by the flattering assurance that *he* had been chosen by Heaven to reign over the earth; success had justified his divine title to the throne, and that title was founded on the truth of the Christian revelation. As real virtue is sometimes excited by undeserved applause, the specious piety of Constantine, if at first it was only specious, might gradually, by the influence of praise, of habit, and of example, be matured into serious faith and fervent devotion. The bishops and teachers of the new sect, whose dress and manners had not qualified them for the residence of a court, were admitted to the Imperial table; they accompanied the monarch in his expeditions; and the ascendant which one of them, an Egyptian or a Spaniard,[55] acquired over his mind was imputed by the Pagans to the effect of magic.[56] Lactantius, who has adorned

[54] Lors Constantin dit ces propres paroles:
J'ai renversé le culte des idoles;
Sur les débris de leurs temples fumans
Au Dieu du Ciel j'ai prodigué l'encens.
Mais tous mes soins pour sa grandeur suprême
N'eurent jamais d'autre objet que moi-même;
Les saints autels n'étoient à mes regards
Qu'un marchepié du trône des Césars.
L'ambition, la fureur, les délices
Etoient mes Dieux, avoient mes sacrifices.
L'or des Chrétiens, leurs intrigues, leur sang
Ont cimenté ma fortune et mon rang.

The poem which contains these lines may be read with pleasure, but cannot be named with decency.

[55] This favourite was probably the great Osius, bishop of Cordova, who preferred the pastoral care of the whole church to the government of a particular diocese. His character is magnificently, though concisely, expressed by Athanasius (tom. i. p. 703). See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 524-561. Osius was accused, perhaps unjustly, of retiring from court with a very ample fortune.

[56] See Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. passim), and Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104 [c. 29].

he precepts of the gospel with the eloquence of Cicero,[57] and usebius, who has consecrated the learning and philosophy f the Greeks to the service of religion,[58] were both received to the friendship and familiarity of their sovereign: and those ble masters of controversy could patiently watch the soft and elding moments of persuasion, and dexterously apply the guments which were the best adapted to his character and nderstanding. Whatever advantages might be derived from he acquisition of an Imperial proselyte, he was distinguished by he splendour of his purple, rather than by the superiority of isdom or virtue, from the many thousands of his subjects who d embraced the doctrines of Christianity. Nor can it be eemed incredible that the mind of an unlettered soldier hould have yielded to the weight of evidence, which, in a ore enlightened age, has satisfied or subdued the reason of Grotius, a Pascal, or a Locke. In the midst of the incessant bours of his great office, this soldier employed, or affected to mploy, the hours of the night in the diligent study of the criptures and the composition of theological discourses; hich he afterwards pronounced in the presence of a numerous nd applauding audience. In a very long discourse, which is ill extant, the royal preacher expatiates on the various proofs f religion; but he dwells with peculiar complacency on the ybilline verses,[59] and the fourth eclogue of Virgil.[60] Forty ears before the birth of Christ, the Mantuan bard, as if inspired y the celestial muse of Isaiah, had celebrated, with all the pomp f oriental metaphor, the return of the Virgin, the fall of the rpent, the approaching birth of a god-like child, the offspring f the great Jupiter, who should expiate the guilt of human nd, and govern the peaceful universe with the virtues of his ther; the rise and appearance of an heavenly race, a primitive ation throughout the world: and the gradual restoration of

The fourth eclogue of Virgil

[57] The Christianity of Lactantius was of a moral rather than of a mysterious st. "Erat pœne rudis (says the orthodox Bull) disciplinæ Christianæ, et in etoricâ melius quam in theologiâ versatus." Defensio Fidei Nicenæ, sect. ii. c.

[58] Fabricius, with his usual diligence, has collected a list of between three and ur hundred authors quoted in the Evangelical Preparation of Eusebius. See bliothec. Græc. l. v. c. 4, tom. vi. p. 37-56.

[59] See Constantin. Orat. ad Sanctos, c. 19, 20. He chiefly depends on a ysterious acrostic, composed in the sixth age after the Deluge by the Erythræan bil, and translated by Cicero into Latin. The initial letters of the thirty-four eek verses form this prophetic sentence: JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR THE WORLD.

[60] In his paraphrase of Virgil, the emperor has frequently assisted and improved e literal sense of the Latin text. See Blondel des Sybilles, l. i. c. 14, 15, 16.

the innocence and felicity of the golden age. The poet was perhaps unconscious of the secret sense and object of these sublime predictions, which have been so unworthily applied to the infant son of a consul or a triumvir: [61] but, if a more splendid and indeed specious, interpretation of the fourth eclogue contributed to the conversion of the first Christian emperor, Virgil may deserve to be ranked among the most successful missionaries of the gospel.[62]

Devotion and privileges of Constantine

The awful mysteries of the Christian faith and worship were concealed from the eyes of strangers, and even of catechumens, with an affected secrecy, which served to excite their wonder and curiosity.[63] But the severe rules of discipline which the prudence of the bishops had instituted were relaxed by the same prudence in favour of an Imperial proselyte, whom it was so important to allure, by every gentle condescension, into the pale of the church; and Constantine was permitted, at least by a tacit dispensation, to enjoy *most* of the privileges, before he had contracted *any* of the obligations, of a Christian. Instead of retiring from the congregation when the voice of the deacon dismissed the profane multitude, he prayed with the faithful, disputed with the bishops, preached on the most sublime and intricate subjects of theology, celebrated with sacred rites the vigil of Easter, and publicly declared himself, not only a partaker, but in some measure a priest and hierophant of the Christian mysteries.[64] The pride of Constantine might assume, and his services had deserved, some extraordinary distinction: an ill-timed rigour might have blasted the unripened fruits of his conversion; and, if the doors of the church had been strictly closed against a prince who had deserted the altars of the gods, the master of the empire would have been left destitute of any form

[61] The different claims of an elder and younger son of Pollio, of Julia, of Drusus, of Marcellus, are found to be incompatible with chronology, history, and the good sense of Virgil.

[62] See Lowth de Sacra Poesi Hebræorum Prælect. xxi. p. 289-293. In the examination of the fourth eclogue, the respectable bishop of London has displayed learning, taste, ingenuity, and a temperate enthusiasm, which exalts his fancy without degrading his judgment.

[63] The distinction between the public and the secret parts of divine service, the *missa catechumenorum*, and the *missa fidelium*, and the mysterious veil which piety or policy had cast over the latter, are very judiciously explained by Thiers, Exposition du Saint Sacrement, l. i. c. 8-12, p. 59-91: but as, on this subject, the Papists may reasonably be suspected, a Protestant reader will depend with more confidence on the learned Bingham, Antiquities, l. x. c. 5.

[64] See Eusebius in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 15-32, and the whole tenor of Constantine's Sermon. The faith and devotion of the emperor has furnished Baronius with a specious argument in favour of his early baptism.

f religious worship. In his last visit to Rome, he piously disaimed and insulted the superstition of his ancestors by refusing o lead the military procession of the equestrian order and to ffer the public vows to the Jupiter of the Capitoline Hill.[65] Many years before his baptism and death, Constantine had proaimed to the world that neither his person nor his image should ver more be seen within the walls of an idolatrous temple; hile he distributed through the provinces a variety of medals nd pictures, which represented the emperor in an humble and ppliant posture of Christian devotion.[66]

Delay of his baptism till the approach of death

The pride of Constantine, who refused the privileges of a atechumen, cannot easily be explained or excused; but the elay of his baptism may be justified by the maxims and the ractice of ecclesiastical antiquity. The sacrament of baptism[67] as regularly administered by the bishop himself, with his ssistant clergy, in the cathedral church of the diocese, during he fifty days between the solemn festivals of Easter and Pentest; and this holy term admitted a numerous band of infants nd adult persons into the bosom of the church. The discretion f parents often suspended the baptism of their children till they ould understand the obligations which they contracted; the everity of ancient bishops exacted from the new converts a oviciate of two or three years; and the catechumens themselves, om different motives of a temporal or a spiritual nature, were eldom impatient to assume the character of perfect and initiated hristians. The sacrament of baptism was supposed to contain full and absolute expiation of sin; and the soul was instantly estored to its original purity, and entitled to the promise of ternal salvation. Among the proselytes of Christianity, there ere many who judged it imprudent to precipitate a salutary te, which could not be repeated; to throw away an inestimable rivilege, which could never be recovered. By the delay of their aptism, they could venture freely to indulge their passions in he enjoyments of this world, while they still retained in their wn hands the means of a sure and easy absolution.[68] The sub-

[65] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 105 [29, ad fin.].

[66] Eusebius in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 15, 16.

[67] The theory and practice of antiquity with regard to the sacrament of baptism ve been copiously explained by Dom. Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 3-5; Dom. Martenne, de Ritibus Ecclesiæ Antiquis, tom. i.; and by Bingham, in e tenth and eleventh books of his Christian Antiquities. One circumstance may observed, in which the modern churches have materially departed from the cient custom. The sacrament of baptism (even when it was administered to fants) was immediately followed by confirmation and the holy communion.

[68] The fathers, who censured this criminal delay, could not deny the certain and

lime theory of the gospel had made a much fainter impression on the heart than on the understanding of Constantine himself. He pursued the great object of his ambition through the dark and bloody paths of war and policy; and, after the victory, he abandoned himself, without moderation, to the abuse of his fortune. Instead of asserting his just superiority above the imperfect heroism and profane philosophy of Trajan and the Antonnines, the mature age of Constantine forfeited the reputation which he had acquired in his youth. As he gradually advanced in the knowledge of truth, he proportionably declined in the practice of virtue; and the same year of his reign in which he convened the council of Nice was polluted by the execution, or rather murder, of his eldest son. This date is alone sufficient to refute the ignorant and malicious suggestions of Zosimus,[69] who affirms that, after the death of Crispus, the remorse of his father accepted from the ministers of Christianity the expiation which he had vainly solicited from the Pagan Pontiffs. At the time of the death of Crispus, the emperor could no longer hesitate in the choice of a religion; he could no longer be ignorant that the church was possessed of an infallible remedy, though he chose to defer the application of it, till the approach of death had removed the temptation and danger of a relapse. The bishops, whom he summoned in his last illness to the palace of Nicomedia, were edified by the fervour with which he requested and received the sacrament of baptism, by the solemn protestation that the remainder of his life should be worthy of a disciple of Christ, and by his humble refusal to wear the imperial purple after he had been clothed in the white garment of a neophyte. The example and reputation of Constantine seemed to countenance the delay of baptism.[70] Future tyrants were encouraged

victorious efficacy even of a deathbed baptism. The ingenious rhetoric of Chrysostom could find only three arguments against these prudent Christians. 1. That we should love and pursue virtue for her own sake, and not merely for the reward. 2. That we may be surprised by death without an opportunity of baptism. 3. That, although we shall be placed in heaven, we shall only twinkle like little stars, when compared to the suns of righteousness who have run their appointed course with labour, with success, and with glory. Chrysostom in Epist. ad Hebræos Homil. xiii apud Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 49. I believe that this delay of baptism, though attended with the most pernicious consequences, was never condemned by any general or provincial council, or by any public act or declaration of the church. The zeal of the bishops was easily kindled on much slighter occasions.

[69] Zosimus, l. ii. p. 104 [c. 29]. For this disingenuous falsehood he has deserved and experienced the harshest treatment from all the ecclesiastical writers, except Cardinal Baronius (A.D. 324, No. 15-28), who had occasion to employ the Infidel on a particular service against the Arian Eusebius.

[70] Eusebius, l. iv. c. 61, 62, 63. The bishop of Cæsarea supposes the salvation of Constantine with the most perfect confidence.

to believe that the innocent blood which they might shed in a long reign would instantly be washed away in the waters of regeneration; and the abuse of religion dangerously undermined the foundations of moral virtue.

Propagation of Christianity

The gratitude of the church has exalted the virtues and excused the failings of a generous patron, who seated Christianity on the throne of the Roman world; and the Greeks, who celebrate the festival of the Imperial saint, seldom mention the name of Constantine without adding the title of *equal to the Apostles*.[71] Such a comparison, if it allude to the character of those divine missionaries, must be imputed to the extravagance of impious flattery. But, if the parallel is confined to the extent and number of their evangelic victories, the success of Constantine might perhaps equal that of the Apostles themselves. By the edicts of toleration he removed the temporal disadvantages which had hitherto retarded the progress of Christianity; and its active and numerous ministers received a free permission, a liberal encouragement, to recommend the salutary truths of revelation by every argument which could affect the reason or piety of mankind. The exact balance of the two religions continued but a moment; and the piercing eye of ambition and avarice soon discovered that the profession of Christianity might contribute to the interest of the present, as well as of a future, life.[72] The hopes of wealth and honours, the example of an emperor, his exhortations, his irresistible smiles, diffused conviction among the venal and obsequious crowds which usually fill the apartments of a palace. The cities which signalized a forward zeal by the voluntary destruction of their temples were distinguished by municipal privileges, and rewarded with popular donatives; and the new capital of the East gloried in the singular advantage that Constantinople was never profaned by the worship of idols.[73] As the lower ranks of society are governed by imitation, the conversion of those who possessed any eminence of birth, of power,

[Ἰσαπόστολος]

[71] See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 429. The Greeks, the Russians, and, in the darker ages, the Latins themselves have been desirous of placing Constantine in the catalogue of saints.

[72] See the third and fourth books of his life. He was accustomed to say that, whether Christ was preached in pretence or in truth, he should still rejoice (l. iii. c. 58).

[73] M. de Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 374, 616) has defended, with strength and spirit, the virgin purity of Constantinople against some malevolent insinuations of the Pagan Zosimus.

or of riches, was soon followed by dependent multitudes.[74] The salvation of the common people was purchased at an easy rate, if it be true that, in one year, twelve thousand men were baptized at Rome, besides a proportionable number of women and children; and that a white garment, with twenty pieces of gold, had been promised by the emperor to every convert.[75] The powerful influence of Constantine was not circumscribed by the narrow limits of his life, or of his dominions. The education which he bestowed on his sons and nephews secured to the empire a race of princes whose faith was still more lively and sincere, as they imbibed, in their earliest infancy, the spirit, or at least the doctrine, of Christianity. War and commerce had spread the knowledge of the gospel beyond the confines of the Roman provinces; and the Barbarians, who had disdained an humble and proscribed sect, soon learned to esteem a religion which had been so lately embraced by the greatest monarch and the most civilized nation of the globe.[76] The Goths and Germans who enlisted under the standard of Rome revered the cross which glittered at the head of the legions, and their fierce countrymen received at the same time the lessons of faith and of humanity. The kings of Iberia and Armenia worshipped the God of their protector; and their subjects, who have invariably preserved the name of Christians, soon formed a sacred and perpetual connexion with their Roman brethren. The Christians of Persia were suspected, in time of

[74] The author of the Histoire Politique et Philosophique des deux Indes (tom. i. p. 9) condemns a law of Constantine, which gave freedom to all the slaves who should embrace Christianity. The emperor did indeed publish a law which restrained the Jews from circumcising, perhaps from keeping, any Christian slaves (see Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27 and Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ix. with Godefroy's Commentary, tom. vi. p. 247). But this imperfect exception related only to the Jews; and the great body of slaves, who were the property of Christian or Pagan masters, could not improve their temporal condition by changing their religion. I am ignorant by what guides the Abbé Raynal was deceived; as the total absence of quotations is the unpardonable blemish of his entertaining history.

[75] See Acta Sti Silvestri, and Hist. Eccles. Nicephor. Callist. l. vii. c. 34, ap. Baronium Annal. Eccles. A.D. 324. No. 67, 74. Such evidence is contemptible enough; but these circumstances are in themselves so probable that the learned Dr. Howell (History of the World, vol. iii. p. 14) has not scrupled to adopt them.

[76] The conversion of the Barbarians under the reign of Constantine is celebrated by the ecclesiastical historians (see Sozomen, l. ii. c. 6, and Theodoret, l. i. c. 23, 24). But Rufinus, the Latin translator of Eusebius, deserves to be considered as an original authority. His information was curiously collected from one of the companions of the Apostle of Æthiopia, and from Bacurius, an Iberian prince, who was count of the domestics. Father Mamachi has given an ample compilation on the progress of Christianity, in the first and second volumes of his great but imperfect work. [Rufinus, at first a friend afterwards an opponent of Jerome, also translated some works of Origen.]

war, of preferring their religion to their country; but, as long as peace subsisted between the two empires, the persecuting spirit of the Magi was effectually restrained by the interposition of Constantine.[77] The rays of the gospel illuminated the coast of India. The colonies of Jews, who had penetrated into Arabia and Æthiopia,[78] opposed the progress of Christianity; but the labour of the missionaries was in some measure facilitated by a previous knowledge of the Mosaic revelation; and Abyssinia still reveres the memory of Frumentius, who, in the time of Constantine, devoted his life to the conversion of those sequestered regions. Under the reign of his son Constantius, Theophilus,[79] who was himself of Indian extraction, was invested with the double character of ambassador and bishop. He embarked on the Red Sea with two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia, which were sent by the emperor to the prince of the Sabæans, or Homerites. Theophilus was entrusted with many other useful or curious presents, which might raise the admiration and conciliate the friendship of the Barbarians; and he successfully employed several years in a pastoral visit to the churches of the torrid zone.[80]

[c. A.D. 330 and following years]

The irresistible power of the Roman emperors was displayed in the important and dangerous change of the national religion. The terrors of a military force silenced the faint and unsupported murmurs of the Pagans, and there was reason to expect that the cheerful submission of the Christian clergy, as well as people, would be the result of conscience and gratitude. It was long since established, as a fundamental maxim of the Roman constitution, that every rank of citizens were alike subject to the laws, and that the care of religion was the right as well as duty of the civil magistrate. Constantine and his successors could not easily persuade themselves that they had

Change of the national religion

77 See in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. ib. c. 9) the pressing and pathetic epistle of Constantine in favour of his Christian brethren of Persia.

78 See Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. vii. p. 182, tom. viii. p. 333, tom. ix. p. 810. The curious diligence of this writer pursues the Jewish exiles to the extremities of the globe.

79 Theophilus had been given in his infancy as a hostage by his countrymen of the isle of Diva, and was educated by the Romans in learning and piety. The Maldives, of which Male, or *Diva*, may be the capital, are a cluster of 1900 or 2000 minute islands in the Indian ocean. The ancients were imperfectly acquainted with the Maldives; but they are described in the two Mahometan travellers of the ninth century, published by Renaudot, Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 30, 31. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 704. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. viii.

80 Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 4, 5, 6, with Godefroy's learned observations. The historical narrative is soon lost in an inquiry concerning the seat of paradise, strange monsters, &c.

forfeited, by their conversion, any branch of the Imperial prerogatives, or that they were incapable of giving laws to religion which they had protected and embraced. The emperors still continued to exercise a supreme jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical order; and the sixteenth book of the Theodosian A.D. 312-438 code represents, under a variety of titles, the authority which they assumed in the government of the Catholic church.

Distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers

But the distinction of the spiritual and temporal powers,[81] which had never been imposed on the free spirit of Greece and Rome, was introduced and confirmed by the legal establishment of Christianity. The office of supreme pontiff, which, from the time of Numa to that of Augustus, had always been exercised by one of the most eminent of the senators, was at length united to the Imperial dignity. The first magistrate of the state, as often as he was prompted by superstition or policy, performed with his own hands the sacerdotal functions;[82] nor was there any order of priests, either at Rome or in the provinces, who claimed a more sacred character among men, or a more intimate communication with the Gods. But in the Christian church, which entrusts the service of the altar to a perpetual succession of consecrated ministers, the monarch, whose spiritual rank is less honourable than that of the meanest deacon, was seated below the rails of the sanctuary, and confounded with the rest of the faithful multitude.[83] The emperor might be saluted as the father of his people, but he owed a filial duty and reverence to the fathers of the church; and the same marks of respect which Constantine had paid to the persons of saints and confessors were soon exacted by the pride of the episcopal order.[84] A secret conflict between the civil

[81] See the epistle of Osius, ap. Athanasium, vol. i. p. 840. The public remonstrance which Osius was forced to address to the son contained the same principles of ecclesiastical and civil government which he had secretly instilled into the mind of the father.

[82] M. de la Bastie (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xv. p. 38-61) has evidently proved that Augustus and his successors exercised in person all the sacred functions of pontifex maximus, or high-priest of the Roman empire.

[83] Something of a contrary practice had insensibly prevailed in the church of Constantinople; but the rigid Ambrose commanded Theodosius to retire below the rails, and taught him to know the difference between a king and a priest. See Theodoret, l. v. c. 18.

[84] At the table of the emperor Maximus, Martin, bishop of Tours, received the cup from an attendant, and gave it to the presbyter his companion, before he allowed the emperor to drink; the empress waited on Martin at table. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. Sti Martin, c. 23, and Dialogue ii. 7. Yet it may be doubted, whether these extraordinary compliments were paid to the bishop or the saint. The honours usually granted to the former character may be seen in Bingham's Antiquities, l. ii. c. 9, and Vales. ad Theodoret, l. iv. c. 6. See the haughty

nd ecclesiastical jurisdictions embarrassed the operations of he Roman government; and a pious emperor was alarmed by he guilt and danger of touching with a profane hand the ark f the covenant. The separation of men into the two orders f the clergy and of the laity was, indeed, familiar to many ations of antiquity; and the priests of India, of Persia, of ssyria, of Judea, of Æthiopia, of Egypt, and of Gaul, derived om a celestial origin the temporal power and possessions hich they had acquired. These venerable institutions had radually assimilated themselves to the manners and govern-ent of their respective countries;[85] but the opposition or con-empt of the civil power served to cement the discipline of the rimitive church. The Christians had been obliged to elect heir own magistrates, to raise and distribute a peculiar revenue, nd to regulate the internal policy of their republic by a code f laws, which were ratified by the consent of the people and he practice of three hundred years. When Constantine em-raced the faith of the Christians, he seemed to contract a erpetual alliance with a distinct and independent society; and he privileges granted or confirmed by that emperor, or by his uccessors, were accepted, not as the precarious favours of the ourt, but as the just and unalienable rights of the ecclesiastical rder.

State of the bishops under the Christian emperors

The Catholic Church was administered by the spiritual and egal jurisdiction of eighteen hundred bishops;[86] of whom one housand were seated in the Greek, and eight hundred in the atin, provinces of the empire. The extent and boundaries f their respective dioceses had been variously and accidentally ecided by the zeal and success of the first missionaries, by the vishes of the people, and by the propagation of the gospel. Episcopal churches were closely planted along the banks of the Nile, on the sea-coast of Africa, in the proconsular Asia, and hrough the southern provinces of Italy. The bishops of Gaul nd Spain, of Thrace and Pontus, reigned over an ample ter-

eremonial which Leontius, bishop of Tripoli, imposed on the empress. Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 754. Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 179.

[85] Plutarch, in his treatise of Isis and Osiris, informs us that the kings of Egypt, who were not already priests, were initiated, after their election, into the sacerdotal rder.

[86] The numbers are not ascertained by any ancient writer, or original catalogue; or the partial lists of the eastern churches are comparatively modern. The patient iligence of Charles a Sto Paolo, of Luke Holstenius, and of Bingham, has aboriously investigated all the episcopal sees of the Catholic Church, which was lmost commensurate with the Roman empire. The ninth book of the Christian Antiquities is a very accurate map of ecclesiastical geography. [Cp. Append. 20.]

ritory, and delegated their rural suffragans to execute the su ordinate duties of the pastoral office.[87] A Christian dioce might be spread over a province or reduced to a village; b all the bishops possessed an equal and indelible character: th all derived the same powers and privileges from the apostl from the people, and from the laws. While the *civil* a *military* professions were separated by the policy of Constantin a new and perpetual order of *ecclesiastical* ministers, alwa respectable, sometimes dangerous, was established in the churc and state. The important review of their station and attribut may be distributed under the following heads: I. Popul election. II. Ordination of the clergy. III. Property. IV. Civ jurisdiction. V. Spiritual censures. VI. Exercise of publ oratory. VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies.

I Election of bishops

I. The freedom of elections subsisted long after the leg establishment of Christianity;[88] and the subjects of Rom enjoyed in the church the privilege which they had lost in t republic, of choosing the magistrates whom they were boun to obey. As soon as a bishop had closed his eyes, the metro politan issued a commission to one of his suffragans to administe the vacant see, and prepare, within a limited time, the futur election. The right of voting was vested in the inferior clergy who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates in the senators or nobles of the city, all those who were dis tinguished by their rank or property; and finally in the whol body of the people, who, on the appointed day, flocked i multitudes from the most remote parts of the diocese,[89] an sometimes silenced, by their tumultuous acclamations, the voic of reason and the laws of discipline. These acclamations migh accidentally fix on the head of the most deserving competitor of some ancient presbyter, some holy monk, or some layman

[87] On the subject of the rural bishops, or *Chorepiscopi*, who voted in synods, an conferred the minor orders, see Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 447 &c. and Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. v. p. 395, &c. They do not appea till the fourth century; and this equivocal character, which had excited the jealous of the prelates, was abolished before the end of the tenth both in the East an the West.

[88] Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. l. ii. c. i.-8, p. 673-721) ha copiously treated of the election of bishops during the five first centuries, both i the East and in the West; but he shews a very partial bias in favour of the epis copal aristocracy. Bingham (l. iv. c. 2) is moderate; and Chardon (Hist. de Sacremens, tom. v. p. 108-128) is very clear and concise.

[89] Incredibilis multitudo, non solum ex eo oppido (*Tours*), sed etiam ex vicini urbibus ad suffragia ferenda convenerat, &c. Sulpicius Severus, in Vit. Martin c. 7. The council of Laodicea (canon xiii.) prohibits mobs and tumults; an Justinian confines the right of election to the nobility. Novell. cxxiii. 1.

onspicuous for his zeal and piety. But the episcopal chair was licited, especially in the great and opulent cities of the mpire, as a temporal rather than as a spiritual dignity. The nterested views, the selfish and angry passions, the arts of erfidy and dissimulation, the secret corruption, the open and ven bloody violence, which had formerly disgraced the freedom f election in the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, too ften influenced the choice of the successors of the apostles. While one of the candidates boasted the honours of his family, second allured his judges by the delicacies of a plentiful able, and a third, more guilty than his rivals, offered to share he plunder of the church among the accomplices of his sacri- egious hopes.[90] The civil as well as ecclesiastical laws attempted o exclude the populace from this solemn and important ransaction. The canons of ancient discipline, by requiring everal episcopal qualifications of age, station, &c., restrained n some measure the indiscriminate caprice of the electors. The authority of the provincial bishops, who were assembled n the vacant church to consecrate the choice of the people, vas interposed to moderate their passions and to correct their nistakes. The bishops could refuse to ordain an unworthy andidate, and the rage of contending factions sometimes ac- epted their impartial mediation. The submission, or the esistance, of the clergy and people, on various occasions, fforded different precedents, which were insensibly converted nto positive laws and provincial customs: [91] but it was every- vhere admitted, as a fundamental maxim of religious policy, hat no bishop could be imposed on an orthodox church without he consent of its members. The emperors, as the guardians f the public peace, and as the first citizens of Rome and Con- tantinople, might effectually declare their wishes in the choice f a primate: but those absolute monarchs respected the free- lom of ecclesiastical elections; and, while they distributed and esumed the honours of the state and army, they allowed ighteen hundred perpetual magistrates to receive their im- portant offices from the free suffrages of the people.[92] It was

[90] The epistles of Sidonius Apollinaris (iv. 25, vii. 5, 9) exhibit some of the candals of the Gallican church; and Gaul was less polished and less corrupt than he East.

[91] A compromise was sometimes introduced by law or by consent: either the bishops or the people chose one of the three candidates who had been named by he other party.

[92] All the examples quoted by Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. l. ii. c. 6, p. 704-714) appear to be extraordinary acts of power, and even of oppression. The confirmation of the bishop of Alexandria is mentioned by Philostorgius as a more regular proceeding (Hist. Eccles. l. ii. 11).

agreeable to the dictates of justice, that these magistrate should not desert an honourable station from which they coul not be removed; but the wisdom of councils endeavoure without much success, to enforce the residence, and to preven the translation, of bishops. The discipline of the West wa indeed less relaxed than that of the East; but the same pa sions which made those regulations necessary rendered the ineffectual. The reproaches which angry prelates have s vehemently urged against each other serve only to expose the common guilt and their mutual indiscretion.

II. Ordination of the clergy

II. The bishops alone possessed the faculty of *spiritua* generation; and this extraordinary privilege might compensate in some degree, for the painful celibacy[93] which was impose as a virtue, as a duty, and at length as a positive obligation The religions of antiquity, which established a separate orde of priests, dedicated a holy race, a tribe or family, to the per petual service of the Gods.[94] Such institutions were founde for possession rather than conquest. The children of the priest enjoyed, with proud and indolent security, their sacred inherit ance; and the fiery spirit of enthusiasm was abated by the cares, the pleasures, and the endearments of domestic life But the Christian sanctuary was open to every ambitious candidate who aspired to its heavenly promises or tempora possessions. The office of priests, like that of soldiers or magis trates, was strenuously exercised by those men whose temper and abilities had prompted them to embrace the ecclesiastica profession, or who had been selected by a discerning bishop a the best qualified to promote the glory and interest of the church. The bishops[95] (till the abuse was restrained by the

[93] The celibacy of the clergy during the first five or six centuries is a subject of discipline, and indeed of controversy, which has been very diligently examined. See in particular Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. l. ii. c. lx. lxi. p. 886-902, and Bingham's Antiquities, l. iv. c. 5. By each of these learned but partial critics, one half of the truth is produced, and the other is concealed.

[94] Diodorus Siculus attests and approves the hereditary succession of the priesthood among the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the Indians (l. i. p. 84 [c. 73], l. ii. p. 142, 153 [29, 40 and 41 ad fin.], edit. Wesseling). The magi are described by Ammianus as a very numerous family: "Per sæcula multa ad præsens unâ eâdemque prosapiâ multitudo creata, Deorum cultibus dedicata" (xxiii. 6). Ausonius celebrates the *Stirps Druidarum* (De Professorib. Burdigal. iv.); but we may infer from the remark of Cæsar (vi. 13), that, in the Celtic hierarchy, some room was left for choice and emulation.

[95] The subject of the vocation, ordination, obedience, &c. of the clergy, is laboriously discussed by Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. p. 1-83) and Bingham (in the fourth book of his Antiquities, more especially the fourth, sixth, and seventh chapters). When the brother of St. Jerom was ordained in Cyprus, the deacons forcibly stopped his mouth, lest he should make a solemn protestation which might invalidate the holy rites.

rudence of the laws) might constrain the reluctant, and rotect the distressed; and the imposition of hands for ever estowed some of the most valuable privileges of civil society. he whole body of the Catholic clergy, more numerous perhaps han the legions, was exempted by the emperors from all ervice, private or public, all municipal offices, and all personal axes and contributions which pressed on their fellow-citizens ith intolerable weight; and the duties of their holy profession ere accepted as a full discharge of their obligations to the epublic.[96] Each bishop acquired an absolute and indefeasible ght to the perpetual obedience of the clerk whom he ordained: he clergy of each episcopal church, with its dependent parishes, ormed a regular and permanent society; and the cathedrals of onstantinople[97] and Carthage[98] maintained their peculiar estabshment of five hundred ecclesiastical ministers. Their ranks[99] nd numbers were insensibly multiplied by the superstition f the times, which introduced into the church the splendid eremonies of a Jewish or Pagan temple; and a long train of riests, deacons, sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, ngers, and door-keepers, contributed, in their respective stations, o swell the pomp and harmony of religious worship. The lerical name and privilege were extended to many pious fraernities, who devoutly supported the ecclesiastical throne.[100] ix hundred *parabolani*, or adventurers, visited the sick at lexandria; eleven hundred *copiatæ*, or gravediggers, buried he dead at Constantinople; and the swarms of monks, who rose from the Nile, overspread and darkened the face of the hristian world.

[παραβαλανεῖς]

[96] The charter of immunities which the clergy obtained from the Christian mperors is contained in the sixteenth book of the Theodosian code; and is ustrated with tolerable candour by the learned Godefroy, whose mind was alanced by the opposite prejudices of a civilian and a protestant.

[97] Justinian. Novell. ciii. Sixty presbyters or priests, one hundred deacons, rty deaconesses, ninety sub-deacons, one hundred and ten readers, twenty-five hanters, and one hundred door-keepers; in all, five hundred and twenty-five. his moderate number was fixed by the emperor, to relieve the distress of the hurch, which had been involved in debt and usury by the expense of a much higher stablishment.

[98] Universus clerus ecclesiæ Carthaginiensis . . . fere *quinginti* vel amplius; ter quos quamplurimi erant lectores infantuli. Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. andal, v. 9, p. 78, edit. Ruinart. This remnant of a more prosperous state substed under the oppression of the Vandals.

[99] The number of *seven* orders has been fixed in the Latin church, exclusive of he episcopal character. But the four inferior ranks, the minor orders, are now educed to empty and useless titles.

[100] See Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. 2, leg. 42, 43. Godefroy's Commentary, and he Ecclesiastical History of Alexandria, shew the danger of these pious institutions, which often disturbed the peace of that turbulent capital.

III. Property A.D. 313

III. The edict of Milan secured the revenue as well as the peace of the church.[101] The Christians not only recovered the lands and houses of which they had been stripped by the persecuting laws of Diocletian, but they acquired a perfect title to all the possessions which they had hitherto enjoyed by the connivance of the magistrate. As soon as Christianity became the religion of the emperor and the empire, the national clergy might claim a decent and honourable maintenance: and the payment of an annual tax might have delivered the people from the more oppressive tribute which superstition imposes on her votaries. But, as the wants and expenses of the church increased with her prosperity, the ecclesiastical order was still supported and enriched by the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Eight A.D. 321 years after the edict of Milan, Constantine granted to all his subjects the free and universal permission of bequeathing their fortunes to the holy Catholic church;[102] and their devout liberality, which during their lives was checked by luxury or avarice, flowed with a profuse stream at the hour of their death. The wealthy Christians were encouraged by the example of their sovereign. An absolute monarch, who is rich without patrimony, may be charitable without merit; and Constantine too easily believed that he should purchase the favour of Heaven, if he maintained the idle at the expense of the industrious, and distributed among the saints the wealth of the republic. The same messenger who carried over to Africa the head of Maxentius might be entrusted with an epistle to Cæcilian bishop of Carthage. The emperor acquaints him that the treasurers of the province are directed to pay into his hands the sum of three thousand *folles*, or eighteen thousand pounds sterling, and to obey his farther requisitions for the relief of the churches of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania.[103] The liberality of Constantine increased in a just proportion to his faith, and to his vices. He assigned in each city a regular

[101] The edict of Milan (de M. P. c. 48) acknowledges, by reciting, that there existed a species of landed property, ad jus corporis eorum, id est, ecclesiarum non hominum singulorum pertinentia. Such a solemn declaration of the supreme magistrate must have been received in all the tribunals as a maxim of civil law. [Cp. above, p. 292, n. 15.]

[102] Habeat unusquisque licentiam sanctissimo Catholicæ (*ecclesiæ*) venerabilique concilio, decedens bonorum quod optavit relinquere. Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 4. This law was published at Rome, A.D. 321, at a time when Constantine might foresee the probability of a rupture with the emperor of the East.

[103] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. 6; in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 28. He repeatedly expatiates on the liberality of the Christian hero, which the bishop himself had an opportunity of knowing and even of tasting.

allowance of corn, to supply the fund of ecclesiastical charity; and the persons of both sexes who embraced the monastic life became the peculiar favourites of their sovereign. The Christian temples of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, &c. displayed the ostentatious piety of a prince ambitious, in a declining age, to equal the perfect labours of antiquity.[104] The form of these religious edifices was simple and oblong; though they might sometimes swell into the shape of a dome, and sometimes branch into the figure of a cross. The timbers were framed for the most part of cedars of Libanus; the roof was covered with tiles, perhaps of gilt brass; and the walls, the columns, the pavement, were incrusted with variegated marbles. The most precious ornaments of gold and silver, of silk and gems, were profusely dedicated to the service of the altar; and this specious magnificence was supported on the solid and perpetual basis of landed property. In the space of two centuries, from the reign of Constantine to that of Justinian, the eighteen hundred churches of the empire were enriched by the frequent and unalienable gifts of the prince and people. An annual income of six hundred pounds sterling may be reasonably assigned to the bishops, who were placed at an equal distance between riches and poverty,[105] but the standard of their wealth insensibly rose with the dignity and opulence of the cities which they governed. An authentic but imperfect[106] rent-roll specifies some houses, shops, gardens, and farms, which belonged to the three *Basilicæ* of Rome, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John Lateran, in the provinces of Italy, Africa, and the East. They produce, besides a reserved rent of oil, linen, paper, aromatics, &c. a clear annual revenue of twenty-two thousand pieces of gold, or twelve thousand pounds sterling. In the age of Constantine and Justinian, the bishops no longer possessed, perhaps they no longer deserved, the unsuspecting

[104] Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 2, 3, 4. The bishop of Cæsarea, who studied and gratified the taste of his master, pronounced in public an elaborate description of the church of Jerusalem (in Vit. Const. l. iv. c. 46). It no longer exists, but he has inserted in the Life of Constantine (l. iii. c. 36) a short account of the architecture and ornaments. He likewise mentions the church of the holy Apostles at Constantinople (l. iv. c. 59).

[105] See Justinian. Novell. cxxiii. 3. The revenue of the patriarchs, and the most wealthy bishops, is not expressed; the highest annual valuation of a bishopric is stated at *thirty*, and the lowest at *two*, pounds of gold; the medium might be taken at *sixteen*, but these valuations are much below the real value.

[106] See Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 324, No. 58, 65, 70, 71). Every record which comes from the Vatican is justly suspected; yet these rent-rolls have an ancient and authentic colour; and it is at least evident, that, if forged, they were forged in a period when *farms*, not *kingdoms*, were the objects of papal avarice.

confidence of their clergy and people. The ecclesiastical re- venues of each diocese were divided into four parts; for th respective uses, of the bishop himself, of his inferior clergy, c the poor, and of the public worship; and the abuse of this sacre trust was strictly and repeatedly checked.[107] The patrimony o the church was still subject to all the public impositions of th state.[108] The clergy of Rome, Alexandria, Thessalonica, &c might solicit and obtain some partial exemptions; but th [A.D. 360] premature attempt of the great council of Rimini, which aspire to universal freedom, was successfully resisted by the son o Constantine.[109]

IV. Civil jurisdiction

IV. The Latin clergy, who erected their tribunal on th ruins of the civil and common law, have modestly accepted a the gift of Constantine[110] the independent jurisdiction whic was the fruit of time, of accident, and of their own industry But the liberality of the Christian emperors had actually en dowed them with some legal prerogatives, which secured an dignified the sacerdotal character.[111] 1. Under a despotic goverm

[107] See Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. ii. c. 13, 14, 15, p. 68 706. The legal division of the ecclesiastical revenue does not appear to have bee established in the time of Ambrose and Chrysostom. Simplicius and Gelasius, wh were bishops of Rome in the latter part of the fifth century, mention it in thei pastoral letters as a general law, which was already confirmed by the custom o Italy.

[108] Ambrose, the most strenuous asserter of ecclesiastical privileges, submits with out a murmur to the payment of the land-tax. "Si tributum petit Imperator, no negamus; agri ecclesiæ solvunt tributum; solvimus quæ sunt Cæsaris Cæsari, e quæ sunt Dei Deo: tributum Cæsaris est; non negatur." Baronius labours t interpret this tribute as an act of charity rather than of duty (Annal. Eccles. A.D 387); but the words, if not the intentions, of Ambrose, are more candidly ex plained by Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. l. i. c. 34, p. 268.

[109] In Ariminense synodo super ecclesiarum et clericorum privilegiis tractatt habito, usque eo dispositio progressa est, ut juga quæ viderentur ad ecclesian pertinere, a publicâ functione cessarent inquietudine desistente: quod nostra vide tur dudum sanctio repulsisse. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 15. Had the synod of Rimini carried this point, such practical merit might have atoned for some speculative heresies.

[110] From Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 27) and Sozomen (l. i. c. 9) we are assured that the episcopal jurisdiction was extended and confirmed by Constantine but the forgery of a famous edict, which was never fairly inserted in the Theo dosian Code (see at the end, tom. vi. p. 303), is demonstrated by Godefroy in the most satisfactory manner. It is strange that M. de Montesquieu, who was a lawyer as well as a philosopher, should allege this edict of Constantine (Esprit des Loix, l. xxix. c. 16) without intimating any suspicion.

[111] The subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction has been involved in a mist of passion, of prejudice, and of interest. Two of the fairest books which have fallen into my hands are the Institutes of Canon Law, by the Abbé de Fleury, and the Civil History of Naples, by Giannone. Their moderation was the effect of situation as well as of temper. Fleury was a French ecclesiastic, who respected the authority of the parliaments; Giannone was an Italian lawyer, who dreaded the power of the church. And here let me observe that, as the general pro-

ment, the bishops alone enjoyed and asserted the inestimable privilege of being tried only by their *peers;* and even in a capital accusation, a synod of their brethren were the sole judges of their guilt or innocence. Such a tribunal, unless it was inflamed by personal resentment or religious discord, might be favourable, or even partial, to the sacerdotal order: but Constantine was satisfied[112] that secret impunity would be less pernicious than public scandal: and the Nicene council was edified by his public declaration that, if he surprised a bishop in the act of adultery, he should cast his Imperial mantle over the episcopal sinner. 2. The domestic jurisdiction of the bishops was at once a privilege and a restraint of the ecclesiastical order, whose civil causes were decently withdrawn from the cognizance of a secular judge. Their venial offences were not exposed to the shame of a public trial or punishment; and the gentle correction, which the tenderness of youth may endure from its parents or instructors, was inflicted by the temperate severity of the bishops. But, if the clergy were guilty of any crime which could not be sufficiently expiated by their degradation from an honourable and beneficial profession, the Roman magistrate drew the sword of justice without any regard to ecclesiastical immunities. 3. The arbitration of the bishops was ratified by a positive law; and the judges were instructed to execute, without appeal or delay, the episcopal decrees, whose validity had hitherto depended on the consent of the parties. The conversion of the magistrates themselves, and of the whole empire, might gradually remove the fears and scruples of the Christians. But they still resorted to the tribunal of the bishops, whose abilities and integrity they esteemed: and the venerable Austin enjoyed the satisfaction of complaining that his spiritual functions were perpetually interrupted by the invidious labour of deciding the claim or the possession of silver and gold, of lands and cattle. 4. The ancient privilege of sanctuary was transferred to the Christian temples, and extended, by the liberal piety of the younger Theodosius, to the precincts of consecrated ground.[113]

positions which I advance are the result of *many* particular and imperfect facts, I must either refer the reader to those modern authors who have expressly treated the subject or swell these notes to a disagreeable and disproportioned size.

[112] Tillemont has collected from Rufinus, Theodoret, &c. the sentiments and language of Constantine. Mém. Ecclés. t. iii. p. 749, 750.

[113] See Cod. Theod. l. ix. tit. xlv. leg. 4. In the works of Fra Paolo (tom. iv. p. 192, &c.) there is an excellent discourse on the origin, claims, abuses, and limits of sanctuaries. He justly observes that ancient Greece might perhaps contain fifteen or twenty *asyla* or sanctuaries; a number which at present may be found in Italy within the walls of a single city.

The fugitive, and even guilty, suppliants were permitted to implore either the justice or the mercy of the Deity and his ministers. The rash violence of despotism was suspended by the mild interposition of the church; and the lives or fortunes of the most eminent subjects might be protected by the mediation of the bishop.

V. Spiritual censure

V. The bishop was the perpetual censor of the morals of his people. The discipline of penance was digested into a system of canonical jurisprudence,[114] which accurately defined the duty of private or public confession, the rules of evidence, the degrees of guilt, and the measure of punishment. It was impossible to execute this spiritual censure, if the Christian pontiff, who punished the obscure sins of the multitude, respected the conspicuous vices and destructive crimes of the magistrate; but it was impossible to arraign the conduct of the magistrate without controlling the administration of civil government. Some considerations of religion, or loyalty, or fear, protected the sacred persons of the emperors from the zeal or resentment of the bishops; but they boldly censured and excommunicated the subordinate tyrants who were not invested with the majesty of the purple. St. Athanasius excommunicated one of the ministers of Egypt; and the interdict which he pronounced of fire and water, was solemnly transmitted to the churches of Cappadocia.[115] Under the reign of the younger Theodosius, the polite and eloquent Synesius, one of the descendants of Hercules,[116] filled the episcopal seat of Ptolemais, near the ruins of ancient Cyrene,[117] and the philosophic bishop supported, with dignity

[114] The penitential jurisprudence was continually improved by the canons of the councils. But, as many cases were still left to the discretion of the bishops, they occasionally published, after the example of the Roman Prætor, the rules of discipline which they proposed to observe. Among the canonical epistles of the fourth century, those of Basil the Great were the most celebrated. They are inserted in the Pandects of Beveridge (tom. ii. p. 47-151), and are translated by Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. iv. p. 219-277.

[115] Basil Epistol. xlvii. in Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 370, No. 91), who declares that he purposely relates it, to convince governors that they were not exempt from a sentence of excommunication. In his opinion, even a royal head is not safe from the thunders of the Vatican; and the cardinal shews himself much more consistent than the lawyers and theologians of the Gallican church.

[116] The long series of his ancestors, as high as Eurysthenes, the first Doric king of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public registers of Cyrene, a Lacedæmonian colony. (Synes. Epist. lvii. p. 197, edit. Petav.) Such a poor and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the royal ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the history of mankind.

[117] Synesius (de Regno, p. 2) pathetically deplores the fallen and ruined state of Cyrene, πόλις Ἑλληνὶς, παλαιὸν ὄνομα καὶ σεμνὸν, καὶ ἐν ᾠδῇ μυρίᾳ τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν, νῦν πένης καὶ κατηφὴς, καὶ μέγα ἐρείπιον. Ptolemais, a new city, 82 miles to the

the character which he had assumed with reluctance.[118] He vanquished the monster of Libya, the president Andronicus, who abused the authority of a venal office, invented new modes of rapine and torture, and aggravated the guilt of oppression by that of sacrilege.[119] After a fruitless attempt to reclaim the haughty magistrate by mild and religious admonition, Synesius proceeds to inflict the last sentence of ecclesiastical justice,[120] which devotes Andronicus, with his associates and their *families*, to the abhorrence of earth and heaven. The impenitent sinners, more cruel than Phalaris or Sennacherib, more destructive than war, pestilence, or a cloud of locusts, are deprived of the name and privileges of Christians, of the participation of the sacraments, and of the hope of Paradise. The bishop exhorts the clergy, the magistrates, and the people, to renounce all society with the enemies of Christ; to exclude them from their houses and tables; and to refuse them the common offices of life and the decent rites of burial. The church of Ptolemais, obscure and contemptible as she may appear, addresses this declaration to all her sister churches of the world; and the profane who reject her decrees will be involved in the guilt and punishment of Andronicus and his impious followers. These spiritual terrors were enforced by a dexterous application to the Byzantine court; the trembling president implored the mercy of the church; and the descendant of Hercules enjoyed the satisfaction of raising a prostrate

westward of Cyrene, assumed the metropolitan honours of the Pentapolis, or Upper Libya, which were afterwards transferred to Sozusa. See Wesseling Itinerar. p. 67, 68, 732. Cellarius Geograph. tom. ii. part. ii. p. 72, 74. Carolus a Sto Paulo Geograph. Sacra, p. 273, D'Anville Géographie ancienne, tom. iii. p. 43, 44, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxxvii. p. 363-391.

[118] Synesius had previously represented his own disqualifications (Epist. cv. p. 246-250). He loved profane studies and profane sports; he was incapable of supporting a life of celibacy; he disbelieved the resurrection; and he refused to preach *fables* to the people, unless he might be permitted to *philosophize* at home. Theophilus, primate of Egypt, who knew his merit, accepted this extraordinary compromise. See the Life of Synesius in Tillemont, Mém Ecclés. tom. xii. p. 499-554.

[119] See the invective of Synesius, Epist. lvii. p. 191-201. The promotion of Andronicus was illegal; since he was a native of Berenice, in the same province. The instruments of torture are curiously specified, the πιεστήριον, or press, the δακτυλήθρα, the ποδοστράβη, the ῥινολαβίς, the ὠτάγρα, and the χειλοστρόφιον, that variously pressed or distended the fingers, the feet, the nose, the ears, and the lips of the victims [in Ep. lviii. p. 1399, ed. Migne].

[120] The sentence of excommunication is expressed in a rhetorical style. (Synesius, Epist. lviii. p. 201-203.) The method of involving whole families, though somewhat unjust, was improved into national interdicts.

tyrant from the ground.[121] Such principles and such example insensibly prepared the triumph of the Roman pontiffs, who have trampled on the necks of kings.

VI. Freedom of public preaching

VI. Every popular government has experienced the effects of rude or artificial eloquence. The coldest nature is animated, the firmest reason is moved, by the rapid communication of the prevailing impulse; and each hearer is affected by his own passions, and by those of the surrounding multitude. The ruin of civil liberty had silenced the demagogues of Athens and the tribunes of Rome; the custom of preaching, which seems to constitute a considerable part of Christian devotion, had not been introduced into the temples of antiquity; and the ears of monarchs were never invaded by the harsh sound of popular eloquence, till the pulpits of the empire were filled with sacred orators who possessed some advantages unknown to their profane predecessors.[122] The arguments and rhetoric of the tribune were instantly opposed, with equal arms, by skilful and resolute antagonists; and the cause of truth and reason might derive an accidental support from the conflict of hostile passions. The bishop, or some distinguished presbyter, to whom he cautiously delegated the powers of preaching, harangued, without the danger of interruption or reply, a submissive multitude, whose minds had been prepared and subdued by the awful ceremonies of religion. Such was the strict subordination of the Catholic church that the same concerted sounds might issue at once from an hundred pulpits of Italy or Egypt, if they were *tuned*[123] by the master hand of the Roman or Alexandrian primate. The design of this institution was laudable, but the fruits were not always salutary. The preachers recommended the practice of the social duties; but they exalted the perfection of monastic virtue, which is painful to the individual and useless to mankind. Their charitable exhortations betrayed a secret wish that the clergy might be permitted to manage the wealth of the faithful.

[121] See Synesius, Epist. xlvii. p. 186, 187. Epist. lxxii. p. 218, 219. Epist. lxxxix. p. 230, 231.

[122] See Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. ii. l. iii. c. 83, p. 1761-1770) and Bingham (Antiquities, vol. i. l. xiv. c. 4, p. 688-717). Preaching was considered as the most important office of the bishop; but this function was sometimes entrusted to such presbyters as Chrysostom and Augustin.

[123] Queen Elizabeth used this expression, and practised this art, whenever she wished to prepossess the minds of her people in favour of any extraordinary measure of government. The hostile effects of this *music* were apprehended by her successor, and severely felt by his son. "When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic," &c. see Heylin's Life of Archbishop Laud, p. 153.

for the benefit of the poor. The most sublime representations of the attributes and laws of the Deity were sullied by an idle mixture of metaphysical subtleties, puerile rites, and fictitious miracles: and they expatiated, with the most fervent zeal, on the religious merit of hating the adversaries, and obeying the ministers, of the church. When the public peace was distracted by heresy and schism, the sacred orators sounded the trumpet of discord, and perhaps of sedition. The understandings of their congregations were perplexed by mystery, their passions were inflamed by invectives: and they rushed from the Christian temples of Antioch or Alexandria, prepared either to suffer or to inflict martyrdom. The corruption of taste and language is strongly marked in the vehement declamations of the Latin bishops; but the compositions of Gregory and Chrysostom have been compared with the most splendid models of Attic, or at least of Asiatic, eloquence.[124]

VII. Privilege of legislative assemblies

VII. The representatives of the Christian republic were regularly assembled in the spring and autumn of each year: and these synods diffused the spirit of ecclesiastical discipline and legislation through the hundred and twenty provinces of the Roman world.[125] The archbishop or metropolitan was empowered, by the laws, to summon the suffragan bishops of his province, to revise their conduct, to vindicate their rights, to declare their faith, and to examine the merit of the candidates who were elected by the clergy and people to supply the vacancies of the episcopal college. The primates of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Carthage, and afterwards Constantinople, who exercised a more ample jurisdiction, convened the numerous assembly of their dependent bishops. But the convocation of great and extraordinary synods was the prerogative of the emperor alone. Whenever the emergencies of the church required this decisive measure, he dispatched a peremptory summons to the bishops, or the deputies of each province, with an order for the use of post-horses, and a competent allowance for the expenses of their journey. At an early period, when Con- A.D. 314

[124] Those modest orators acknowledged that, as they were destitute of the gift of miracles, they endeavoured to acquire the arts of eloquence.

[125] The council of Nice, in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh canons, has made some fundamental regulations concerning synods, metropolitans, and primates. The Nicene canons have been variously tortured, abused, interpolated, or forged, according to the interest of the clergy. The *Suburbicarian* churches, assigned (by Rufinus) to the bishop of Rome, have been made the subject of vehement controversy. See Sirmond. Opera, tom. iv. p. 1-238.

stantine was the protector, rather than the proselyte, of Christianity, he referred the African controversy to the council of Arles; in which the bishops of York, of Treves, of Milan, and of Carthage, met as friends and brethren, to debate in their native tongue on the common interest of the Latin or Western church.[126] Eleven years afterwards, a more numerous and celebrated assembly was convened at Nice in Bithynia, to extinguish, by their final sentence, the subtle disputes which had arisen in Egypt on the subject of the Trinity. Three hundred and eighteen bishops obeyed the summons of their indulgent master; the ecclesiastics, of every rank and sect and denomination, have been computed at two thousand and forty-eight persons;[127] the Greeks appeared in person; and the consent of the Latins was expressed by the legates of the Roman pontiff. The session, which lasted about two months, was frequently honoured by the presence of the emperor. Leaving his guards at the door, he seated himself (with the permission of the council) on a low stool in the midst of the hall. Constantine listened with patience and spoke with modesty: and, while he influenced the debates, he humbly professed that he was the minister, not the judge, of the successors of the apostles, who had been established as priests and as gods upon earth.[128] Such profound reverence of an absolute monarch towards a feeble and unarmed assembly of his own subjects can only be compared to the respect with which the senate had been treated by the Roman princes, who adopted the policy of Augustus. Within the space of fifty years, a philosophic spectator of the vicissitude of human affairs might have contemplated Tacitus in the senate of Rome, and Constantine in the council of Nice. The fathers of the capitol and those of the church had alike degenerated from the virtues of their founders; but, as the bishops were more deeply rooted in the public opinion, they sustained their dignity with more decent pride, and sometimes opposed, with a manly spirit, the wishes of their sovereign. The progress of time and

A.D. 325

[126] We have only thirty-three or forty-seven episcopal subscriptions: but Ado, a writer indeed of small account, reckons six hundred bishops in the council of Arles. Tillemont, Mém. Eccl. tom. vi. p. 422.

[127] See Tillemont, tom vi. p. 915, and Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 529. The name of *bishop*, which is given by Eutychius to the 2048 ecclesiastics (Annal. tom. i. p. 440, vers. Pococ.), must be extended far beyond the limits of an orthodox or even episcopal ordination.

[128] See Euseb. in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 6-21. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. p. 669-759.

superstition erased the memory of the weakness, the passion, the ignorance, which disgraced these ecclesiastical synods; and the Catholic world has unanimously submitted [129] to the *infallible* decrees of the general councils.[130]

[129] Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere, quæ a quatuor Sanctis Conciliis . . . expositæ sunt aut firmatæ. Prædictarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctas Scripturas et regulas sicut leges observamus. Justinian. Novell. cxxxi. Beveridge (ad Pandect. proleg. p. 2) remarks that the emperors never made new laws in ecclesiastical matters; and Giannone observes, in a very different spirit, that they gave a legal sanction to the canons of councils. Istoria Civile di Napoli, tom. i. p. 136.

[130] See the article CONCILE in the Encyclopédie, tom. iii. p. 668-679, édition de Lucques. The author, M. le docteur Bouchaud, has discussed, according to the principles of the Gallican church, the principal questions which relate to the form and constitution of general, national, and provincial councils. The editors (see Preface, p. xvi.) have reason to be proud of *this* article. Those who consult their immense compilation seldom depart so well satisfied.

CHAPTER XXI

Persecution of Heresy—The Schism of the Donatists—The Arian Controversy—Athanasius—Distracted State of the Church and Empire under Constantine and his Sons—Toleration of Paganism

The grateful applause of the clergy has consecrated the memory of a prince who indulged their passions and promoted their interest. Constantine gave them security, wealth, honours, and revenge: and the support of the orthodox faith was considered as the most sacred and important duty of the civil magistrate. The edict of Milan, the great charter of toleration, had confirmed to each individual of the Roman world the privilege of choosing and professing his own religion. But this inestimable privilege was soon violated: with the knowledge of truth, the emperor imbibed the maxims of persecution; and the sects which dissented from the Catholic church were afflicted and oppressed by the triumph of Christianity. Constantine easily believed that the Heretics, who presumed to dispute *his* opinions or to oppose *his* commands, were guilty of the most absurd and criminal obstinacy; and that a seasonable application of moderate severities might save those unhappy men from the danger of an everlasting condemnation. Not a moment was lost in excluding the ministers and teachers of the separated congregations from any share of the rewards and immunities which the emperor had so liberally bestowed on the orthodox clergy. But, as the sectaries might still exist under the cloud of royal disgrace, the conquest of the East was immediately followed by an edict which announced their total destruction.[1] After a preamble filled with passion and reproach, Constantine absolutely prohibits the assemblies of the Heretics, and confiscates their public property to the use either of the revenue or of the Catholic church. The sects against whom the Imperial severity was directed appear to have been the adherents of Paul of Samosata; the Montanists of Phrygia, who maintained

[1] Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

an enthusiastic succession of prophecy; the Novatians, who sternly rejected the temporal efficacy of repentance; the Marcionites and Valentinians, under whose leading banners the various Gnostics of Asia and Egypt had insensibly rallied; and perhaps the Manichæans, who had recently imported from Persia a more artful composition of Oriental and Christian theology.[2] The design of extirpating the name, or at least of restraining the progress, of these odious Heretics was prosecuted with vigour and effect. Some of the penal regulations were copied from the edicts of Diocletian; and this method of conversion was applauded by the same bishops who had felt the hand of oppression and had pleaded for the rights of humanity. Two immaterial circumstances may serve, however, to prove that the mind of Constantine was not entirely corrupted by the spirit of zeal and bigotry. Before he condemned the Manichæans and their kindred sects, he resolved to make an accurate enquiry into the nature of their religious principles. As if he distrusted the impartiality of his ecclesiastical counsellors, this delicate commission was entrusted to a civil magistrate, whose learning and moderation he justly esteemed, and of whose venal character he was probably ignorant.[3] The emperor was soon convinced that he had too hastily proscribed the orthodox faith and the exemplary morals of the Novatians, who had dissented from the church in some articles of discipline which were not perhaps

[2] After some examination of the various opinions of Tillemont, Beausobre, Lardner, &c. I am convinced that Manes did not propagate this sect, even in Persia, before the year 270. It is strange that a philosophic and foreign heresy should have penetrated so rapidly into the African provinces; yet I cannot easily reject the edict of Diocletian against the Manichæans, which may be found in Baronius. (Annal. Eccl. A.D. 287.) [The earliest mention of the Manichæans is in Eusebius, H. E. vii. 31. (For Diocletian's edict, see Cod. Gregorianus, ed. Haenel, 14, 4, where it is said that the doctrine came *in hunc mundum de Persica adversaria nobis gente.*) For the life and doctrines of Manes, we have now two important eastern sources: (*a*) His Life written by Muhammed ben Ishak, towards close of the 10th century and published with a translation by Flugel (in *Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften*) from which we learn that Manes wrote his works (some Persian, some Syriac) in a special "Manichæan" alphabet, derived from Persian and Syriac. (*b*) Albîrûnî's Chronology of Ancient Nations (transl. by Sachau, 1879), written early in 11th cent. at Khiva, which preserves central Asian traditions of Manes, and shows that some of his works existed there then. Of the works of Manes may be mentioned his *Gospel*, *The Treasure of Life*, *Book of Mysteries*. Baur wrote a treatise on Manichæism (*das Manich. Religionssystem*, 1831). Compare Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, vol. i., and the excellent article in the Dict. of Christian Biography]

[3] Constantius enim, cum limatius superstitionum quæreret sectas, Manichæorum et similium, &c. Ammian. xv. 15. Strategius, who from this commission obtained the surname of *Musonianus*, was a Christian of the Arian sect. He acted as one of the counts at the council of Sardica. Libanius praises his mildness and prudence. Vales. ad locum Ammian.

essential to salvation. By a particular edict, he exempted them from the general penalties of the law;[4] allowed them to build a church at Constantinople, respected the miracles of their saints, invited their bishop Acesius to the council of Nice, and gently ridiculed the narrow tenets of his sect by a familiar jest, which, from the mouth of a sovereign, must have been received with applause and gratitude.[5]

African controversy. A.D. 312

The complaints and mutual accusations which assailed the throne of Constantine, as soon as the death of Maxentius had submitted Africa to his victorious arms, were ill adapted to edify an imperfect proselyte. He learned with surprise that the provinces of that great country, from the confines of Cyrene to the columns of Hercules, were distracted with religious discord.[6] The source of the division was derived from a double [A.D. 311] election in the church of Carthage; the second, in rank and opulence, of the ecclesiastical thrones of the West. Cæcilian and Majorinus were the two rival primates of Africa; and the death of the latter soon made room for Donatus, who, by his superior abilities and apparent virtues, was the firmest support of his party. The advantage which Cæcilian might claim from the priority of his ordination was destroyed by the illegal, or at least indecent, haste with which it had been performed, without expecting the arrival of the bishops of Numidia. The authority [A.D. 312] of these bishops, who, to the number of seventy, condemned Cæcilian and consecrated Majorinus, is again weakened by the infamy of some of their personal characters; and by the female intrigues, sacrilegious bargains, and tumultuous proceedings

[4] Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. v. leg. 2. As the general law is not inserted in the Theodosian code, it is probable, that in the year 438 the sects which it had condemned were already extinct.

[5] Sozomen, l. i. c. 22. Socrates, l. i. c. 10. These historians have been suspected, but I think without reason, of an attachment to the Novatian doctrine. The emperor said to the bishop, "Acesius, take a ladder, and get up to Heaven by yourself". Most of the Christian sects have, by turns, borrowed the ladder of Acesius.

[6] The best materials for this part of ecclesiastical history may be found in the edition of Optatus Milevitanus, published (Paris, 1700 [*leg.* 1702]) by M. Dupin, who has enriched it with critical notes, geographical discussions, original records, and an accurate abridgment of the whole controversy. M. de Tillemont has bestowed on the Donatists the greatest part of a volume (tom. vi. part i.): and I am indebted to him for an ample collection of all the passages of his favourite St. Augustin which relate to those heretics. [The particular point on which the controversy at first turned is not made quite clear in Gibbon's text. It was whether Felix, who ordained Cæcilian, was a *traditor* or not, that is, one of those who in the recent persecution had handed over holy vessels and sacred writings to the officers of the government. Constantine, inquiring into the question in 313, decided in favour of Felix. It is to be observed that his supporters maintained not that consecration by a traditor was allowable but that Felix was not a traditor.]

which are imputed to this Numidian council.[7] The bishops of the contending factions maintained, with equal ardour and obstinacy, that their adversaries were degraded, or at least dishonoured, by the odious crime of delivering the Holy Scriptures to the officers of Diocletian. From their mutual reproaches, as well as from the story of this dark transaction, it may justly be inferred that the late persecution had embittered the zeal, without reforming the manners, of the African Christians. That divided church was incapable of affording an impartial judicature; the controversy was solemnly tried in five successive tribunals which were appointed by the emperor; and the whole proceeding, from the first appeal to the final sentence, lasted above three years. A severe inquisition, which was taken by the Prætorian vicar and the proconsul of Africa, the report of two episcopal visitors who had been sent to Carthage, the decrees of the councils of Rome and of Arles, and the supreme judgment of Constantine himself in his sacred consistory, were all favourable to the cause of Cæcilian; and he was unanimously acknowledged by the civil and ecclesiastical powers as the true and lawful primate of Africa. The honours and estates of the church were attributed to *his* suffragan bishops, and it was not without difficulty that Constantine was satisfied with inflicting the punishment of exile on the principal leaders of the Donatist faction. As their cause was examined with attention, perhaps it was determined with justice. Perhaps their complaint was not without foundation, that the credulity of the emperor had been abused by the insidious arts of his favourite Osius. The influence of falsehood and corruption might procure the condemnation of the innocent, or aggravate the sentence of the guilty. Such an act, however, of injustice, if it concluded an importunate dispute, might be numbered among the transient evils of a despotic administration, which are neither felt nor remembered by posterity.

[Council of Rome, A.D. 313, Oct. 2-4; of Arles, 314, Aug. 1; Constantine's judgment, 316]

But this incident, so inconsiderable that it scarcely deserves a place in history, was productive of a memorable schism, which afflicted the provinces of Africa above three hundred years, and

Schism of the Donatists A.D 315

7 Schisma agitur illo tempore confusæ mulieris iracundia peperit; ambitus nutrivit, a··aritia roboravit. Optatus, l. i. c. 19. The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman. Dicitur te necasse filios sororis tuæ duos. Purpurius respondit, Putas me terreri a te . . . occidi; et occido eos qui contra me faciunt. Acta Concil. Cirtensis, ad calc. Optat. p. 274. When Cæcilian was invited to an assembly of bishops, Purpurius said to his brethren, or rather to his accomplices, "Let him come hither to receive our imposition of hands; and we will break his head by way of penance". Optat. l. i. c. 19.

was extinguished only with Christianity itself. The inflexible zeal of freedom and fanaticism animated the Donatists to refuse obedience to the usurpers whose election they disputed and whose spiritual powers they denied. Excluded from the civil and religious communion of mankind, they boldly excommunicated the rest of mankind, who had embraced the impious party of Cæcilian, and of the Traditors, from whom he derived his pretended ordination. They asserted with confidence, and almost with exultation, that the Apostolical succession was interrupted; that *all* the bishops of Europe and Asia were infected by the contagion of guilt and schism; and that the prerogatives of the Catholic church were confined to the chosen portion of the African believers, who alone had preserved inviolate the integrity of their faith and discipline. This rigid theory was supported by the most uncharitable conduct. Whenever they acquired a proselyte, even from the distant provinces of the East, they carefully repeated the sacred rites of baptism[8] and ordination; as they rejected the validity of those which he had already received from the hands of heretics or schismatics. Bishops, virgins, and even spotless infants were subjected to the disgrace of a public penance, before they could be admitted to the communion of the Donatists. If they obtained possession of a church which had been used by their Catholic adversaries, they purified the unhallowed building with the same jealous care which a temple of idols might have required. They washed the pavement, scraped the walls, burnt the altar, which was commonly of wood, melted the consecrated plate, and cast the Holy Eucharist to the dogs, with every circumstance of ignominy which could provoke and perpetuate the animosity of religious factions.[9] Notwithstanding this irreconcileable aversion, the two parties, who were mixed and separated in all the cities of Africa, had the same language and manners, the same zeal and learning, the same faith and worship. Proscribed by the civil and ecclesiastical powers of the empire, the Donatists still maintained in some provinces, particularly in Numidia, their superior numbers; and four hundred bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of their primate. But the invincible spirit of the

[8] The councils of Arles, of Nice and of Trent confirmed the wise and moderate practice of the church of Rome. The Donatists, however, had the advantage of maintaining the sentiment of Cyprian, and of a considerable part of the primitive church. Vincentius Lirinensis (p. 332, ap. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 138) has explained why the Donatists are eternally burning with the Devil, while St. Cyprian reigns in heaven with Jesus Christ. [Cp. App. 19.]

[9] See the sixth book of Optatus Milevitanus, p. 91-100.

sect sometimes preyed on his own vitals; and the bosom of their schismatical church was torn by intestine divisions. A fourth part of the Donatist bishops followed the independent standard of the Maximianists. The narrow and solitary path which their first leaders had marked out continued to deviate from the great society of mankind. Even the imperceptible sect of the Rogatians could affirm, without a blush, that, when Christ should descend to judge the earth, he would find his true religion preserved only in a few nameless villages of the Cæsarean Mauritania.[10] [c. 393 A.D.]

The schism of the Donatists was confined to Africa: the more diffusive mischief of the Trinitarian controversy successively penetrated into every part of the Christian world. The former was an accidental quarrel, occasioned by the abuse of freedom; the latter was a high and mysterious argument, derived from the abuse of philosophy. From the age of Constantine to that of Clovis and Theodoric, the temporal interests both of the Romans and Barbarians were deeply involved in the theological disputes of Arianism. The historian may therefore be permitted respectfully to withdraw the veil of the sanctuary; and to deduce the progress of reason and faith, of error and passion, from the school of Plato to the decline and fall of the empire. The Trinitarian controversy.

The genius of Plato, informed by his own meditation, or by the traditional knowledge of the priests of Egypt,[11] had ventured to explore the mysterious nature of the Deity. When he had elevated his mind to the sublime contemplation of the first self-existent, necessary cause of the universe, the Athenian sage was incapable of conceiving *how* the simple unity of his essence could admit the infinite variety of distinct and successive ideas which compose the model of the intellectual world; *how* a Being purely incorporeal could execute that perfect model, and mould with a plastic hand the rude and independent chaos. The vain hope of extricating himself from these difficulties, which must ever oppress the feeble powers of the human mind, might The system of Plato. Before Christ 360

[10] Tillemont, Mém Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. part. i. p. 253. He laughs at their partial credulity. He revered Augustin, the great doctor of the system of predestination.

[11] Plato Ægyptum peragravit ut a sacerdotibus Barbaris numeros et *caelestia* acciperet. Cicero de Finibus, v. 25. The Egyptians might still preserve the traditional creed of the Patriarchs. Josephus has persuaded many of the Christian fathers that Plato derived a part of his knowledge from the Jews; but this vain opinion cannot be reconciled with the obscure state and unsocial manners of the Jewish people, whose scriptures were not accessible to Greek curiosity till more than one hundred years after the death of Plato. See Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 144. Le Clerc, Epistol. Critic. vii. p. 177-194.

induce Plato to consider the divine nature under the threefold modification: of the first cause, the reason or *Logos*, and the soul or spirit of the universe. His poetical imagination sometimes fixed and animated these metaphysical abstractions; the three *archical* or original principles were represented in the Platonic system of three Gods, united with each other by a mysterious and ineffable generation; and the Logos was particularly considered under the more accessible character of the Son of an Eternal Father, and the Creator and Governor of the world. Such appear to have been the secret doctrines which were cautiously whispered in the gardens of the academy; and which, according to the more recent disciples of Plato, could not be perfectly understood, till after an assiduous study of thirty years.[12]

The Logos

taught in the school of Alexandria. Before Christ 300

The arms of the Macedonians diffused over Asia and Egypt the language and learning of Greece; and the theological system of Plato was taught with less reserve, and perhaps with some improvements, in the celebrated school of Alexandria.[13] A numerous colony of Jews had been invited, by the favour of the Ptolemies, to settle in their new capital.[14] While the bulk of the nation practised the legal ceremonies, and pursued the lucrative occupations of commerce, a few Hebrews, of a more liberal spirit, devoted their lives to religious and philosophical contemplation.[15] They cultivated with diligence, and embraced with ardour, the theological system of the Athenian sage. But their national pride would have been mortified by a fair confession of their former poverty: and they boldly marked, as the sacred inheritance of their ancestors, the gold and jewels which they had so lately stolen from their Egyptian masters. One hundred years before the birth of Christ, a philosophical treatise, which manifestly betrays the style and sentiments of the school of Plato, was produced by the Alexandrian Jews, and

Before Christ 100

[12] The modern guides who lead me to the knowledge of the Platonic System are Cudworth (Intellectual System, p. 568-620), Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. c. iv. p. 53-86), Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. vii. p. 194-209), and Brucker (Hist. Philos. tom. i. p. 675-706). As the learning of these writers was equal, and their intention different, an inquisitive observer may derive instruction from their disputes, and certainty from their agreement.

[13] Brucker, Hist. Philosoph. tom. i. p. 1349-1357. The Alexandrian school is celebrated by Strabo (l. xvii.) and Ammianus (xxii. 6). [Cp. Vacherot, Ecole d'Alexandrie.]

[14] Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xii. c. 1. 3. Basnage, Hist. des Juifs. l. vii. c. 7.

[15] For the origin of the Jewish philosophy, see Eusebius, Præparat. Evangel. viii. 9, 10. According to Philo, the Therapeutæ studied philosophy; and Brucker has proved (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 787) that they gave the preference to that of Plato.

unanimously received as a genuine and valuable relic of the inspired Wisdom of Solomon.[16] A similar union of the Mosaic faith and the Grecian philosophy distinguishes the works of Philo, which were composed, for the most part, under the reign of Augustus.[17] The material soul of the universe[18] might offend the piety of the Hebrews: but they applied the character of the Logos to the Jehovah of Moses and the patriarchs; and the Son of God was introduced upon earth under a visible, and even human, appearance, to perform those familiar offices which seem incompatible with the nature and attributes of the Universal Cause.[19]

Revealed by the Apostle St. John. A.D. 97

The eloquence of Plato, the name of Solomon, the authority of the school of Alexandria, and the consent of the Jews and Greeks, were insufficient to establish the truth of a mysterious doctrine which might please, but could not satisfy, a rational mind. A prophet or apostle, inspired by the Deity, can alone exercise a lawful dominion over the faith of mankind; and the theology of Plato might have been for ever confounded with the philosophical visions of the Academy, the Porch, and the Lyceum, if the name and divine attributes of the *Logos* had not been confirmed by the celestial pen of the last and most sublime of the Evangelists.[20] The Christian Revelation, which was

[16] See Calmet, Dissertations sur la Bible, tom. ii. p. 277. The book of the Wisdom of Solomon was received by many of the fathers as the work of that monarch; and, although rejected by the Protestants for want of a Hebrew original, it has obtained, with the rest of the Vulgate, the sanction of the council of Trent.

[17] The Platonism of Philo, which was famous to a proverb, is proved beyond a doubt by Le Clerc (Epist. Crit. viii. p. 211-228). Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, l. iv. c. 5) has clearly ascertained that the theological works of Philo were composed before the death, and most probably before the birth, of Christ. In such a time of darkness, the knowledge of Philo is more astonishing than his errors. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. i. c. i. p. 12. [Philo may have been about 25 years old at birth of Christ. For chronol. of his works see Masseb.eau, Le classement des œuvres de Philon.]

[18] Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpori *miscet*. Besides this material soul, Cudworth has discovered (p. 562) in Amelius, Porphyry, Plotinus, and, as he thinks, in Plato himself, a superior, spiritual, *hupercosmian* soul of the universe. But this double soul is exploded by Brucker, Basnage, and Le Clerc, as an idle fancy of the latter Platonists.

[19] Petav. Dogmata Theologica, tom. ii. l. viii. c. 2, p. 791. Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. i. c. 1, p. 8, 13. This notion, till it was abused by the Arians, was freely adopted in the Christian theology. Tertullian (adv. Praxeam, c. 16) has a remarkable and dangerous passage. After contrasting, with indiscreet wit, the nature of God and the actions of Jehovah, he concludes: Scilicet ut hæc de filio Dei non credenda fuisse si non scripta essent; fortasse non credenda de Patre licet scripta.

[20] The Platonists admired the beginning of the Gospel of St. John, as containing an exact transcript of their own principles. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, x. 29. Amelius apud Cyril. advers. Julian. l. viii. p. 283. But in the third and fourth centuries, the Platonists of Alexandria might improve their Trinity by the secret study of the Christian theology.

consummated under the reign of Nerva, disclosed to the world the amazing secret that the Logos, who was with God from the beginning and was God, who had made all things and for whom all things had been made, was incarnate in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; who had been born of a virgin, and suffered death on the cross. Besides the general design of fixing on a perpetual basis the divine honours of Christ, the most ancient and respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have ascribed to the evangelic theologian a particular intention to confute two opposite heresies, which disturbed the peace of the primitive church.[21] I. The faith of the Ebionites,[22] perhaps of the Nazarenes,[23] was gross and imperfect. They revered Jesus as the greatest of the prophets, endowed with supernatural virtue and power. They ascribed to his person and to his future reign all the predictions of the Hebrew oracles which relate to the spiritual and everlasting kingdom of the promised Messiah.[24] Some of them might confess that he was born of a virgin: but they obstinately rejected the preceding existence and divine perfections of the *Logos*, or Son of God, which are so clearly defined in the Gospel of St. John. About fifty years afterwards, the Ebionites, whose errors are mentioned by Justin Martyr with less severity than they seem to deserve,[25] formed a very inconsiderable portion of the Christian name. II. The Gnostics, who were distinguished by the epithet of *Docetes*, deviated into the contrary extreme, and betrayed the human, while they asserted the divine, nature of Christ. Educated in the school

The Ebionites and Docetes

[21] See Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. i. p. 377. The Gospel according to St. John is supposed to have been published about seventy years after the death of Christ. [The controversy as to the date and the authorship is still hot. It betrays the influence of Alexandrian theology. The influence of Plato, which Gibbon dwells on, is more particularly that of the Jew Philo. His view of the Logos as the εἰκὼν θεοῦ, image of God, &c. may be considered the origin of the doctrine of the Word, developed by Christian theologians.]

[22] The sentiments of the Ebionites are fairly stated by Mosheim (p. 331) and Le Clerc (Hist. Eccles. p. 535). The Clementines published among the apostolical Fathers, are attributed by the critics to one of these sectaries. [See above, p. 10, note 22.]

[23] Staunch polemics, like Bull (Judicium Eccles. Cathol. c. 2), insist on the orthodoxy of the Nazarenes; which appears less pure and certain in the eyes of Mosheim (p. 330).

[24] The humble condition and sufferings of Jesus have always been a stumbling block to the Jews. "Deus . . . contrariis coloribus Messiam depinxerat; futurus erat Rex, Judex, Pastor," &c. See Limborch et Orobio Amica Collat. p. 8, 19, 53-76, 192-234. But this objection has obliged the believing Christians to lift up their eyes to a spiritual and everlasting kingdom.

[25] Justin. Martyr. Dialog. cum Tryphonte, p. 143, 144. See Le Clerc, Hist. Eccles. p. 615. Bull and his editor Grabe (Judicium Eccles. Cathol. c. 7, and Appendix) attempt to distort either the sentiments or the words of Justin; but their violent correction of the text is rejected even by the Benedictine editors.

of Plato, accustomed to the sublime idea of the *Logos*, they readily conceived that the brightest *Æon*, or *Emanation* of the Deity, might assume the outward shape and visible appearances of a mortal;[26] but they vainly pretended that the imperfections of matter are incompatible with the purity of a celestial substance. While the blood of Christ yet smoked on Mount Calvary, the Docetes invented the impious and extravagant hypothesis that, instead of issuing from the womb of the Virgin,[27] he had descended on the banks of the Jordan in the form of perfect manhood; that he had imposed on the senses of his enemies, and of his disciples; and that the ministers of Pilate had wasted their impotent rage on an airy phantom, who *seemed* to expire on the cross and, after three days, to rise from the dead.[28]

Mysterious nature of the Trinity

The divine sanction which the Apostle had bestowed on the fundamental principle of the theology of Plato encouraged the learned proselytes of the second and third centuries to admire and study the writings of the Athenian sage, who had thus marvellously anticipated one of the most surprising discoveries of the Christian revelation. The respectable name of Plato was used by the orthodox,[29] and abused by the heretics,[30] as the common support of truth and error: the authority of his

[26] The Arians reproached the orthodox party with borrowing their Trinity from the Valentinians and Marcionites. See Beausobre, Hist. du Manichéisme, l. iii. c. 7.

[27] Non dignum est ex utero credere Deum, et Deum Christum . . . non dignum est ut tanta majestas per sordes et squalores mulieris transire credatur. The Gnostics asserted the impurity of matter, and of marriage; and they were scandalized by the gross interpretations of the fathers, and even of Augustin himself. See Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 523. [That Christ was not born was the view of Marcion, not that of the early Docetæ, who accepted the incarnation by Mary, but regarded her as passive, and not contributing her substance,—like a pipe through which water flows.]

[28] Apostolis adhuc in sæculo superstitibus apud Judæam Christi sanguine recente et *phantasma* corpus Domini asserebatur. Cotelerius thinks (Patres Apostol. tom. ii. p. 24) that those who will not allow the *Docetes* to have arisen in the time of the Apostles may with equal reason deny that the sun shines at noon-day. These *Docetes*, who formed the most considerable party among the Gnostics, were so called because they granted only a *seeming* body to Christ.

[29] Some proofs of the respect which the Christians entertained for the person and doctrine of Plato may be found in De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. v. p. 135, &c. edit. 1757; and Basnage, Hist. des Juifs, tom. iv. p. 29, 79, &c.

[30] Doleo bona fide, Platonem omnium hæreticorum condimentarium factum. Tertullian. de Anima, c. 23. Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. iii. proleg. 2) shews that this was a general complaint. Beausobre (tom. i. l. iii. c. 9, 10) has deduced the Gnostic errors from Platonic principles; and, as in the school of Alexandria those principles were blended with the oriental philosophy (Brucker, tom. i. p. 1356), the sentiment of Beausobre may be reconciled with the opinion of Mosheim (General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 37).

skilful commentators, and the science of dialects, were employed to justify the remote consequences of his opinions, and to supply the discreet silence of the inspired writers. The same subtle and profound questions concerning the nature, the generation, the distinction, and the equality of the three divine persons of the mysterious *Triad*, or Trinity,[31] were agitated in the philosophical, and in the Christian, schools of Alexandria. An eager spirit of curiosity urged them to explore the secrets of the abyss; and the pride of the professors and of their disciples was satisfied with the science of words. But the most sagacious of the Christian theologians, the great Athanasius himself, has candidly confessed[32] that, whenever he forced his understanding to meditate on the divinity of the *Logos*, his toilsome and unavailing efforts recoiled on themselves; that the more he thought, the less he comprehended; and the more he wrote, the less capable was he of expressing his thoughts. In every step of the enquiry, we are compelled to feel and acknowledge the immeasurable disproportion between the size of the object and the capacity of the human mind. We may strive to abstract the notions of time, of space, and of matter, which so closely adhere to all the perceptions of our experimental knowledge. But, as soon as we presume to reason of infinite substance, of spiritual generation; as often as we deduce any positive conclusions from a negative idea, we are involved in darkness, perplexity, and inevitable contradiction. As these difficulties arise from the nature of the subject, they oppress, with the same insuperable weight, the philosophic and the theological disputant; but we may observe two essential and peculiar circumstances which discriminated the doctrines of the Catholic church from the opinions of the Platonic school.

Zeal of the Christians

I. A chosen society of philosophers, men of a liberal education and curious disposition, might silently meditate, and temperately discuss, in the gardens of Athens or the library of Alexandria, the abstruse questions of metaphysical science. The lofty speculations which neither convinced the understanding, nor agitated the passions, of the Platonists themselves were carelessly overlooked by the idle, the busy, and even the studious

[31] If Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, (see Dupin, Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, tom. i. p. 66) was the first who employed the word *Triad*, *Trinity*, that abstract term, which was already familiar to the schools of philosophy, must have been introduced into the theology of the Christians after the middle of the second century.

[32] Athanasius, tom. i. p. 808. His expressions have an uncommon energy; and, as he was writing to Monks, there could not be any occasion for him to *affect* a rational language.

part of mankind.[33] But, after the *Logos* had been revealed as the sacred object of the faith, the hope, and the religious worship of the Christians, the mysterious system was embraced by a numerous and increasing multitude in every province of the Roman world. Those persons who, from their age, or sex, or occupations, were the least qualified to judge, who were the least exercised in the habits of abstract reasoning, aspired to contemplate the economy of the Divine Nature; and it is the boast of Tertullian[34] that a Christian mechanic could readily answer such questions as had perplexed the wisest of the Grecian sages. Where the subject lies so far beyond our reach, the difference between the highest and the lowest of human understandings may indeed be calculated as infinitely small; yet the degree of weakness may perhaps be measured by the degree of obstinacy and dogmatic confidence. These speculations, instead of being treated as the amusement of a vacant hour, became the most serious business of the present, and the most useful preparation for a future, life. A theology, which it was incumbent to believe, which it was impious to doubt, and which it might be dangerous, and even fatal, to mistake, became the familiar topic of private meditation and popular discourse. The cold indifference of philosophy was inflamed by the fervent spirit of devotion; and even the metaphors of common language suggested the fallacious prejudices of sense and experience. The Christians, who abhorred the gross and impure generation of the Greek mythology,[35] were tempted to argue from the familiar analogy of the filial and paternal relations. The character of *Son* seemed to imply a perpetual subordination to the voluntary author of his existence;[36] but, as the act of generation, in the

[33] In a treatise which professed to explain the opinions of the ancient philosophers concerning the nature of the gods we might expect to discover the theological Trinity of Plato. But Cicero very honestly confessed that, though he had translated the Timæus, he could never understand that mysterious dialogue. See Hieronym. præf. ad l. xii. in Isaiam, tom. v. p. 154.

[34] Tertullian in Apolog. c. 46. See Bayle, Dictionnaire, au mot *Simonide*. His remarks on the presumption of Tertullian are profound and interesting.

[35] Lactantius, iv. 8. Yet the *Probole*, or *Prolatio*, which the most orthodox divines borrowed without scruple from the Valentinians, and illustrated by the comparisons of a fountain and stream, the sun and its rays, &c. either meant nothing or favoured a material idea of the divine generation. See Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 7, p. 548.

[36] Many of the primitive writers have frankly confessed that the Son owed his being to the *will* of the Father. See Clarke's Scripture Trinity, p. 280-287. On the other hand, Athanasius and his followers seem unwilling to grant what they are afraid to deny. The schoolmen extricate themselves from this difficulty by the distinction of a *preceding* and a *concomitant* will. Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. vi. c. 8, p. 587-603.

most spiritual and abstracted sense, must be supposed to transmit the properties of a common nature,[37] they durst not presume to circumscribe the powers of the duration of the Son of an eternal and omnipotent Father. Fourscore years after the death of Christ, the Christians of Bithynia declared before the tribunal of Pliny that they invoked him as a god; and his divine honours have been perpetuated in every age and country by the various sects who assume the name of his disciples.[38] Their tender reverence for the memory of Christ and their horror for the profane worship of any created being would have engaged them to assert the equal and absolute divinity of the *Logos*, if their rapid ascent towards the throne of heaven had not been imperceptibly checked by the apprehension of violating the unity and sole supremacy of the great Father of Christ and of the Universe. The suspense and fluctuation produced in the minds of the Christians by these opposite tendencies may be observed in the writings of the theologians who flourished after the end of the apostolic age and before the origin of the Arian controversy. Their suffrage is claimed, with equal confidence, by the orthodox and by the heretical parties; and the most inquisitive critics have fairly allowed that, if they had the good fortune of possessing the Catholic verity, they have delivered their conceptions in loose, inaccurate, and sometimes contradictory language.[39]

Authority of the church

II. The devotion of individuals was the first circumstance which distinguished the Christians from the Platonists; the second was the authority of the church. The disciples of philosophy asserted the rights of intellectual freedom, and their respect for the sentiments of their teachers was a liberal and voluntary tribute, which they offered to superior reason. But the Christians formed a numerous and disciplined society; and the jurisdiction of their laws and magistrates was strictly exercised over the minds of the faithful. The loose wanderings of the imagination were gradually confined by creeds and confes-

[37] See Petav. Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. ii. c. 10, p. 159.

[38] Carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem. Plin. Epist. x. 97. The sense of *Deus*, Θεός, *Elohim*, in the ancient languages, is critically examined by Le Clerc (Ars Critica, p. 150-156), and the propriety of worshipping a very excellent creature is ably defended by the Socinian Emlyn (Tracts, p. 29-36, 51-145).

[39] See Daillé de Usu Patrum, and Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. x. p. 409. To arraign the faith of the Anti-Nicene fathers was the object, or at least has been the effect, of the stupendous work of Petavius on the Trinity (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii.); nor has the deep impression been erased by the learned defence of Bishop Bull.

sions;[40] the freedom of private judgment submitted to the public wisdom of synods; the authority of a theologian was determined by his ecclesiastical rank; and the episcopal successors of the apostles inflicted the censures of the church on those who deviated from the orthodox belief. But in an age of religious controversy every act of oppression adds new force to the elastic vigour of the mind; and the zeal or obstinacy of a spiritual rebel was sometimes stimulated by secret motives of ambition or avarice. A metaphysical argument became the cause or pretence of political contests; the subtleties of the Platonic school were used as the badges of popular factions, and the distance which separated their respective tenets was enlarged or magnified by the acrimony of dispute. As long as the dark heresies of Praxeas and Sabellius laboured to confound the *Father* with the *Son*,[41] the orthodox party might be excused if they adhered more strictly and more earnestly to the *distinction*, than to the *equality*, of the divine persons. But, as soon as the heat of controversy had subsided, and the progress of the Sabellians was no longer an object of terror to the churches of Rome, of Africa, or of Egypt; the tide of theological opinion began to flow with a gentle but steady motion toward the contrary extreme; and the most orthodox doctors allowed themselves the use of the terms and definitions which had been censured in the mouth of the sectaries.[42] After the edict of toleration had restored peace and leisure to the Christians, the Trinitarian controversy was revived in the ancient seat of Platonism, the learned, the opulent,

Factions

[40] The most ancient creeds were drawn up with the greatest latitude. See Bull (Judicium Eccles. Cathol.), who tries to prevent Episcopius from deriving any advantage from this observation. [Before the Nicene Council, no creed had been drawn up as a test of orthodoxy. There were various formulæ of Christian belief (πίστεις) in various places for the use of catechumens. This has been emphasized by Mr. Gwatkin.]

[41] The heresies of Praxeas, Sabellius, &c. are accurately explained by Mosheim (p. 425, 680-714). Praxeas, who came to Rome about the end of the second century, deceived, for some time, the simplicity of the bishop, and was confuted by the pen of the angry Tertullian. [These are the *Monarchian* heresies; see below, p. 347.]

[42] Socrates acknowledges that the heresy of Arius proceeded from his strong desire to embrace an opinion the most diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius. [For the comprehension of the theological import of the Arian controversy, consult Gwatkin's *Arianism*, p. 9. "Arianism laid down a merely external, Sabellianism a merely economic, Trinity." As neither satisfied, it "became necessary to fall back on Scripture to revise the idea of a divine personality, and acknowledge not three individuals but three eternal aspects (ὑποστάσεις) of the divine, facing inward on each other as well as outward on the world". The earlier conception of God, so far as distinguished from the world, was one of abstract simplicity; the expulsion of this inadequate conception from the doctrine of the Trinity is the chief result won out of the Arian controversy.]

the tumultuous city of Alexandria; and the flame of religious discord was rapidly communicated from the schools to the clergy, the people, the province, and the East. The abstruse question of the eternity of the *Logos* was agitated in ecclesiastical conferences and popular sermons; and the heterodox opinions of Arius[43] were soon made public by his own zeal and by that of his adversaries. His most implacable adversaries have acknowledged the learning and blameless life of that eminent presbyter, who, in a former election, had declared, and perhaps generously declined, his pretensions to the episcopal throne.[44] His competitor Alexander assumed the office of his judge. The important cause was argued before him; and, if at first he seemed to hesitate, he at length pronounced his final sentence, as an absolute rule of faith.[45] The undaunted presbyter, who presumed to resist the authority of his angry bishop, was separated from the communion of the church. But the pride of Arius was supported by the applause of a numerous party. He reckoned among his immediate followers two bishops of Egypt, seven presbyters, twelve deacons, and (what may appear almost incredible) seven hundred virgins. A large majority of the bishops of Asia appeared to support or favour his cause; and their measures were conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea, the most learned of the Christian prelates, and by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who had acquired the reputation of a statesman without forfeiting that of a saint. Synods in Palestine and Bithynia were opposed to the synods of Egypt. The attention of the prince and people was attracted by this theological dispute; and the decision, at the end of six years,[46] was referred to the supreme authority of the general council of Nice.

Arius

A.D. 318-325

Three systems of the Trinity

When the mysteries of the Christian faith were danger-

[43] The figure and manners of Arius, the character and numbers of his first proselytes, are painted in very lively colours by Epiphanius (tom. i. Hæres. lxix. 3, p. 729); and we cannot but regret that he should soon forget the historian, to assume the task of controversy.

[44] See Philostorgius (l. i. c. 3) and Godefroy's ample Commentary. Yet the credibility of Philostorgius is lessened in the eyes of the orthodox by his Arianism; and in those of rational critics by his passion, his prejudice, and his ignorance.

[45] Sozomen (l. i. c. 15) represents Alexander as indifferent, and even ignorant, in the beginning of the controversy; while Socrates (l. i. c. 5) ascribes the origin of the dispute to the vain curiosity of his theological speculations. Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 178) has censured, with his usual freedom, the conduct of Alexander: πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐξάπτεται . . . ὁμοίως φρονεῖν ἐκέλευσε.

[46] The flames of Arianism might burn for some time in secret; but there is reason to believe that they burst out with violence as early as the year 319. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 774-780.

usly exposed to public debate, it might be observed that the human understanding was capable of forming three distinct, though imperfect, systems concerning the nature of the Divine Trinity; and it was pronounced that none of these systems, in a pure and absolute sense, were exempt from heresy and error.[47] I. According to the first hypothesis, which was maintained by Arius and his disciples, the *Logos* was a dependent and spontaneous production, created from nothing by the will of the Father. The Son, by whom all things were made,[48] had been begotten before all worlds, and the longest of the astronomical periods could be compared only as a fleeting moment to the extent of his duration; yet this duration was not infinite,[49] and there *had* been a time which preceded the ineffable generation of the *Logos*. On this only-begotten Son the Almighty Father had transfused his ample spirit, and impressed the effulgence of his glory. Visible image of invisible perfection, he saw, at an immeasurable distance beneath his feet, the thrones of the brightest archangels: yet he shone only with a reflected light, and, like the sons of the Roman emperors who were invested with the titles of Cæsar or Augustus,[50] he governed the universe in obedience to the will of his Father and Monarch. II. In the second hypothesis, the *Logos* possessed all the inherent, incommunicable perfections which religion and philosophy appropriate to the Supreme God. Three distinct and infinite minds or substances, three co-equal and co-eternal beings, com-

Arianism

Tritheism

47 Quid credidit? Certe, *aut* tria nomina audiens tres Deos esse credidit, et idololatra effectus est; *aut* in tribus vocabulis trinominem credens Deum, in Sabelli hæresim incurrit; *aut* edoctus ab Arianis unum esse verum Deum, Patrem, filium et spiritum sanctum credidit creaturas. Aut extra hæc quid credere potuerit nescio. Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos. Je-om reserves for the last the orthodox system, which is more complicated and difficult.

48 As the doctrine of absolute creation from nothing was gradually introduced among the Christians (Beausobre, tom. ii. p. 165-215), the dignity of the *workman* very naturally rose with that of the *work*. [A statement by Arius of his own doctrine is preserved by Theodoret, H. E. i. 5. "By will and counsel the Son existed (ὑπέστη) before time (πρὸ χρόνων καὶ πρὸ αἰώνων), full, God, only begotten, unchangeable; and before his begetting or creation or defining or founding, he was not; for he was not unbegotten." Another formulation of his doctrine, after his own work *Thalia*, is given by Athanasius in the Orat. contra Arianos, i. 5. Gibbon brings out the point that the Son was created though he began to be before time.]

49 The metaphysics of Dr. Clarke (Scripture Trinity, p. 276-280) could digest an eternal generation from an infinite cause.

50 This profane and absurd simile is employed by several of the primitive fathers, particularly by Athenagoras, in his Apology to the emperor Marcus and his son; and it is alleged, without censure, by Bull himself. See Defens. Fid. Nicen. s. iii. c. 5, No. 4.

posed the Divine Essence;[51] and it would have implied con tradiction that any of them should not have existed or tha they should ever cease to exist.[52] The advocates of a system which seemed to establish three independent Deities attempted to preserve the unity of the First Cause, so conspicuous in the design and order of the world, by the perpetual concord of their administration and the essential agreement of their will. A faint resemblance of this unity of action may be discovered in the societies of men, and even of animals. The causes which disturb their harmony proceed only from the imperfection and inequality of their faculties: but the omnipotence which is guided by infinite wisdom and goodness cannot fail of choosing the same means for the accomplishment of the same ends. III. Sabellianism Three Beings, who, by the self-derived necessity of their existence, possess all the divine attributes in the most perfect degree; who are eternal in duration, infinite in space, and intimately present to each other and to the whole universe: irresistibly force themselves on the astonished mind as one and the same Being,[53] who, in the economy of grace, as well as in that of nature, may manifest himself under different forms, and be considered under different aspects. By this hypothesis, a real substantial Trinity is refined into a trinity of names and abstract modifications, that subsist only in the mind which conceives them. The *Logos* is no longer a person, but an attribute; and it is only in a figurative sense that the epithet of Son can be applied to the eternal reason which was with God from the beginning, and by *which*, not by *whom*, all things were made. The incarnation of the *Logos* is reduced to a mere inspiration of the Divine Wisdom, which filled the soul, and directed all the actions, of the man Jesus. Thus, after revolving round the theological circle, we are surprised to find that the Sabellian ends where the Ebionite had begun; and that

[51] See Cudworth's Intellectual System, p. 559, 579. This dangerous hypothesis was countenanced by the two Gregories of Nyssa and Nazianzen [Nazianzus], by Cyril of Alexandria, John of Damascus, &c. See Cudworth, p. 603. Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. xviii. p. 97-105. [Observe that Tritheism as the technical name of a heresy does not appear till the sixth century, when it designated a form of Monophysitism.]

[52] Augustin seems to envy the freedom of the philosophers. Liberis verbis loquuntur philosophi. . . . Nos autem non dicimus duo vel tria principia, duos vel tres Deos. De Civitat. Dei, x. 23.

[53] Boetius, who was deeply versed in the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, explains the unity of the Trinity by the *in-difference* of the three persons. See the judicious remarks of Le Clerc, Bibliothèque Choisie, tom. xvi. p. 225, &c.

he incomprehensible mystery which excites our adoration ludes our enquiry.[54]

If the bishops of the council of Nice[55] had been permitted to Council of Nice. A.D. 325
ollow the unbiassed dictates of their conscience, Arius and his ssociates could scarcely have flattered themselves with the opes of obtaining a majority of votes, in favour of an hypothesis o directly adverse to the two most popular opinions of the atholic world. The Arians soon perceived the danger of their ituation, and prudently assumed those modest virtues which, n the fury of civil and religious dissensions, are seldom practised, r even praised, except by the weaker party. They recommended the exercise of Christian charity and moderation; urged he incomprehensible nature of the controversy; disclaimed the se of any terms or definitions which could not be found in he scriptures; and offered, by very liberal concessions, to atisfy their adversaries without renouncing the integrity of heir own principles. The victorious faction received all their roposals with haughty suspicion; and anxiously sought for ome irreconcileable mark of distinction, the rejection of which ight involve the Arians in the guilt and consequences of eresy. A letter was publicly read, and ignominiously torn, n which their patron, Eusebius of Nicomedia, ingenuously confessed that the admission of the Homoousion, or Consubstantial, The Homoousion
word already familiar to the Platonists, was incompatible with the principles of their theological system. The fortunate pportunity was eagerly embraced by the bishops who governed he resolutions of the synod; and, according to the lively ex-

[54] If the Sabellians were startled at this conclusion, they were driven down another precipice into the confession, that the Father was born of a virgin, that *he* had suffered on the cross; and thus deserved the odious epithet of *Patri-passians*, with which they were branded by their adversaries [in the West]. See the invectives of Tertullian against Praxeas, and the temperate reflections of Mosheim (p. 423, 681); and Beausobre, tom. i. l. iii. c. 6, p. 533. [Sabellianism was a particular form of the more general heresy of Monarchianism (initiated by Praxeas towards close of second century), which, with the purpose of avoiding the danger of the Gnostic doctrines which seemed by their "emanations" to weaken the absolute unity of God's government, insisted on the *Monarchy* of the Father and fell into the other extreme of endangering Christ's divinity. See Harnack's article on Monarchianism in Herzog and Plitt's *Realencyclopädie*.—Sabellius lived c. 200 A.D. He used the phrase *persons* (πρόσωπα) of the Trinity in the literal sense of masks.]

[55] The transactions of the council of Nice are related by the ancients not only in a partial, but in a very imperfect, manner. Such a picture as Fra Paolo would have drawn can never be recovered; but such rude sketches as have been traced by the pencil of bigotry, and that of reason, may be seen in Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 669-759) and in Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Universelle, tom. x. p. 435-454).

pression of Ambrose,[56] they used the sword, which heresy itself had drawn from the scabbard, to cut off the head of the hateful monster. The consubstantiality of the Father and the Son was established by the council of Nice, and has been unanimously received as a fundamental article of the Christian faith, by the consent of the Greek, the Latin, the Oriental, and the Protestant churches. But, if the same word had not served to stigmatize the heretics and to unite the Catholics, it would have been inadequate to the purpose of the majority by whom it was introduced into the orthodox creed. This majority was divided into two parties, distinguished by a contrary tendency to the sentiments of the Tritheists and of the Sabellians. But, as those opposite extremes seemed to overthrow the foundations either of natural or revealed religion, they mutually agreed to qualify the rigour of their principles and to disavow the just, but invidious, consequences which might be urged by their antagonists. The interest of the common cause inclined them to join their numbers and to conceal their differences; their animosity was softened by the healing councils of toleration, and their disputes were suspended by the use of the mysterious *Homoousion*, which either party was free to interpret according to their peculiar tenets. The Sabellian sense, which, about fifty years before, had obliged the council of Antioch[57a] to prohibit this celebrated term, had endeared it to those theologians who entertained a secret but partial affection for a nominal Trinity. But the more fashionable saints of the Arian times, the intrepid Athanasius, the learned Gregory Nazianzen, and the other pillars of the church, who supported with ability and success the Nicene doctrine, appeared to consider the expression of *substance* as if it had been synonymous with that of *nature;* and they ventured to illustrate their meaning by affirming that three men, as they belong to the same common species, are consubstantial or homoousian to each other.[58] This pure and distinct equality was tempered, on the one hand, by the

[56] We are indebted to Ambrose (de Fide, l. iii. cap. ult.) for the knowledge of this curious anecdote. Hoc verbum posuerunt Patres, quod viderunt adversariis esse formidini; ut tanquam evaginato ab ipsis gladio, ipsum nefandæ caput hæreseos amputarent.

[57] See Bull, Defens. Fid. Nicen. sect. ii. c. i. p. 25-36. He thinks it his duty to reconcile two orthodox synods.

[58] According to Aristotle, the stars were homoousian to each other. "That *Homoousius* means of one substance in *kind*, hath been shown by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, Le Clerc, &c., and to prove it would be *actum agere*." This is the just remark of Dr. Jortin (vol. ii. p. 212), who examines the Arian controversy with learning, candour, and ingenuity.

eternal connexion, and spiritual penetration, which indissolubly unites the divine persons;[59] and on the other, by the preeminence of the Father, which was acknowledged as far as it is compatible with the independence of the Son.[60] Within these limits the almost invisible and tremulous ball of orthodoxy was allowed securely to vibrate. On either side, beyond this consecrated ground, the heretics and the demons lurked in ambush to surprise and devour the unhappy wanderer. But, as the degrees of theological hatred depend on the spirit of the war rather than on the importance of the controversy, the heretics who degraded, were treated with more severity than those who annihilated, the person of the Son. The life of Athanasius was consumed in irreconcileable opposition to the impious *madness* of the Arians;[61] but he defended above twenty years the Sabellianism of Marcellus of Ancyra; and, when at last he was compelled to withdraw himself from his communion, he continued to mention, with an ambiguous smile, the venial errors of his respectable friend.[62]

Arian creeds

The authority of a general council, to which the Arians themselves had been compelled to submit, inscribed on the banners of the orthodox party the mysterious characters of the word *Homoousion*, which essentially contributed, notwithstanding some obscure disputes, some nocturnal combats, to maintain and perpetuate the uniformity of faith, or at least of language. The Consubstantialists, who by their success have deserved and obtained the title of Catholics, gloried in the simplicity and steadiness of their own creed, and insulted the repeated variations of their adversaries, who were destitute of any certain rule of faith. The sincerity or the cunning of the Arian chiefs, the fears of the laws or of the people, their reverence for Christ, their hatred of Athanasius, all the causes, human and divine, that influence and disturb the counsels of a theological faction,

[59] See Petavius (Dogm. Theolog. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 16, p. 453, &c.), Cudworth (p. 559), Bull (sect. iv. p. 285-290, edit. Grab.). The περιχώρησις or *circumincessio* is perhaps the deepest and darkest corner of the whole theological abyss.

[60] The third section of Bull's Defence of the Nicene Faith, which some of his antagonists have called nonsense, and others heresy, is consecrated to the supremacy of the Father.

[61] The ordinary appellation with which Athanasius and his followers chose to compliment the Arians was that of *Ariomaniles*.

[62] Epiphanius, tom. i. Hæres. lxxii. 4, p. 837. See the adventures of Marcellus in Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 880-899). His work, in *one* book, of the Unity of God, was answered in the *three* books, which are still extant, of Eusebius. After a long and careful examination, Petavius (tom. ii. l. i. c. 14, p. 78) has reluctantly pronounced the condemnation of Marcellus.

introduced among the sectaries a spirit of discord and inconstancy, which, in the course of a few years, erected eighteen different models of religion,[63] and avenged the violated dignity of the church. The zealous Hilary,[64] who, from the peculiar hardships of his situation, was inclined to extenuate rather than to aggravate the errors of the Oriental clergy, declares that in the wide extent of the ten provinces of Asia, to which he had been banished, there could be found very few prelates who had preserved the knowledge of the true God.[65] The oppression which he had felt, the disorders of which he was the spectator and the victim, appeased, during a short interval, the angry passions of his soul; and in the following passage, of which I shall transcribe a few lines, the bishop of Poitiers unwarily deviates into the style of a Christian philosopher. "It is a thing," says Hilary, "equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homoousion is rejected and received, and explained away by successive synods. The partial or total resemblance of the Father and of the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done, we defend those who repent, we anathematize those whom we defended. We condemn either the doctrine of others in ourselves or our own in that of others; and, reciprocally tearing one another to pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin." [66]

It will not be expected, it would not perhaps be endured, that I should swell this theological digression by a minute

[63] Athanasius in his epistle concerning the synods of Seleucia and Rimini (tom. i. p. 886-905) has given an ample list of Arian creeds, which has been enlarged and improved by the labours of the indefatigable Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 477).

[64] Erasmus, with admirable sense and freedom, has delineated the just character of Hilary. To revise his text, to compose the annals of his life, and to justify his sentiments and conduct, is the province of the Benedictine editors.

[65] Absque episcopo Eleusio et paucis cum eo, ex majore parte Asianæ decem provinciæ, inter quas consisto, vere Deum nesciunt. Atque utinam penitus nescirent! cum procliviore enim venia ignorarent quam obtrectarent. Hilar. de Synodis, sive de Fide Orientalium, c. 63, p. 1186, edit. Benedict. In the celebrated parallel between atheism and superstition, the bishop of Poitiers would have been surprised in the philosophic society of Bayle and Plutarch.

[66] Hilarius ad Constantium, l. ii. c. 4, 5, p. 1227, 1228. This remarkable passage deserved the attention of Mr. Locke, who has transcribed it (vol. iii. p. 470) into the model of his new common-place book.

amination of the eighteen creeds, the authors of which, for e most part, disclaimed the odious name of their parent Arius. is amusing enough to delineate the form, and to trace the getation, of a singular plant; but the tedious detail of leaves ithout flowers, and of branches without fruit, would soon haust the patience, and disappoint the curiosity, of the borious student. One question which gradually arose from e Arian controversy may however be noticed, as it served to oduce and discriminate the three sects who were united only their common aversion to the Homoousion of the Nicene nod. 1. If they were asked, whether the Son was *like* unto e Father, the question was resolutely answered in the gative by the heretics who adhered to the principles of Arius, [Anomœans] indeed to those of philosophy; which seem to establish an finite difference between the Creator and the most excellent his creatures. This obvious consequence was maintained by etius,[67] on whom the zeal of his adversaries bestowed the rname of the Atheist. His restless and aspiring spirit urged im to try almost every profession of human life. He was ccessively a slave, or at least a husbandman, a travelling nker, a goldsmith, a physician, a schoolmaster, a theologian, nd at last the apostle of a new church, which was propagated y the abilities of his disciple Eunomius.[68] Armed with texts f scripture, and with captious syllogisms from the logic of ristotle, the subtle Aetius had acquired the fame of an in- incible disputant, whom it was impossible either to silence or convince. Such talents engaged the friendship of the Arian ishops, till they were forced to renounce and even to persecute dangerous ally, who by the accuracy of his reasoning had rejudiced their cause in the popular opinion and offended the iety of their most devoted followers. 2. The omnipotence of he Creator suggested a specious and respectful solution of the [Homœans] *keness* of the Father and the Son; and faith might humbly eceive what reason could not presume to deny, that the

[67] In Philostorgius (l. iii. c. 15) the character and adventures of Aetius appear ngular enough, though they are carefully softened by the hand of a friend. The ditor Godefroy (p. 153), who was more attached to his principles than to his author, as collected the odious circumstances which his various adversaries have preserved r invented. [Aetius was honest and downright. He and his party were disgusted y the endless shufflings of the semi-Arians.]

[68] According to the judgment of a man who respected both those sectaries, Aetius had been endowed with a stronger understanding, and Eunomius had cquired more art and learning (Philostorgius, l. viii. c. 18). The confession and pology of Eunomius (Fabricius, Biblioth. Græc. tom. viii. p. 258-305) is one of he few heretical pieces which have escaped.

Supreme God might communicate his infinite perfections, and create a being similar only to himself.[69] These Arians were powerfully supported by the weight and abilities of their leaders, who had succeeded to the management of the Eusebian interest, and who occupied the principal thrones of the East. They detested, perhaps with some affectation, the impiety of Aetius; they professed to believe, either without reserve, or according to the scriptures, that the Son was different from all *other* creatures and similar only to the Father. But they denied that he was either of the same or of a similar substance; sometimes boldly justifying their dissent, and sometimes objecting to the use of the word substance, which seems to imply an adequate, or at least a distinct, notion of the nature of the Deity. 3. The sect which asserted the doctrine of a similar substance was the most numerous, at least in the provinces of Asia; and, when the leaders of both parties were assembled in the council of Seleucia,[70] *their* opinion would have prevailed by a majority of one hundred and five to forty-three bishops. The Greek word which was chosen to express this mysterious resemblance bears so close an affinity to the orthodox symbol, that the profane of every age have derided the furious contests which the difference of a single diphthong excited between the Homoousians and the Homoiousians. As it frequently happens that the sounds and characters which approach the nearest to each other accidentally represent the most opposite ideas, the observation would be itself ridiculous, if it were possible to mark any real and sensible distinction between the doctrine of the Semi-Arians, as they were improperly styled, and that of the Catholics themselves. The bishop of Poitiers, who in his Phrygian exile very wisely aimed at a coalition of parties, endeavours to prove that, by a pious and faithful interpretation,[71] the *Homoiousion* may be reduced to a consubstantial

[69] Yet, according to the opinion of Estius and Bull (p. 297), there is one power, that of creation, which God *cannot* communicate to a creature. Estius, who so accurately defined the limits of Omnipotence, was a Dutchman by birth, and by trade a scholastic divine. Dupin, Bibliot. Eccles. tom. xvii. p. 45. [The chief leader of the Homœans was Acacius.]

[70] Sabinus (ap. Socrat. l. ii. c. 39) had copied the acts; Athanasius and Hilary have explained the divisions of this Arian synod; the other circumstances which are relative to it are carefully collected by Baronius and Tillemont.

[71] Fideli et piâ intelligentiâ . . . De Synod. c. 77, p. 1193. In his short apologetical notes (first published by the Benedictines from a Ms. of Chartres) he observes, that he used this cautious expression, qui intelligerem et impiam, p. 1206. See p. 1146. Philostorgius, who saw those objects through a different medium, is inclined to forget the difference of the important diphthong. See in particular viii. 17, and Godefroy, p. 352.

ense. Yet he confesses that the word has a dark and suspicious spect; and, as if darkness were congenial to theological disutes, the Semi-Arians, who advanced to the doors of the hurch, assailed them with the most unrelenting fury.

Faith of the Western or Latin Church

The provinces of Egypt and Asia, which cultivated the language and manners of the Greeks, had deeply imbibed the enom of the Arian controversy. The familiar study of the latonic system, a vain and argumentative disposition, a copious nd flexible idiom, supplied the clergy and people of the East ith an inexhaustible flow of words and distinctions; and, in he midst of their fierce contentions, they easily forgot the oubt which is recommended by philosophy, and the submission hich is enjoined by religion. The inhabitants of the West ere of a less inquisitive spirit; their passions were not so rcibly moved by invisible objects; their minds were less freuently exercised by the habits of dispute, and such was the happy gnorance of the Gallican church that Hilary himself, above hirty years after the first general council, was still a stranger o the Nicene creed.[72] The Latins had received the rays of ivine knowledge through the dark and doubtful medium of a ranslation. The poverty and stubbornness of their native ongue was not always capable of affording just equivalents for he Greek terms, for the technical words of the Platonic philoophy,[73] which had been consecrated by the gospel or by the hurch to express the mysteries of the Christian faith; and a erbal defect might introduce into the Latin theology a long rain of error or perplexity.[74] But, as the western provincials ad the good fortune of deriving their religion from an orthodox ource, they preserved with steadiness the doctrine which they ad accepted with docility; and, when the Arian pestilence approached their frontiers, they were supplied with the seasonable reservative of the Homoousion, by the paternal care of the oman pontiff. Their sentiments and their temper were disayed in the memorable synod of Rimini, which surpassed in

Council of Rimini. A.D. 360

[72] Testor Deum cæli atque terræ me cum neutrum audissem, semper tamen trumque sensisse. . . . Regeneratus pridem et in episcopatu aliquantisper manens dem Nicenam nunquam nisi exsulaturus audivi. Hilar. de Synodis, c. xci. p. 205. The Benedictines are persuaded that he governed the diocese of Poitiers everal years before his exile.

[73] Seneca (Epist. lviii.) complains that even the τὸ ὄν of the Platonists (the *ens* f the boide schoolmen) could not be expressed by a Latin noun.

[74] The preference which the fourth council of the Lateran at length gave to a *umerical* rather than a *generical* unity (see Petav. tom. ii. l. iv. c. 13, p. 424) was voured by the Latin language; τριάς seems to excite the idea of substance, *initas* of qualities.

numbers the council of Nice, since it was composed of above four hundred bishops of Italy, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Britain and Illyricum. From the first debates it appeared that only fourscore prelates adhered to the party, though *they* affected to anathematize the name and memory of Arius. But this inferiority was compensated by the advantages of skill, of experience, and of discipline; and the minority was conducted by Valens and Ursacius, two bishops of Illyricum, who had spent their lives in the intrigues of courts and councils, and who had been trained under the Eusebian banner in the religious wars of the East. By their arguments and negotiations, they embarrassed, they confounded, they at last deceived, the honest simplicity of the Latin bishops; who suffered the palladium of the faith to be extorted from their hands by fraud and importunity rather than by open violence. The council of Rimini was not allowed to separate, till the members had imprudently subscribed a captious creed, in which some expressions, susceptible of an heretical sense, were inserted in the room of the Homoousion. It was on this occasion that, according to Jerom, the world was surprised to find itself Arian.[75] But the bishops of the Latin provinces had no sooner reached their respective dioceses than they discovered their mistake and repented of their weakness. The ignominious capitulation was rejected with disdain and abhorrence; and the Homoousian standard, which had been shaken but not overthrown, was more firmly replanted in all the churches of the West.[76]

Conduct of the emperors in the Arian controversy

Such was the rise and progress and such were the natural revolutions of those theological disputes which disturbed the peace of Christianity under the reigns of Constantine and of his sons. But, as those princes presumed to extend their despotism over the faith, as well as over the lives and fortunes, of their subjects; the weight of their suffrage sometimes inclined the ecclesiastical balance: and the prerogatives of the King of Heaven were settled, or changed, or modified, in the cabinet of an earthly monarch.

Indifference of Constantine. A.D. 324

The unhappy spirit of discord which pervaded the provinces of the East interrupted the triumph of Constantine; but the

[75] Ingemuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est. Hieronym. adv. Lucifer. tom. i. p. 145.

[76] The story of the council of Rimini is very elegantly told by Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 419-430, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1647 [c. 41]), and by Jerom in his dialogue against the Luciferians. The design of the latter is to apologize for the conduct of the Latin bishops, who were deceived, and who repented. [The council of Rimini was a victory for Acacius and his Homœans.]

mperor continued for some time to view, with cool and careless ndifference, the object of the dispute. As he was yet ignorant f the difficulty of appeasing the quarrels of theologians, he ddressed to the contending parties, to Alexander and to Arius, moderating epistle;[77] which may be ascribed, with far greater eason, to the untutored sense of a soldier and statesman than o the dictates of any of his episcopal counsellors. He attributes he origin of the whole controversy to a trifling and subtle ques- ion, concerning an incomprehensible point of the law, which as foolishly asked by the bishop, and imprudently resolved by he presbyter. He laments that the Christian people, who had he same God, the same religion, and the same worship, should e divided by such inconsiderable distinctions; and he seriously ecommends to the clergy of Alexandria the example of the reek philosophers; who could maintain their arguments with- ut losing their temper, and assert their freedom without vio- ting their friendship. The indifference and contempt of the overeign would have been, perhaps, the most effectual method f silencing the dispute, if the popular current had been less apid and impetuous, and if Constantine himself, in the midst f faction and fanaticism, could have preserved the calm posses- ion of his own mind. But his ecclesiastical ministers soon con- rived to seduce the impartiality of the magistrate, and to waken the zeal of the proselyte. He was provoked by the His zeal. A.D. 325
nsults which had been offered to his statues; he was alarmed y the real, as well as the imaginary, magnitude of the spread- ng mischief; and he extinguished the hope of peace and toler- tion, from the moment that he assembled three hundred ishops within the walls of the same palace. The presence of he monarch swelled the importance of the debate; his attention ultiplied the arguments; and he exposed his person with a atient intrepidity, which animated the valour of the combat- nts. Notwithstanding the applause which has been bestowed n the eloquence and sagacity of Constantine,[78] a Roman eneral, whose religion might be still a subject of doubt, and hose mind had not been enlightened either by study or by in- piration, was indifferently qualified to discuss, in the Greek nguage, a metaphysical question, or an article of faith. But

[77] Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 64-72. The principles of toleration and eligious indifference, contained in this epistle, have given great offence to aronius, Tillemont, &c. who suppose that the emperor had some evil counsellor, ther Satan or Eusebius, at his elbow. See Jortin's Remarks, tom. ii. p. 183.

[78] Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 13.

the credit of his favourite Osius, who appears to have preside in the council of Nice, might dispose the emperor in favour c the orthodox party; and a well-timed insinuation that the sam Eusebius of Nicomedia, who now protected the heretic, ha lately assisted the tyrant,[79] might exasperate him against thei adversaries. The Nicene creed was ratified by Constantine and his firm declaration that those who resisted the divin judgment of the synod must prepare themselves for an im mediate exile annihilated the murmurs of a feeble opposition which from seventeen, was almost instantly reduced to two, pro testing bishops. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded a reluctant an ambiguous consent to the Homoousion;[80] and the wavering con

He persecutes the Arians

duct of the Nicomedian Eusebius served only to delay, abou three months, his disgrace and exile.[81] The impious Arius wa banished into one of the remote provinces of Illyricum; hi person and disciples were branded by law with the odious nam of Porphyrians; his writings were condemned to the flames; and a capital punishment was denounced against those in whos possession they should be found. The emperor had now im bibed the spirit of controversy, and the angry sarcastic style o his edicts was designed to inspire his subjects with the hatrec which he had conceived against the enemies of Christ.[82]

and the orthodox party. A.D. 328-337

But, as if the conduct of the emperor had been guided b passion instead of principle, three years from the council o Nice were scarcely elapsed before he discovered some symptom of mercy, and even of indulgence, towards the proscribed sect which was secretly protected by his favourite sister. The

[79] Theodoret has preserved (l. i. c. 20) an epistle from Constantine to the peopl of Nicomedia, in which the monarch declares himself the public accuser of on of his subjects; he styles Eusebius, ὁ τῆς τυραννικῆς ὠμότητος συμμύστης, and complains of his hostile behaviour during the civil war.

[80] See in Socrates (l. i. c. 8), or rather in Theodoret (l. i. c. 12), an origina letter of Eusebius of Cæsarea, in which he attempts to justify his subscribing th Homoousion. The character of Eusebius has always been a problem; but thos who have read the second critical epistle of Le Clerc (Ars Crit. tom. iii. p. 30-69 must entertain a very unfavourable opinion of the orthodoxy and sincerity of the bishop of Cæsarea. [It is interesting to remark that Eusebius proposed that the creed (πίστις) in use at Cæsarea, which he had learnt as a catechumen, should be adopted by the council; that the council accepted the suggestion; but so altered the wording, especially by adding the attribute Homoousios, that a Cæsarean could not have recognized it and Eusebius hesitated to subscribe.]

[81] Athanasius, tom. i. p. 727; Philostorgius, l. i. c. 10, and Godefroy, Commentary, p. 41.

[82] Socrates, l. i. c. 9. In his circular letters, which were addressed to the several cities, Constantine employed against the heretics the arms of ridicule and *comic* raillery. [As to the result of the council: "the triumph was rather a surprise than a solid victory," Gwatkin (Arian Controversy, p. 39).]

kiles were recalled; and Eusebius, who gradually resumed his influence over the mind of Constantine, was restored to the episcopal throne from which he had been ignominiously degraded. Arius himself was treated by the whole court with the respect which would have been due to an innocent and oppressed man. His faith was approved by the synod of Jerusalem; and the emperor seemed impatient to repair his injustice, by issuing an absolute command that he should be solemnly admitted to the communion in the cathedral of Constantinople. On the same day which had been fixed for the triumph of Arius, he expired; and the strange and horrid circumstances of his death might excite a suspicion that the orthodox saints had contributed more efficaciously than by their prayers to deliver the church from the most formidable of her enemies.[83] The three principal leaders of the Catholics, Athanasius of Alexandria, Eustathius of Antioch, and Paul of Constantinople, were deposed on various accusations, by the sentence of numerous councils; and were afterwards banished into distant provinces by the first of the Christian emperors, who, in the last moments of his life, received the rites of baptism from the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. The ecclesiastical government of Constantine cannot be justified from the reproach of levity and weakness. But the credulous monarch, unskilled in the stratagems of theological warfare, might be deceived by the modest and specious professions of the heretics, whose sentiments he never perfectly understood; and, while he protected Arius, and persecuted Athanasius, he still considered the council of Nice as the bulwark of the Christian faith and the peculiar glory of his own reign.[84]

Constantius favours the Arians. A.D 337-361

The sons of Constantine must have been admitted from their childhood into the rank of catechumens, but they imitated, in the delay of their baptism, the example of their father. Like him, they presumed to pronounce their judgment on mysteries

[83] We derive the original story from Athanasius (tom. i. p. 670), who expresses some reluctance to stigmatize the memory of the dead. He might exaggerate; but the perpetual commerce of Alexandria and Constantinople would have rendered it dangerous to invent. Those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius (his bowels suddenly burst out in a privy) must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*.

[84] The change in the sentiments, or at least in the conduct, of Constantine, may be traced in Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 23, l. iv. c. 41), Socrates (l. i. c. 23-39), Sozomen (l. ii. c. 16-34), Theodoret (l. i. c. 14-34), and Philostorgius (l. ii. c. 1-17). But the first of these writers was too near the scene of action and the others were too remote from it. It is singular enough that the important task of continuing the history of the church should have been left for two laymen and a heretic. [Mr. Gwatkin rejects the view that Constantine turned Arian.]

into which they had never been regularly initiated : [85] and the fate of the Trinitarian controversy depended, in a great measure, on the sentiments of Constantius ; who inherited the provinces of the East, and acquired the possession of the whole empire. The Arian presbyter or bishop, who had secreted for his use the testament of the deceased emperor, improved the fortunate occasion which had introduced him to the familiarity of a prince whose public counsels were always swayed by his domestic favourites. The eunuchs and slaves diffused the spiritual poison through the palace, and the dangerous infection was communicated, by the female attendants to the guards, and by the empress to her unsuspicious husband.[86] The partiality which Constantius always expressed towards the Eusebian faction [87] was insensibly fortified by the dexterous management of their leaders ; and his victory over the tyrant Magnentius increased his inclination, as well as ability, to employ the arms of power in the cause of Arianism. While the two armies were engaged in the plains of Mursa, and the fate of the two rivals depended on the chance of war, the son of Constantine passed the anxious moments in a church of the martyrs, under the walls of the city. His spiritual comforter, Valens, the Arian bishop of the diocese, employed the most artful precautions to obtain such early intelligence as might secure either his favour or his escape. A secret chain of swift and trusty messengers informed him of the vicissitudes of the battle ; and, while the courtiers stood trembling round their affrighted master, Valens assured him that the Gallic legions gave way ; and insinuated with some presence of mind that the glorious event had been revealed to him by an angel. The grateful emperor ascribed his success to the merits and intercession of the bishop of Mursa, whose faith had deserved the public and miraculous approbation of Heaven.[88] The Arians, who considered as their own the

[85] Quia etiam tum catechumenus sacramentum fidei merito videretur potuisse nescire. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 410 [c. 39].

[86] Socrates, l. ii. c. 2. Sozomen, l. iii. c. 18. Athanas. tom. i. p. 813, 834. He observes that the eunuchs are the natural enemies of the *Son*. Compare Dr. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 3, with a certain genealogy in *Candide* (ch. ix.), which ends with one of the first companions of Christopher Columbus.

[87] [It is important to note that the anti-Nicenes, headed by Eusebius and opposed to Athanasius, did not dare to avow open Arianism till A.D. 357. The strength of the opposition, as Mr. Gwatkin has well brought out, rested on a "formidable mass of conservative discontent," including Jews, pagans, &c. and especially strong in the province of Asia.]

[88] Sulpicius Severus, in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 405, 406 [c. 38].

victory of Constantius, preferred his glory to that of his father.[89] Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, immediately composed the description of a celestial cross encircled with a splendid rainbow; which during the festival of Pentecost, about the third hour of the day, had appeared over the Mount of Olives, to the edification of the devout pilgrims and the people of the holy city.[90] The size of the meteor was gradually magnified; and the Arian historian has ventured to affirm that it was conspicuous to the two armies in the plains of Pannonia; and that the tyrant, who was purposely represented as an idolater, fled before the auspicious sign of orthodox Christianity.[91]

Arian councils

The sentiments of a judicious stranger, who has impartially considered the progress of civil or ecclesiastical discord, are always entitled to our notice: and a short passage of Ammianus, who served in the armies, and studied the character, of Constantius, is perhaps of more value than many pages of theological invectives. "The Christian religion, which, in itself," says that moderate historian, "is plain and simple, *he* confounded by the dotage of superstition. Instead of reconciling the parties by the weight of his authority, he cherished and propagated, by verbal disputes, the differences which his vain curiosity had excited. The highways were covered with troops of bishops, galloping from every side to the assemblies, which they call synods; and, while they laboured to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of the posts was almost ruined by their hasty and repeated journies." [92] Our more intimate knowledge of the ecclesiastical

[89] Cyril (apud Baron. A.D. 353, No. 26) expressly observes that in the reign of Constantine the cross had been found in the bowels of the earth; but that it had appeared, in the reign of Constantius, in the midst of the heavens. This opposition evidently proves that Cyril was ignorant of the stupendous miracle to which the conversion of Constantine is attributed; and this ignorance is the more surprising, since it was no more than twelve years after his death that Cyril was consecrated bishop of Jerusalem by the immediate successor of Eusebius of Cæsarea. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 715.

[90] It is not easy to determine how far the ingenuity of Cyril might be assisted by some natural appearances of a solar halo.

[91] Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 26. He is followed by the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, by Cedrenus, and by Nicephorus (see Gothofred. Dissert. p. 188). They could not refuse a miracle, even from the hand of an enemy.

[92] So curious a passage well deserves to be transcribed. Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem, anili superstitione confundens; in quâ scrutandâ perplexius quam componendâ gravius excitaret discidia plurima; quæ progressa fusius aluit concertatione verborum, ut catervis antistitum jumentis publicis ultro citroque discurrentibus, per synodos (quas appellant) dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conantur ([so best Ms.], Valesius reads *conatur*) rei vehicularie concideret nervos. Ammianus, xxi. 16.

transactions of the reign of Constantius would furnish an ample commentary on this remarkable passage; which justifies the rational apprehensions of Athanasius that the restless activity of the clergy, who wandered round the empire in search of the true faith, would excite the contempt and laughter of the unbelieving world.[93] As soon as the emperor was relieved from the terrors of the civil war, he devoted the leisure of his winter quarters at Arles, Milan, Sirmium, and Constantinople, to the amusement or toils of controversy: the sword of the magistrate, and even of the tyrant, was unsheathed, to enforce the reasons of the theologian; and, as he opposed the orthodox faith of Nice, it is readily confessed that his incapacity and ignorance were equal to his presumption.[94] The eunuchs, the women, and the bishops, who governed the vain and feeble mind of the emperor, had inspired him with an insuperable dislike to the Homoousion; but his timid conscience was alarmed by the impiety of Aetius. The guilt of that atheist was aggravated by the suspicious favour of the unfortunate Gallus; and even the deaths of the Imperial ministers who had been massacred at Antioch were imputed to the suggestions of that dangerous sophist. The mind of Constantius, which could neither be moderated by reason nor fixed by faith, was blindly impelled to either side of the dark and empty abyss by his horror of the opposite extreme: he alternately embraced and condemned the sentiments, he successively banished and recalled the leaders, of the Arian and Semi-Arian factions.[95] During the season of public business or festivity, he employed whole days, and even nights, in selecting the words, and weighing the syllables, which composed his fluctuating creeds. The subject of his meditation still pursued and occupied his slumbers; the incoherent dreams of the emperor were received as celestial visions; and he accepted with complacency the lofty title of bishop of bishops, from those ecclesiastics who forgot the interest of their order for the gratification of their passions. The design

[93] Athanas. tom. i. p. 870.

[94] Socrates, l. ii. c. 35-47. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 12-30. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 18-32. Philostorg. l. iv. c. 4-12; l. v. c. 1-4; l. vi. c. 1-5.

[95] Sozomen, l. iv. c. 23, Athanas. tom. i. p. 831. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 947) has collected several instances of the haughty fanaticism of Constantius from the detached treatises of Lucifer of Cagliari. The very titles of these treatises inspire zeal and terror; "Moriendum pro Dei Filio," "De Regibus Apostaticis," "De non conveniendo cum Hæretico," "De non parcendo in Deum delinquentibus". [Exiled 355-361. His strictness led him to renounce communion with Athanasius as tainted by Arianism. His works are printed in Migne, Patrol. xiii., and there is a new ed. by Hartel, 1886.]

establishing an uniformity of doctrine, which had engaged
m to convene so many synods in Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and
sia, was repeatedly baffled by his own levity, by the divisions
the Arians, and by the resistance of the Catholics; and he
solved, as the last and decisive effort, imperiously to dictate
e decrees of a general council. The destructive earthquake
Nicomedia, the difficulty of finding a convenient place, and
rhaps some secret motives of policy, produced an alteration in
e summons. The bishops of the East were directed to meet
Seleucia, in Isauria; while those of the West held their de-
berations at Rimini, on the coast of the Hadriatic; and,
stead of two or three deputies from each province, the whole
iscopal body was ordered to march. The eastern council,
ter consuming four days in fierce and unavailing debate,
parated without any definitive conclusion. The council of the
est was protracted till the seventh month. Taurus, the
rætorian præfect, was instructed not to dismiss the prelates till
ey should all be united in the same opinion; and his efforts
ere supported by a power of banishing fifteen of the most re-
actory, and a promise of the consulship if he achieved so
ifficult an adventure. His prayers and threats, the authority A.D. 360
f the sovereign, the sophistry of Valens and Ursacius, the
istress of cold and hunger, and the tedious melancholy of a
opeless exile, at length extorted the reluctant consent of the
ishops of Rimini. The deputies of the East and of the West
ttended the emperor in the palace of Constantinople, and he
njoyed the satisfaction of imposing on the world a profession
f faith which established the *likeness*, without expressing the
nsubstantiality, of the Son of God.[96] But the triumph of
rianism had been preceded by the removal of the orthodox
lergy, whom it was impossible either to intimidate or to cor-
upt; and the reign of Constantius was disgraced by the unjust
nd ineffectual persecution of the great Athanasius.

Character and adventures of Athanasius

We have seldom an opportunity of observing, either in active
r speculative life, what effect may be produced, or what
bstacles may be surmounted, by the force of a single mind
hen it is inflexibly applied to the pursuit of a single object.
he immortal name of Athanasius[97] will never be separated

[96] Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 418-430 [c. 41-44]. The Greek historians
ere very ignorant of the affairs of the West.

[97] We may regret that Gregory Nazianzen composed a panegyric instead of a
fe of Athanasius; but we should enjoy and improve the advantage of drawing
ur most authentic materials from the rich fund of his own epistles and apologies
om. i. p. 670-951). I shall not imitate the example of Socrates (l. ii. c. 1), who

from the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, to whose defence h consecrated every moment and every faculty of his being. Edu cated in the family of Alexander, he had vigorously opposed th early progress of the Arian heresy: he exercised the importan functions of secretary under the aged prelate; and the fathers e the Nicene council beheld, with surprise and respect, the risin virtues of the young deacon. In a time of public danger, th dull claims of age and of rank are sometimes superseded; an within five months after his return from Nice,[98] the deaco

A.D. 326-373 Athanasius was seated on the archiepiscopal throne of Egypt He filled that eminent station above forty-six years, and hi long administration was spent in a perpetual combat against th powers of Arianism. Five times was Athanasius expelled fron his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive and almost every province of the Roman empire was successively witness to his merit, and his sufferings in the cause of the Ho moousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure an business, as the duty, and as the glory, of his life. Amidst th storms of persecution, the archbishop of Alexandria was patien of labour, jealous of fame, careless of safety; and, although hi mind was tainted by the contagion of fanaticism, Athanasiu displayed a superiority of character and abilities, which woul have qualified him, far better than the degenerate sons o Constantine, for the government of a great monarchy. His learning was much less profound and extensive than that o Eusebius of Cæsarea, and his rude eloquence could not be compared with the polished oratory of Gregory or Basil; but whenever the primate of Egypt was called upon to justify his sentiments or his conduct, his unpremeditated style, either o speaking or writing, was clear, forcible, and persuasive. He has always been revered in the orthodox school, as one of the most accurate masters of the Christian theology; and he was supposed to possess two profane sciences, less adapted to the episcopal character, the knowledge of jurisprudence [99] and that of divination.[100] Some fortunate conjectures of future events, which

published the first edition of his history without giving himself the trouble to consult the writings of Athanasius. Yet even Socrates, the more curious Sozomen, and the learned Theodoret, connect the life of Athanasius with the series of ecclesiastical history. The diligence of Tillemont (tom. viii.) and of the Benedictine editors has collected every fact, and examined every difficulty.

[98] [The Coptic date is 17th April, 326.]

[99] Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 396 [c. 36, ad init.]) calls him a lawyer, a jurisconsult. This character cannot now be discovered either in the life or writings of Athanasius [*uirum sanctum* is the true reading, not *iuris consultum*].

[100] Dicebatur enim fatidicarum sortium fidem, quæve augurales portenderent

npartial reasoners might ascribe to the experience and judgment f Athanasius, were attributed by his friends to heavenly in- piration, and imputed by his enemies to infernal magic.

But, as Athanasius was continually engaged with the pre- idices and passions of every order of men, from the monk to he emperor, the knowledge of human nature was his first and ost important science. He preserved a distinct and unbroken iew of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed o improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past efore they are perceived by a common eye. The archbishop f Alexandria was capable of distinguishing how far he might oldly command, and where he must dexterously insinuate; ow long he might contend with power, and when he must ithdraw from persecution; and, while he directed the thunders f the church against heresy and rebellion, he could assume, in he bosom of his own party, the flexible and indulgent temper f a prudent leader. The election of Athanasius has not scaped the reproach of irregularity and precipitation;[101] but he propriety of his behaviour conciliated the affections both of he clergy and of the people. The Alexandrians were im- atient to rise in arms for the defence of an eloquent and beral pastor. In his distress he always derived support, or at ast consolation, from the faithful attachment of his parochial ergy; and the hundred bishops of Egypt adhered, with un- haken zeal, to the cause of Athanasius. In the modest quipage which pride and policy would affect, he frequently erformed the episcopal visitation of his provinces, from the outh of the Nile to the confines of Æthiopia; familiarly con- ersing with the meanest of the populace, and humbly saluting he saints and hermits of the desert.[102] Nor was it only in cclesiastical assemblies, among men whose education and anners were similar to his own, that Athanasius displayed the scendancy of his genius. He appeared with easy and respect-

ites scientissime callens aliquoties prædixisse futura. Ammianus, xv. 7. A pro- hecy, or rather a joke, is related by Sozomen (l. iv. c. 10), which evidently proves f the crows speak Latin) that Athanasius understood the language of the crows.

101 The irregular ordination of Athanasius was slightly mentioned in the councils hich were held against him. See Philostorg. l. ii. c. 11, and Godefroy, p. 71: ut it can scarcely be supposed that the assembly of the bishops of Egypt would olemnly attest a *public* falsehood. Athanas. tom. i. p. 726.

102 See the History of the Fathers of the Desert, published by Rosweide; and illemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. in the lives of Anthony, Pachomius, &c. thanasius himself, who did not disdain to compose the life of his friend Anthony, s carefully observed how often the holy monk deplored and prophesied the ischiefs of the Arian heresy. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 492, 498, &c.

ful firmness in the courts of princes; and in the various turns of his prosperous and adverse fortune, he never lost the confidence of his friends or the esteem of his enemies.

Persecution against Athanasius. A.D. 330

In his youth, the primate of Egypt resisted the great Constantine, who had repeatedly signified his will that Arius should be restored to the Catholic communion.[103] The emperor respected, and might forgive, this inflexible resolution; and the faction who considered Athanasius as their most formidable enemy were constrained to dissemble their hatred, and silently to prepare an indirect and distant assault. They scattered rumours and suspicions, represented the archbishop as a proud and oppressive tyrant, and boldly accused him of violating the treaty which had been ratified in the Nicene council with the schismatic followers of Meletius.[104] Athanasius had openly disapproved that ignominious peace, and the emperor was disposed to believe that he had abused his ecclesiastical and civil power, to persecute those odious sectaries; that he had sacrilegiously broken a chalice in one of their churches of Mareotis: that he had whipped or imprisoned six of their bishops; and that Arsenius, a seventh bishop of the same party, had been murdered, or at least mutilated, by the cruel hand of the primate.[105] These charges, which affected his honour [A.D. 332] and his life, were referred by Constantine to his brother Dalmatius the censor, who resided at Antioch; the synods of Cæsarea and Tyre were successively convened; and the bishops of the East were instructed to judge the cause of Athanasius.

[103] At first Constantine threatened in *speaking*, but requested in *writing*—καὶ ἀγράφως μὲν ἠπείλει, γράφων δὲ, ἠξίου. [The first menaces were from Eusebius's Afterwards Constantine wrote threateningly, Socrates, i. 27.] His letters gradually assumed a menacing tone; but, while he required that the entrance of the church should be open to *all*, he avoided the odious name of Arius. Athanasius, like a skilful politician, has accurately marked these distinctions (tom. i. p. 788), which allowed him some scope for excuse and delay.

[104] The Meletians in Egypt, like the Donatists in Africa, were produced by an episcopal quarrel which arose from the persecution. I have not leisure to pursue the obscure controversy, which seems to have been misrepresented by the partiality of Athanasius, and the ignorance of Epiphanius. See Mosheim's General History of the Church, vol. i. p. 201.

[105] The treatment of the six bishops is specified by Sozomen (l. ii. c. 25); but Athanasius himself, so copious on the subject of Arsenius and the chalice, leaves this grave accusation without a reply. [Gibbon omits to mention that Athanasius was summoned to Nicomedia (331-2) to answer a first set of charges, and was victorious (cp. Athanasius, Festal letter iv.). The charge as to Arsenius was made subsequently and was to be heard by Dalmatius, but Constantine, hearing from Egypt that Arsenius was alive, stopped the proceedings, and then Athanasius was reconciled with his opponent Arcaph, the leader of the Meletians. Thus there is an interval between this episode and the council of Cæsarea summoned in 334 at the instigation of Eusebius.]

fore they proceeded to consecrate the new church of the esurrection at Jerusalem. The primate might be conscious his innocence; but he was sensible that the same implacable irit which had dictated the accusation would direct the proeding, and pronounce the sentence. He prudently declined e tribunal of his enemies, despised the summons of the [A.D. 334] nod of Cæsarea; and, after a long and artful delay, submitted the peremptory commands of the emperor, who threatened punish his criminal disobedience if he refused to appear in e council of Tyre.[106] Before Athanasius, at the head of fifty A.D. 335 gyptian prelates, sailed from Alexandria, he had wisely secured e alliance of the Meletians; and Arsenius himself, his imagin- y victim and his secret friend, was privately concealed in his ain. The synod of Tyre was conducted by Eusebius of Cæsarea ith more passion, and with less art, than his learning and exerience might promise; his numerous faction repeated the ames of homicide and tyrant; and their clamours were enouraged by the seeming patience of Athanasius; who expected e decisive moment to produce Arsenius alive and unhurt in e midst of the assembly. The nature of the other charges id not admit of such clear and satisfactory replies; yet the rchbishop was able to prove that, in the village where he was ccused of breaking a consecrated chalice, neither church nor ltar nor chalice could really exist. The Arians, who had ecretly determined the guilt and condemnation of their enemy, ttempted, however, to disguise their injustice by the imitation f judicial forms: the synod appointed an episcopal commission f six delegates to collect evidence on the spot; and this easure, which was vigorously opposed by the Egyptian bishops, pened new scenes of violence and perjury.[107] After the return f the deputies from Alexandria, the majority of the council ronounced the final sentence of degradation and exile against he primate of Egypt. The decree, expressed in the fiercest anguage of malice and revenge, was communicated to the emeror and the Catholic church; and the bishops immediately

[106] Athanas. tom. i. p. 788. Socrates, l. i. c. 28. Sozomen, l. ii. c. 25. The mperor, in his epistle of Convocation (Euseb. in Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 42), eems to prejudge some members of the clergy, and it was more than probable hat the synod would apply those reproaches to Athanasius.

[107] See, in particular, the second Apology of Athanasius (tom. i. p. 763-808), nd his Epistles to the Monks (p. 808-866). They are justified by original and uthentic documents; but they would inspire more confidence if he appeared less nnocent, and his enemies less absurd. [It is clear from the authorities that the commission was a mere farce.]

resumed a mild and devout aspect, such as became their ho pilgrimage to the sepulchre of Christ.[108]

His first exile, A.D. 38

But the injustice of these ecclesiastical judges had not bee countenanced by the submission, or even by the presence, Athanasius. He resolved to make a bold and dangerous ex periment, whether the throne was inaccessible to the voice truth; and, before the final sentence could be pronounced Tyre, the intrepid primate threw himself into a bark which w ready to hoist sail for the Imperial city. The request of formal audience might have been opposed or eluded; bu Athanasius concealed his arrival, watched the moment Constantine's return from an adjacent villa, and boldly en countered his angry sovereign as he passed on horseback throug the principal street of Constantinople. So strange an apparitio excited his surprise and indignation; and the guards wer ordered to remove the importunate suitor; but his resentmen was subdued by involuntary respect; and the haughty spiri of the emperor was awed by the courage and eloquence of bishop, who implored his justice and awakened his conscience.[10] Constantine listened to the complaints of Athanasius wit impartial and even gracious attention; the members of th synod of Tyre were summoned to justify their proceedings and the arts of the Eusebian faction would have been confounded if they had not aggravated the guilt of the primate by the dexterous supposition of an unpardonable offence; a crimina design to intercept and detain the corn-fleet of Alexandria which supplied the subsistence of the new capital.[110] The emperor was satisfied that the peace of Egypt would be secure by the absence of a popular leader; but he refused to fill the vacancy of the archiepiscopal throne; and the sentence which after a long hesitation, he pronounced was that of a jealous ostracism, rather than of an ignominious exile. In the remote province of Gaul, but in the hospitable court of Treves, Athana-

[108] Eusebius in Vit. Constantin. l. iv. c. 41-47.

[109] Athanas. tom. i. p. 804. In a church dedicated to St. Athanasius this situation would afford a better subject for a picture than most of the stories of miracles and martyrdoms.

[110] Athanas. tom. i. p. 729. Eunapius has related (in Vit. Sophist. p. 36, 37, edit. Commelin) a strange example of the cruelty and credulity of Constantine on a similar occasion. The eloquent Sopater, a Syrian philosopher, enjoyed his friendship, and provoked the resentment of Ablavius, his Prætorian præfect. The corn-fleet was detained for want of a south wind; the people of Constantinople were discontented; and Sopater was beheaded, on a charge that he had *bound* the winds by the power of magic. Suidas adds that Constantine wished to prove, by this execution, that he had absolutely renounced the superstition of the Gentiles.

is passed about twenty-eight months. The death of the emperor changed the face of public affairs; and, amidst the general indulgence of a young reign, the primate was restored to his country by an honourable edict of the younger Constantine, who expressed a deep sense of the innocence and merit of his venerable guest.[111] and restoration, A.D. 338

The death of that prince exposed Athanasius to a second persecution; and the feeble Constantius, the sovereign of the East, soon became the secret accomplice of the Eusebians. Ninety bishops of that sect or faction assembled at Antioch, under the specious pretence of dedicating the cathedral. They composed an ambiguous creed, which is faintly tinged with the colours of Semi-Arianism, and twenty-five canons, which still regulate the discipline of the orthodox Greeks.[112] It was decided, with some appearance of equity, that a bishop, deprived by a synod, should not resume his episcopal functions, till he had been absolved by the judgment of an equal synod; the law was immediately applied to the case of Athanasius, the council of Antioch pronounced, or rather confirmed, his degradation: a stranger, named Gregory, was seated on his throne; and Philagrius,[113] the præfect of Egypt, was instructed to support the new primate with the civil and military powers of the province. Oppressed by the conspiracy of the Asiatic prelates Athanasius withdrew from Alexandria, and passed three[114] His second exile, A.D. 341 [Easter A.D. 340]

[111] In his return he saw Constantius twice, at Viminiacum and at Cæsarea in Cappadocia (Athanas. tom. i. p. 676). Tillemont supposes that Constantine introduced him to the meeting of the three royal brothers in Pannonia (Mémoires Eccles. tom. viii. p. 69).

[112] See Beveridge, Pandect. tom. i. p. 429-452, and tom. ii. Annotation. p. 182. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 310-324. St. Hilary of Poitiers has mentioned his synod of Antioch with too much favour and respect. He reckons ninety-seven bishops.

[113] This magistrate, so odious to Athanasius, is praised by Gregory Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 390, 391.

Sæpe premente Deo fert Deus alter opem.

For the credit of human nature, I am always pleased to discover some good qualities in those men whom party has represented as tyrants and monsters.

[114] The chronological difficulties which perplex the residence of Athanasius at Rome are strenuously agitated by Valesius (Observat. ad Calcem, tom. ii. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 1-5) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 674, &c.). I have followed the simple hypothesis of Valesius, who allows only one journey, after the intrusion of Gregory. [Rightly; but the date must be Easter 340. This follows from the true date of the Council of Sardica, fixed by Hefele (*Conciliengeschichte*, p. 503-516) to A.D. 343, autumn—344, spring (Mansi had put it in 344); which date itself depends on the true date of the return of Athanasius to Alexandria. This had been formerly placed in 349; but the fragment of an anonymous biographer of Athanasius (c. 385 A.D.), published by Maffei in *Osservazioni litterarie*, i. p. 60, in 1738, gave the right date, 346 (21st Oct.), and occasioned an admirable discussion of the chronology by Mansi, Concilia, 3, p. 87 *sqq*. This was confirmed

years as an exile and a suppliant on the holy threshold of th Vatican.[115] By the assiduous study of the Latin language, H soon qualified himself to negotiate with the western clergy; h decent flattery swayed and directed the haughty Julius: th Roman Pontiff was persuaded to consider his appeal as th peculiar interest of the Apostolic see; and his innocence w unanimously declared in a council of fifty bishops of Italy.[116] A the end of three years, the primate was summoned to the cou of Milan by the emperor Constans, who, in the indulgence unlawful pleasures, still professed a lively regard for the orthodo faith. The cause of truth and justice was promoted by th influence of gold,[117] and the ministers of Constans advised the sovereign to require the convocation of an ecclesiastical a sembly, which might act as the representatives of the Catholi

A.D. 346 [343] church. Ninety-four bishops of the West, seventy-six bishop of the East, encountered each other at Sardica on the verge c the two empires, but in the dominions of the protector c Athanasius. Their debates soon degenerated into hostile alte cations; the Asiatics, apprehensive for their personal safety retired to Philippopolis in Thrace; and the rival synods recip rocally hurled their spiritual thunders against their enemie whom they piously condemned as the enemies of the true God Their decrees were published and ratified in their respectiv provinces; and Athanasius, who in the West was revered as saint, was exposed as a criminal to the abhorrence of the East.[11

by one of the Festal Letters (Ep. 19), written after the return of Athanasius, in 347 and agrees with the Historia Acephala, and Jerome's Chronicle (Migne, 8, 682 Hefele's correction of Mansi as to the Council takes account of the date 343, give in the Index to the Festal Letters.]

[115] I cannot forbear transcribing a judicious observation of Wetstein (Prolegomer N. T. p. 19): Si tamen Historiam Ecclesiasticam velimus consulere patebit ja inde a seculo quarto, cum, ortis controversiis, ecclesiæ Græciæ doctores in du partes scinderentur, ingenio, eloquentiâ, numero, tantum non æquales, eam parter quæ vincere cupiebat Romam confugisse, majestatemque pontificis comiter coluisse eoque pacto oppressis per pontificem et episcopos Latinos adversariis prævaluisse atque orthodoxiam in consiliis stabilivisse. Eam ob causam Athanasius, non sin comitatu, Romam petiit, pluresque annos ibi hæsit.

[116] [A letter of Pope Julius, reporting the decision of the Synod to the Easterns is extant, which Mr. Gwatkin describes as "one of the ablest documents of th entire controversy".]

[117] Philostor. l. iii. c. 12. If any corruption was used to promote the interest c religion, an advocate of Athanasius might justify or excuse this questionabl conduct by the example of Cato and Sidney; the former of whom is *said* to hav given, and the latter to have received, a bribe, in the cause of liberty.

[118] The Canon which allows appeals to the Roman pontiffs ["in honour of th memory of Peter"] has almost raised the council of Sardica to the dignity of general council; and its acts have been ignorantly or artfully confounded wit those of the Nicene synod. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 689, and Geddes's Tracts vol. ii. p. 419-460.

The council of Sardica reveals the first symptoms of discord and schism between the Greek and Latin churches, which were separated by the accidental difference of faith and the permanent distinction of language.

During the second exile in the West, Athanasius was frequently admitted to the imperial presence; at Capua, Lodi, Milan, Verona, Padua, Aquileia, and Treves. The bishop of the diocese usually assisted at these interviews; the master of the offices stood before the veil or curtain of the sacred apartment; and the uniform moderation of the primate might be attested by these respectable witnesses, to whose evidence he solemnly appeals.[119] Prudence would undoubtedly suggest the mild and respectful tone that became a subject and a bishop. In these familiar conferences with the sovereign of the West, Athanasius might lament the error of Constantius; but he boldly arraigned the guilt of his eunuchs and his Arian prelates; deplored the distress and danger of the Catholic church; and excited Constans to emulate the zeal and glory of his father. The emperor declared his resolution of employing the troops and treasures of Europe in the orthodox cause; and signified, by a concise and peremptory epistle to his brother Constantius, that, unless he consented to the immediate restoration of Athanasius, he himself, with a fleet and army, would seat the archbishop on the throne of Alexandria.[120] But this religious war, so horrible to nature, was prevented by the timely compliance of Constantius; and the emperor of the East condescended to solicit a reconciliation with a subject whom he had injured. Athanasius waited with decent pride, till he had received three successive epistles full of the strongest assurances of the protection, the favour, and the esteem of his sovereign; who invited him to resume his episcopal seat, and who added the humiliating precaution of engaging his principal ministers to attest the sincerity of his intentions. They were manifested in a still more public manner by the strict orders which were dispatched into Egypt to recall the adherents of Athanasius, to restore their privileges, to proclaim their innocence, and to erase from the public registers the illegal proceedings which

and restoration A.D. 346 [346]

[345 A.D.]

[119] As Athanasius dispersed secret invectives against Constantius (see the Epistle to the Monks), at the same time that he assured him of his profound respect, we might distrust the professions of the archbishop, tom. i. p. 677.

[120] Notwithstanding the discreet silence of Athanasius, and the manifest forgery of a letter inserted by Socrates, these menaces are proved by the unquestionable evidence of Lucifer of Cagliari, and even of Constantius himself. See Tillemont, tom. viii. p. 693.

had been obtained during the prevalence of the Eusebian faction. After every satisfaction and security had been given which justice or even delicacy could require, the primate proceeded, by slow journeys, through the provinces of Thrace, Asia, and Syria; and his progress was marked by the abject homage of the oriental bishops, who excited his contempt without deceiving his penetration.[121] At Antioch he saw the emperor Constantius; sustained, with modest firmness, the embraces and protestations of his master, and eluded the proposal of allowing the Arians a single church at Alexandria, by claiming, in the other cities of the empire, a similar toleration for his own party; a reply which might have appeared just and moderate in the mouth of an independent prince. The entrance of the archbishop into his capital was a triumphal procession; absence and persecution had endeared him to the Alexandrians; his authority, which he exercised with rigour, was more firmly established; and his fame was diffused from Æthiopia to Britain, over the whole extent of the Christian world.[122]

Resentment of Constantius. A.D. 351

But the subject who has reduced his prince to the necessity of dissembling can never expect a sincere and lasting forgiveness; and the tragic fate of Constans soon deprived Athanasius of a powerful and generous protector. The civil war between the assassin and the only surviving brother of Constans, which afflicted the empire above three years, secured an interval of repose to the Catholic church; and the two contending parties were desirous to conciliate the friendship of a bishop who, by the weight of his personal authority, might determine the fluctuating resolutions of an important province. He gave audience to the ambassadors of the tyrant, with whom he was afterwards accused of holding a secret correspondence;[123] and the emperor Constantius repeatedly assured his dearest father,

[121] I have always entertained some doubts concerning the retractation of Ursacius and Valens (Athanas. tom. i. p. 776). Their epistles to Julius, bishop of Rome, and to Athanasius himself, are of so different a cast from each other that they cannot both be genuine. The one speaks the language of criminals who confess their guilt and infamy; the other of enemies who solicit on equal terms an honourable reconciliation.

[122] The circumstances of his second return may be collected from Athanasius himself, tom. i. p. 769 and 822, 843; Socrates, l. ii. c. 18; Sozomen, l. iii. c. 19; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 11, 12; Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 12.

[123] Athanasius (tom. i. p. 677, 678) defends his innocence by pathetic complaints, solemn assertions, and specious arguments. He admits that letters had been forged in his name, but he requests that his own secretaries, and those of the tyrant, may be examined, whether those letters had been written by the former or received by the latter.

e most reverend Athanasius, that, notwithstanding the alicious rumours which were circulated by their common nemies, he had inherited the sentiments, as well as the throne, his deceased brother.[124] Gratitude and humanity would have sposed the primate of Egypt to deplore the untimely fate of onstans, and to abhor the guilt of Magnentius; but, as he early understood that the apprehensions of Constantius were s only safeguard, the fervour of his prayers for the success of e righteous cause might perhaps be somewhat abated. The in of Athanasius was no longer contrived by the obscure alice of a few bigoted or angry bishops, who abused the thority of a credulous monarch. The monarch himself owed the resolution, which he had so long suppressed, of enging his private injuries;[125] and the first winter after his ctory, which he passed at Arles, was employed against an emy more odious to him than the vanquished tyrant of aul.

Councils of Arles and Milan. A.D. 353-355

If the emperor had capriciously decreed the death of the ost eminent and virtuous citizen of the republic, the cruel der would have been executed without hesitation, by the inisters of open violence or of specious injustice. The caution, e delay, the difficulty with which he proceeded in the con-mnation and punishment of a popular bishop, discovered to e world that the privileges of the church had already revived sense of order and freedom in the Roman government. The ntence which was pronounced in the synod of Tyre, and sub-ribed by a large majority of the eastern bishops, had never en expressly repealed; and, as Athanasius had been once egraded from his episcopal dignity by the judgment of his ethren, every subsequent act might be considered as irregular, d even criminal. But the memory of the firm and effectual pport which the primate of Egypt had derived from the at-chment of the western church engaged Constantius to suspend e execution of the sentence, till he had obtained the concur-nce of the Latin bishops. Two years were consumed in clesiastical negotiations; and the important cause between e emperor and one of his subjects was solemnly debated, first the synod of Arles, and afterwards in the great council of

[124] Athanas. tom. i. p. 825-844.

[125] Athanas. tom. i. p. 861. Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16. The emperor declared at he was more desirous to subdue Athanasius than he had been to vanquish agnentius or Sylvanus.

Milan,[126] which consisted of above three hundred bishops. Their integrity was gradually undermined by the arguments of the Arians, the dexterity of the eunuchs, and the pressing solicitations of a prince, who gratified his revenge at the expense of his dignity, and exposed his own passions, whilst he influenced those of the clergy. Corruption, the most infallible symptom of constitutional liberty, was successfully practised: honours, gifts, and immunities were offered and accepted as the price of an episcopal vote;[127] and the condemnation of the Alexandrian primate was artfully represented as the only measure which could restore the peace and union of the Catholic church. The friends of Athanasius were not, however, wanting to their leader, or to their cause. With a manly spirit, which the sanctity of their character rendered less dangerous, they maintained in public debate, and in private conference with the emperor, the eternal obligation of religion and justice. They declared that neither the hope of his favour nor the fear of his displeasure should prevail on them to join in the condemnation of an absent, an innocent, a respectable brother.[128] They affirmed, with apparent reason, that the illegal and obsolete decrees of the council of Tyre had long since been tacitly abolished by the Imperial edicts, the honourable re-establishment of the archbishop of Alexandria, and the silence or recantation of his most clamorous adversaries. They alleged that his innocence had been attested by the unanimous bishops of Egypt, and had been acknowledged, in the councils of Rome and Sardica,[129] by the impartial judgment of the Latin church

[126] The affairs of the council of Milan are so imperfectly and erroneously related by the Greek writers that we must rejoice in the supply of some letters of Eusebius extracted by Baronius from the archives of the church of Vercellæ, and of an old life of Dionysius of Milan, published by Bollandus. See Baronius, A.D. 355, and Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 1415.

[127] The honours, presents, feasts, which seduced so many bishops, are mentioned with indignation by those who were too pure or too proud to accept them. "We combat (says Hilary of Poitiers) against Constantius the antichrist; who strokes the belly instead of scourging the back;" qui non dorsa cædit, sed ventrem palpat. Hilarius contra Constant. c. 5, p. 1240.

[128] Something of this opposition is mentioned by Ammianus (xv. 7), who had a very dark and superficial knowledge of ecclesiastical history. Liberius . . . perseveranter renitebatur, nec visum hominem, nec auditum damnare nefas ultimum sæpe exclamans; aperte scilicet recalcitrans Imperatoris arbitrio. Id enim illi Athanasio semper infestus, &c.

[129] More properly by the orthodox part of the council of Sardica. If the bishops of both parties had fairly voted, the division would have been 94 to 76. M. de Tillemont (see t. viii. p. 1147-1158) is justly surprised that so small a majority should have proceeded so vigorously against their adversaries, the principal of whom they immediately deposed.

hey deplored the hard condition of Athanasius, who, after njoying so many years his seat, his reputation, and the seeming nfidence of his sovereign, was again called upon to con- te the most groundless and extravagant accusations. Their nguage was specious; their conduct was honourable: but in is long and obstinate contest, which fixed the eyes of the hole empire on a single bishop, the ecclesiastical factions ere prepared to sacrifice truth and justice to the more interest- g object of defending, or removing, the intrepid champion of e Nicene faith. The Arians still thought it prudent to dis- uise, in ambiguous language, their real sentiments and designs: ut the orthodox bishops, armed with the favour of the people nd the decrees of a general council, insisted on every occasion, nd particularly at Milan, that their adversaries should purge emselves from the suspicion of heresy, before they presumed o arraign the conduct of the great Athanasius.[130]

But the voice of reason (if reason was indeed on the side of thanasius) was silenced by the clamours of a factious or venal ajority; and the councils of Arles and Milan were not dis- lved, till the archbishop of Alexandria had been solemnly con- emned and deposed by the judgment of the Western, as well s of the Eastern, church. The bishops who had opposed, ere required to subscribe, the sentence; and to unite in eligious communion with the suspected leaders of the adverse arty. A formulary of consent was transmitted by the mes- engers of state to the absent bishops: and all those who refused o submit their private opinion to the public and inspired wis- om of the councils of Arles and Milan were immediately anished by the emperor, who affected to execute the decrees of he Catholic church. Among those prelates who led the honour- ble band of confessors and exiles, Liberius of Rome, Osius of ordova, Paulinus of Treves, Dionysius of Milan, Eusebius of ercellæ, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Hilary of Poitiers, may deserve o be particularly distinguished. The eminent station of iberius, who governed the capital of the empire; the personal erit and long experience of the venerable Osius, who was re- ered as the favourite of the great Constantine, and the father f the Nicene faith; placed those prelates at the head of the atin church: and their example, either of submission or resist- nce, would probably be imitated by the episcopal crowd. But he repeated attempts of the emperor to seduce or to intimidate

Condemnation of Athanasius. A.D. 355

[130] Sulp. Severus in Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 412 [c. 39].

the bishops of Rome and Cordova were for some time ineffectual. The Spaniard declared himself ready to suffer under Constantius as he had suffered threescore years before under his grandfather Maximian. The Roman, in the presence of his sovereign, asserted the innocence of Athanasius, and his own freedom. When he was banished to Berœa in Thrace, he sent back a large sum which had been offered for the accommodation of his journey; and insulted the court of Milan by the haughty remark that the emperor and his eunuchs might want that gold to pay their soldiers and their bishops.[131] The resolution of Liberius and Osius was at length subdued by the hardships of exile and confinement. The Roman pontiff purchased his return by some criminal compliances; and afterwards expiated his guilt by a seasonable repentance. Persuasion and violence were employed to extort the reluctant signature of the decrepit bishop of Cordova, whose strength was broken, and whose faculties were perhaps impaired, by the weight of an hundred years; and the insolent triumph of the Arians provoked some of the orthodox party to treat with inhuman severity the character, or rather the memory, of an unfortunate old man, to whose former services Christianity itself was so deeply indebted.[132]

Exiles

The fall of Liberius and Osius reflected a brighter lustre on the firmness of those bishops who still adhered, with unshaken fidelity, to the cause of Athanasius and religious truth. The ingenious malice of their enemies had deprived them of the benefit of mutual comfort and advice, separated those illustrious exiles into distant provinces, and carefully selected the most inhospitable spots of a great empire.[133] Yet they soon experienced that the deserts of Libya and the most barbarous tracts of Cappadocia were less inhospitable than the residence of those cities in which an Arian bishop could satiate, without restraint, the exquisite rancour of theological hatred.[134] Their consolation

[131] The exile of Liberius is mentioned by Ammianus, xv. 7. See Theodoret, l. ii. c. 16; Athanas. tom. i. p. 834-837; Hilar. Fragment. i.

[132] The life of Osius is collected by Tillemont (tom. vii. p. 524-561), who in the most extravagant terms first admires, and then reprobates, the bishop of Cordova. In the midst of their lamentations on his fall, the prudence of Athanasius may be distinguished from the blind and intemperate zeal of Hilary.

[133] The confessors of the West were successively banished to the deserts of Arabia or Thebais, the lonely places of Mount Taurus, the wildest parts of Phrygia, which were in the possession of the impious Montanists, &c. When the heretic Aetius was too favourably entertained at Mopsuestia in Cilicia, the place of his exile was changed, by the advice of Acacius, to Amblada, a district inhabited by savages and infested by war and pestilence. Philostorg. l. v. c. 2.

[134] See the cruel treatment and strange obstinacy of Eusebius, in his own letters, published by Baronius, A.D. 356, No. 92-102.

was derived from the consciousness of rectitude and independence, from the applause, the visits, the letters, and the liberal alms of their adherents,[135] and from the satisfaction which they soon enjoyed of observing the intestine divisions of the adversaries of the Nicene faith. Such was the nice and capricious taste of the emperor Constantius, and so easily was he offended by the slightest deviation from his imaginary standard of Christian truth, that he persecuted, with equal zeal, those who defended the *consubstantiality*, those who asserted the *similar substance*, and those who denied the *likeness*, of the Son of God. Three bishops, degraded and banished for those adverse opinions, might possibly meet in the same place of exile; and, according to the difference of their temper, might either pity or insult the blind enthusiasm of their antagonists, whose present sufferings would never be compensated by future happiness.

Third expulsion of Athanasius from Alexandria. A.D. 356

The disgrace and exile of the orthodox bishops of the West were designed as so many preparatory steps to the ruin of Athanasius himself.[136] Six and twenty months had elapsed, during which the Imperial court secretly laboured, by the most insidious arts, to remove him from Alexandria, and to withdraw the allowance which supplied his popular liberality. But, when the primate of Egypt, deserted and proscribed by the Latin church, was left destitute of any foreign support, Constantius dispatched two of his secretaries with a verbal commission to announce and execute the order of his banishment. As the justice of the sentence was publicly avowed by the whole party, the only motive which could restrain Constantius from giving his messengers the sanction of a written mandate must be imputed to his doubt of the event; and to a sense of the danger to which he might expose the second city, and the most fertile province of the empire, if the people should persist in the resolution of defending, by force of arms, the innocence of their spiritual father. Such extreme caution afforded Athanasius a specious pretence respectfully to dispute the truth of an order,

[135] Cæterum exules satis constat, totius orbis studiis celebratos pecuniasque eis in sumptum affatim congestas legationibus quoque eos plebis Catholicæ ex omnibus fere provinciis frequentatos. Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacra, p. 414 [c. 39]. Athanas. tom. i. p. 836, 840.

[136] Ample materials for the history of this third persecution of Athanasius may be found in his own works. See particularly his very able Apology to Constantius (tom. i. p. 673), his first Apology for his flight (p. 701), his prolix Epistle to the Solitaries (p. 808), and the original Protest of the People of Alexandria against the violences committed by Syrianus (p. 866). Sozomen (l. iv. c. 9) has thrown into the narrative two or three luminous and important circumstances.

which he could not reconcile either with the equity, or with the former declarations, of his gracious master. The civil powers of Egypt found themselves inadequate to the task of persuading or compelling the primate to abdicate his episcopal throne; and they were obliged to conclude a treaty with the popular leaders of Alexandria, by which it was stipulated that all proceedings and hostilities should be suspended till the emperor's pleasure had been more distinctly ascertained. By this seeming moderation, the Catholics were deceived into a false and fatal security, while the legions of the Upper Egypt and of Libya advanced, by secret orders and hasty marches, to besiege, or rather to surprise, a capital habituated to sedition and inflamed by religious zeal.[137] The position of Alexandria, between the sea and the lake Mareotis, facilitated the approach and landing of the troops; who were introduced into the heart of the city, before any effectual measures could be taken either to shut the gates or to occupy the important posts of defence. At the hour of midnight, twenty-three days after the signature of the treaty, Syrianus, duke of Egypt, at the head of five thousand soldiers armed and prepared for an assault, unexpectedly invested the church of St. Theonas, where the archbishop, with a party of his clergy and people, performed their nocturnal devotions. The doors of the sacred edifice yielded to the impetuosity of the attack, which was accompanied with every horrid circumstance of tumult and bloodshed; but, as the bodies of the slain and the fragments of military weapons remained the next day an unexceptionable evidence in the possession of the Catholics, the enterprise of Syrianus may be considered as a successful irruption, rather than as an absolute conquest. The other churches of the city were profaned by similar outrages; and, during at least four months, Alexandria was exposed to the insults of a licentious army, stimulated by the ecclesiastics of an hostile faction. Many of the faithful were killed; who may deserve the name of martyrs, if their deaths were neither provoked nor revenged; bishops and presbyters were treated with cruel ignominy; consecrated virgins were stripped naked, scourged, and violated; the houses of wealthy citizens were plundered; and, under the mask of religious zeal, lust, avarice, and private

[137] Athanasius had lately sent for Anthony and some of his chosen Monks. They descended from their mountain, announced to the Alexandrians the sanctity of Athanasius, and were honourably conducted by the archbishop as far as the gates of the city. Athanas. tom. ii. p. 491, 492. See likewise Rufinus, iii, 164, in Vit. Patr. p. 524.

entment were gratified with impunity, and even with applause. e Pagans of Alexandria, who still formed a numerous and contented party, were easily persuaded to desert a bishop om they feared and esteemed. The hopes of some peculiar ours, and the apprehension of being involved in the general halties of rebellion, engaged them to promise their support to e destined successor of Athanasius, the famous George of ppadocia. The usurper, after receiving the consecration of an ian synod, was placed on the episcopal throne by the arms of bastian, who had been appointed Count of Egypt for the ecution of that important design. In the use, as well as in e acquisition, of power, the tyrant George disregarded the laws religion, of justice, and of humanity; and the same scenes of olence and scandal which had been exhibited in the capital ere repeated in more than ninety episcopal cities of Egypt. ncouraged by success, Constantius ventured to approve the nduct of his ministers. By a public and passionate epistle, e emperor congratulates the deliverance of Alexandria from a pular tyrant, who deluded his blind votaries by the magic of s eloquence; expatiates on the virtues and piety of the most verend George, the elected bishop; and aspires, as the patron d benefactor of the city, to surpass the fame of Alexander nself. But he solemnly declares his unalterable resolution to rsue with fire and sword the seditious adherents of the wicked hanasius, who, by flying from justice, has confessed his guilt, d escaped the ignominious death which he had so often served.[138]

His behaviour

Athanasius had indeed escaped from the most imminent ngers; and the adventures of that extraordinary man deserve d fix our attention. On the memorable night when the urch of St. Theonas was invested by the troops of Syrianus, e archbishop, seated on his throne, expected, with calm and trepid dignity, the approach of death. While the public votion was interrupted by shouts of rage and cries of terror, he imated his trembling congregation to express their religious nfidence, by chanting one of the psalms of David, which lebrates the triumph of the God of Israel over the haughty d impious tyrant of Egypt. The doors were at length burst en; a cloud of arrows was discharged among the people; e soldiers, with drawn swords, rushed forwards into the nctuary; and the dreadful gleam of their armour was reflected

[138] Athanas. tom. i. p. 694. The emperor, or his Arian secretaries, while they press their resentment, betray their fears and esteem of Athanasius.

by the holy luminaries which burnt round the altar.[139] Athan
sius still rejected the pious importunity of the Monks a
Presbyters, who were attached to his person; and nobly refus
to desert his episcopal station, till he had dismissed in safe
the last of the congregation. The darkness and tumult of t
night favoured the retreat of the archbishop; and, though
was oppressed by the waves of an agitated multitude, though
was thrown to the ground, and left without sense or motion,
still recovered his undaunted courage, and eluded the eag
search of the soldiers, who were instructed by their Arian guid
that the head of Athanasius would be the most acceptab
present to the emperor. From that moment the primate
Egypt disappeared from the eyes of his enemies, and remain
above six years concealed in impenetrable obscurity.[140]

His retreat. A.D. 356-362

The despotic power of his implacable enemy filled the who
extent of the Roman world; and the exasperated monarch ha
endeavoured, by a very pressing epistle to the Christian princ
of Æthiopia, to exclude Athanasius from the most remote a
sequestered regions of the earth. Counts, præfects, tribun
whole armies, were successively employed to pursue a bish
and a fugitive; the vigilance of the civil and military powe
were excited by the Imperial edicts; liberal rewards we
promised to the man who should produce Athanasius, eith
alive or dead; and the most severe penalties were denounce
against those who should dare to protect the public enemy.[141]
But the deserts of Thebais were now peopled by a race of wi
yet submissive fanatics, who preferred the commands of the
abbot to the laws of their sovereign. The numerous disciples
Anthony and Pachomius received the fugitive primate as the
father, admired the patience and humility with which he co
formed to their strictest institutions, collected every word whic
dropt from his lips as the genuine effusions of inspired wisdom
and persuaded themselves that their prayers, their fasts, a

[139] These minute circumstances are curious, as they are literally transcribe
from the protest which was publicly presented three days afterwards by t
Catholics of Alexandria. See Athanas. tom. i. p. 867.

[140] The Jansenists have often compared Athanasius and Arnauld, and ha
expatiated with pleasure on the faith and zeal, the merit and exile, of those cel
brated doctors. This concealed parallel is very dexterously managed by the Abb
de la Bléterie, Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 130.

[141] Hinc jam toto orbe profugus Athanasius, nec ullus ei tutus ad latendu
super erat locus. Tribuni, Præfecti, Comites, exercitus quoque, ad pervest
gandum eum moventur edictis imperialibus: præmia delatoribus proponuntu
si quis eum vivum, si id minus, caput certe Athanasii detulisset. Rufin. l. i.
16.

ir vigils, were less meritorious than the zeal which they pressed, and the dangers which they braved, in the defence truth and innocence.[142] The monasteries of Egypt were ted in lonely and desolate places, on the summit of mountns, or in the islands of the Nile; and the sacred horn or mpet of Tabenne was the well-known signal which assembled eral thousand robust and determined Monks, who, for the most t, had been the peasants of the adjacent country. When their k retreats were invaded by a military force, which it was possible to resist, they silently stretched out their necks to e executioner, and supported their national character that tures could never wrest from an Egyptian the confession of a ret which he was resolved not to disclose.[143] The archbishop Alexandria, for whose safety they eagerly devoted their lives, s lost among a uniform and well-disciplined multitude; and the nearer approach of danger, he was swiftly removed, by ir officious hands, from one place of concealment to another, l he reached the formidable deserts, which the gloomy and edulous temper of superstition had peopled with demons and vage monsters. The retirement of Athanasius, which ended ly with the life of Constantius, was spent, for the most part, the society of the Monks, who faithfully served him as guards, secretaries, and as messengers; but the importance of mainning a more intimate connection with the Catholic party mpted him, whenever the diligence of the pursuit was abated, emerge from the desert, to introduce himself into Alexandria, d to trust his person to the discretion of his friends and herents. His various adventures might have furnished the bject of a very entertaining romance. He was once secreted a dry cistern, which he had scarcely left before he was trayed by the treachery of a female slave;[144] and he was once ncealed in a still more extraordinary asylum, the house of a rgin, only twenty years of age, and who was celebrated in the hole city for her exquisite beauty. At the hour of midnight, as

142 Gregor. Nazianzen, tom. i. Orat. xxi. p. 384, 385. See Tillemont, Mém. clés. tom. vii. p. 176-410, 820-880.

143 Et nulla tormentorum vis inveniri adhuc potuit; quæ obdurato illius tractûs roni invito elicere potuit, ut nomen proprium dicat. Ammian. xxii. 16 and ulesius ad locum.

144 Rufin. l. i. c. 18. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 10. This and the following story will rendered impossible, if we suppose that Athanasius always inhabited the asylum hich he accidentally or occasionally had used. [Compare the story of the virgin idæmonis, tortured to betray Athanasius whom she hid, in the Index to the Festal etters.]

she related the story many years afterwards, she was surpris
by the appearance of the archbishop in a loose undress, wh
advancing with hasty steps, conjured her to afford him the pr
tection which he had been directed by a celestial vision to se
under her hospitable roof. The pious maid accepted and pr
served the sacred pledge which was entrusted to her pruden
and courage. Without imparting the secret to any one, sh
instantly conducted Athanasius into her most secret chambe
and watched over his safety with the tenderness of a friend an
the assiduity of a servant. As long as the danger continue
she regularly supplied him with books and provisions, washe
his feet, managed his correspondence, and dexterously conceale
from the eye of suspicion this familiar and solitary intercour
between a saint whose character required the most unblemishe
chastity and a female whose charms might excite the mo
dangerous emotions.[145] During the six years of persecution an
exile, Athanasius repeated his visits to his fair and faithfu
companion; and the formal declaration that he *saw* the counci
of Rimini and Seleucia[146] forces us to believe that he wa
secretly present at the time and place of their convocation
The advantage of personally negotiating with his friends, an
of observing and improving the divisions of his enemies, migh
justify, in a prudent statesman, so bold and dangerous an ente
prise; and Alexandria was connected by trade and navigatio
with every seaport of the Mediterranean. From the depth c
his inaccessible retreat, the intrepid primate waged an incessan
and offensive war against the protector of the Arians; and hi
seasonable writings, which were diligently circulated and eagerl
perused, contributed to unite and animate the orthodox party
In his public apologies, which he addressed to the empero
himself, he sometimes affected the praise of moderation; whils
at the same time, in secret and vehement invectives, he expose
Constantius as a weak and wicked prince, the executioner of hi
family, the tyrant of the republic, and the antichrist of th
church. In the height of his prosperity, the victorious monarch
who had chastised the rashness of Gallus, and suppressed the
revolt of Sylvanus, who had taken the diadem from the head o

[145] Palladius (Hist. Lausiac. c. 136, in Vit. Patr. p. 776), the original autho
of this anecdote, had conversed with the damsel, who in her old age still re
membered with pleasure so pious and honourable a connexion. I cannot indulg
the delicacy of Baronius, Valesius, Tillemont, &c. who almost reject a story so
unworthy, as they deem it, of the gravity of ecclesiastical history

[146] Athanas. tom. i. p. 869. I agree with Tillemont (t. viii. p. 1197), that his
expressions imply a personal, though perhaps secret, visit to the synods.

etranio, and vanquished in the field the legions of Magnentius, ceived from an invisible hand a wound which he could neither eal nor revenge; and the son of Constantine was the first of e Christian princes who experienced the strength of those rinciples which, in the cause of religion, could resist the most olent exertions of the civil power.[147]

Arian bishops

The persecution of Athanasius and of so many respectable shops, who suffered for the truth of their opinions, or at least r the integrity of their conscience, was a just subject of in- ignation and discontent to all Christians, except those who ere blindly devoted to the Arian faction. The people re- retted the loss of their faithful pastors, whose banishment was sually followed by the intrusion of a stranger[148] into the piscopal chair; and loudly complained that the right of election as violated, and that they were condemned to obey a mercen- ry usurper, whose person was unknown, and whose principles ere suspected. The Catholics might prove to the world that ney were not involved in the guilt and heresy of their ecclesi- stical governor, by publicly testifying their dissent, or by otally separating themselves from his communion. The first f these methods was invented at Antioch, and practised with ich success that it was soon diffused over the Christian world. he doxology or sacred hymn, which celebrates the *glory* of he Trinity, is susceptible of very nice, but material, inflexions; nd the substance of an orthodox, or an heretical, creed may e expressed by the difference of a disjunctive, or a copulative, article. Alternate responses, and a more regular psalmody,[149] ere introduced into the public service by Flavianus and Diodorus, two devout and active laymen, who were attached o the Nicene faith. Under their conduct, a swarm of monks ssued from the adjacent desert, bands of well-disciplined ingers were stationed in the cathedral of Antioch, the Glory

Divisions

147 The Epistle of Athanasius to the Monks is filled with reproaches, which the ublic must feel to be true (vol. i. p. 834, 856); and, in compliment to his readers, e has introduced the comparisons of Pharaoh, Ahab, Belshazzar, &c. The bold- ess of Hilary was attended with less danger, if he published his invective in Gaul fter the revolt of Julian; but Lucifer sent his libels to Constantius, and almost hallenged the reward of martyrdom. See Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 905.

148 Athanasius (tom. i. p. 811) complains in general of this practice, which he fterwards exemplifies (p. 861) in the pretended election of Felix. Three eunuchs epresented the Roman people, and three prelates, who followed the court, assumed he functions of the bishops of the Suburbicarian provinces.

149 Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. l. ii. c. 72, 73, p. 966-984) as collected many curious facts concerning the origin and progress of church- inging, both in the East and West.

to the Father, AND the Son, AND the Holy Ghost,[150] was triumphantly chanted by a full chorus of voices; and the Catholics insulted, by the purity of their doctrine, the Arian prelate who had usurped the throne of the venerable Eustathius. The same zeal which inspired their songs prompted the more scrupulous members of the orthodox party to form separate assemblies, which were governed by the presbyters, till the death of their exiled bishop allowed the election and consecration of a new episcopal pastor.[151] The revolutions of the court multiplied the number of pretenders; and the same city was often disputed, under the reign of Constantius, by two, or three, or even four bishops, who exercised their spiritual jurisdiction over their respective followers, and alternately lost and regained the temporal possessions of the church. The abuse of Christianity introduced into the Roman government new causes of tyranny and sedition; the bands of civil society were torn asunder by the fury of religious factions; and the obscure citizen, who might calmly have surveyed the elevation and fall of successive emperors, imagined and experienced that his own life and fortune were connected with the interests of a popular ecclesiastic. The example of the two capitals, Rome and Constantinople, may serve to represent the state of the empire, and the temper of mankind, under the reign of the sons of Constantine.

Rome

I. The Roman pontiff, as long as he maintained his station and his principles, was guarded by the warm attachment of a great people; and could reject with scorn the prayers, the menaces, and the oblations of an heretical prince. When the eunuchs had secretly pronounced the exile of Liberius, the well-

[A.D. 355]

grounded apprehension of a tumult engaged them to use the utmost precautions in the execution of the sentence. The capital was invested on every side, and the præfect was commanded to seize the person of the bishop, either by stratagem or by open force. The order was obeyed; and Liberius, with

[150] Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 13. Godefroy has examined this subject with singular accuracy (p. 147, &c.). There were three heterodox forms: "To the Father *by* the Son, *and* in the Holy Ghost:" "To the Father *and* the Son *in* the Holy Ghost:" and "To the Father *in* the Son *and* the Holy Ghost".

[151] After the exile of Eustathius, under the reign of Constantine, the rigid party of the orthodox formed a separation, which afterwards degenerated into a schism, and lasted above fourscore years. See Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 35-54, 1137-1158, tom. viii. p. 537-632, 1314-1332. In many churches, the Arians and Homoousians, who had renounced each other's *communion*, continued for some time to join in prayer. Philostorgius, l. iii. c. 14.

greatest difficulty, at the hour of midnight, was swiftly
veyed beyond the reach of the Roman people, before their
sternation was turned into rage. As soon as they were in-
med of his banishment into Thrace, a general assembly was
vened, and the clergy of Rome bound themselves, by a
blic and solemn oath, never to desert their bishop, never to
nowledge the usurper Felix; who, by the influence of the
nuchs, had been irregularly chosen and consecrated within [A.D. 356]
walls of a profane palace. At the end of two years, their
us obstinacy subsisted entire and unshaken; and, when Con-
ntius visited Rome, he was assailed by the importunate
icitations of a people, who had preserved, as the last remnant
their ancient freedom, the right of treating their sovereign
th familiar insolence. The wives of many of the senators and
st honourable citizens, after pressing their husbands to in-
cede in favour of Liberius, were advised to undertake a
mmission, which, in their hands, would be less dangerous and
ght prove more successful. The emperor received with [May, A.D. 357]
liteness these female deputies, whose wealth and dignity
re displayed in the magnificence of their dress and orna-
ents: he admired their inflexible resolution of following their
loved pastor to the most distant regions of the earth, and
nsented that the two bishops, Liberius and Felix, should
vern in peace their respective congregations. But the ideas
toleration were so repugnant to the practice, and even to
e sentiments, of those times that, when the answer of Con-
ntius was publicly read in the Circus of Rome, so reasonable
project of accommodation was rejected with contempt and
licule. The eager vehemence which animated the spectators
the decisive moment of a horse-race was now directed
wards a different object; and the Circus resounded with the
out of thousands, who repeatedly exclaimed, "One God, One
rist, One Bishop". The zeal of the Roman people in the
use of Liberius was not confined to words alone; and the
ngerous and bloody sedition which they excited soon after
e departure of Constantius determined that prince to accept
e submission of the exiled prelate, and to restore him to the
divided dominion of the capital. After some ineffectual re-
stance, his rival was expelled from the city by the permission [Aug. 2, A.D. 358]
the emperor, and the power of the opposite faction; the
lherents of Felix were inhumanly murdered in the streets, in
e public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and
e face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, re-

newed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius and th
proscriptions of Sylla.[152]

Constantinople

II. Notwithstanding the rapid increase of Christians under th
reign of the Flavian family, Rome, Alexandria, and the oth
great cities of the empire, still contained a strong and powerf
faction of Infidels, who envied the prosperity, and who ridicule
even on their theatres, the theological disputes, of the churc
Constantinople alone enjoyed the advantage of being born an
educated in the bosom of the faith. The capital of the East ha
never been polluted by the worship of idols; and the who
body of the people had deeply imbibed the opinions, the virtue
and the passions, which distinguished the Christians of that ag
[A.D. 336] from the rest of mankind. After the death of Alexander, th
[A.D. 341] episcopal throne was disputed by Paul and Macedonius. B
their zeal and abilities they both deserved the eminent statio
to which they aspired; and, if the moral character of Mace
donius was less exceptionable, his competitor had the advantag
of a prior election and a more orthodox doctrine. His firm
attachment to the Nicene creed, which has given Paul a plac
in the calendar among saints and martyrs, exposed him to th
resentment of the Arians. In the space of fourteen years h
was five times driven from the throne; to which he was mor
frequently restored by the violence of the people than by th
permission of the prince; and the power of Macedonius could b
secured only by the death of his rival. The unfortunate Pau
was dragged in chains from the sandy deserts of Mesopotamia
[End of A.D. 340] to the most desolate places of Mount Taurus,[153] confined in a
dark and narrow dungeon, left six days without food, and a
length strangled, by the order of Philip, one of the principa
ministers of the emperor Constantius.[154] The first blood which
stained the new capital was spilt in this ecclesiastical contest

[152] See, on this ecclesiastical revolution of Rome, Ammianus, xv. 7; Athanas
tom. i. p. 834, 861; Sozomen, l. iv. c. 15; Theodoret, l. ii. c. 17; Sulp. Sever.
Hist. Sacra, l. ii. p. 413 [c. 39]; Hieronym. Chron. Marcellin. et Faustin. Libell.
p. 3, 4; Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 336.

[153] Cucusus was the last stage of his life and sufferings. The situation of that
lonely town, on the confines of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and the Lesser Armenia, has
occasioned some geographical perplexity; but we are directed to the true spot by
the course of the Roman road from Cæsarea to Anazarbus. See Cellarii Geograph.
tom. ii. p. 213; Wesseling ad Itinerar. p. 179, 703.

[154] Athanasius (t. i. p. 703, 813, 814) affirms, in the most positive terms, that
Paul was murdered; and appeals, not only to common fame, but even to the un-
suspicious testimony of Philagrius, one of the Arian persecutors. Yet he acknow-
ledges that the heretics attributed to disease the death of the bishop of Constanti-
nople. Athanasius is servilely copied by Socrates (l. ii. c. 26); but Sozomen, who
discovers a more liberal temper, presumes (l. iv. c. 2) to insinuate a prudent doubt.

nd many persons were slain on both sides, in the furious and ostinate seditions of the people. The commission of enforcing sentence of banishment against Paul had been entrusted to Hermogenes, the master-general of the cavalry; but the execution of it was fatal to himself. The Catholics rose in the defence of their bishop; the palace of Hermogenes was consumed; he first military officer of the empire was dragged by the heels hrough the streets of Constantinople, and, after he expired, his feless corpse was exposed to their wanton insults.[155] The fate f Hermogenes instructed Philip, the Prætorian præfect, to act ith more precaution on a similar occasion. In the most gentle nd honourable terms, he required the attendance of Paul in the aths of Zeuxippus, which had a private communication with the alace and the sea. A vessel, which lay ready at the garden-airs, immediately hoisted sail; and, while the people were ill ignorant of the meditated sacrilege, their bishop was already mbarked on his voyage to Thessalonica. They soon beheld, ith surprise and indignation, the gates of the palace thrown pen, and the usurper Macedonius seated by the side of the ræfect on a lofty chariot, which was surrounded by troops of uards with drawn swords. The military procession advanced owards the cathedral; the Arians and the Catholics eagerly ushed to occupy that important post; and three thousand one undred and fifty persons lost their lives in the confusion of the umult. Macedonius, who was supported by a regular force, btained a decisive victory; but his reign was disturbed by lamour and sedition; and the causes which appeared the least onnected with the subject of dispute were sufficient to nourish nd to kindle the flame of civil discord. As the chapel in which he body of the great Constantine had been deposited was in ruinous condition, the bishops transported those venerable remains into the church of St. Acacius. This prudent and even ious measure was represented as a wicked profanation by the hole party which adhered to the Homoousian doctrine. The actions immediately flew to arms, the consecrated ground was sed as their field of battle; and one of the ecclesiastical istorians has observed, as a real fact, not as a figure of rhetoric, hat the well before the church overflowed with a stream of lood, which filled the porticoes and the adjacent courts. The riter who should impute these tumults solely to a religious

[155] Ammianus (xiv. 10) refers to his own account of this tragic event. But we no nger possess that part of his history.

principle would betray a very imperfect knowledge of human nature; yet it must be confessed that the motive which misled the sincerity of zeal, and the pretence which disguised the licentiousness of passion, suppressed the remorse which, in another cause, would have succeeded to the rage of the Christians of Constantinople.[156]

Cruelty of the Arians

The cruel and arbitrary disposition of Constantius, which did not always require the provocations of guilt and resistance, was justly exasperated by the tumults of his capital and the criminal behaviour of a faction, which opposed the authority and religion of their sovereign. The ordinary punishments of death, exile, and confiscation were inflicted with partial rigour; and the Greeks still revere the holy memory of two clerks, a reader and a sub-deacon, who were accused of the murder of Hermogenes, and beheaded at the gates of Constantinople. By an edict of Constantius against the Catholics, which has not been judged worthy of a place in the Theodosian code, those who refused to communicate with the Arian bishops, and particularly with Macedonius, were deprived of the immunities of ecclesiastics and of the rights of Christians; they were compelled to relinquish the possession of the churches; and were strictly prohibited from holding their assemblies within the walls of the city. The execution of this unjust law, in the provinces of Thrace and Asia Minor, was committed to the zeal of Macedonius; the civil and military powers were directed to obey his commands and the cruelties exercised by this Semi-Arian tyrant in the support of the *Homoiousion*, exceeded the commission, and disgraced the reign, of Constantius. The sacraments of the church were administered to the reluctant victims, who denied the vocation, and abhorred the principles, of Macedonius. The rites of baptism were conferred on women and children, who, for that purpose, had been torn from the arms of their friends and parents; the mouths of the communicants were held open by a wooden engine, while the consecrated bread was forced down their throat; the breasts of tender virgins were either burnt with red-hot egg-shells or inhumanly compressed between sharp and heavy boards.[157] The Novatians of Constantinople

[156] See Socrates, . ii. c. 6, 7, -2, 13, 15, 16, 26, 27, 38, and Sozomen, l. iii. 3, 7, 9; l. iv. c. 2, 21. The acts of St. Paul of Constantinople, of which Photius has made an abstract (Phot. Bibliot. p. 1419-1430), are an indifferent copy of these historians; but a modern Greek, who could write the life of a saint without adding fables and miracles, is entitled to some commendation.

[157] Socrates, l. ii. c. 27, 38. Sozomen, l. iv. c. 21. The principal assistants of Macedonius, in the work of persecution, were the two bishops of Nicomedia and

nd the adjacent country, by their firm attachment to the omoousian standard, deserved to be confounded with the atholics themselves. Macedonius was informed that a large istrict of Paphlagonia[158] was almost entirely inhabited by those ectaries. He resolved either to convert or to extirpate them; nd, as he distrusted, on this occasion, the efficacy of an ecclesiastical mission, he commanded a body of four thousand gionaries to march against the rebels, and to reduce the erritory of Mantinium under his spiritual dominion. The ovatian peasants, animated by despair and religious fury, oldly encountered the invaders of their country; and, though any of the Paphlagonians were slain, the Roman legions were anquished by an irregular multitude, armed only with scythes nd axes; and, except a few who escaped by an ignominious ight, four thousand soldiers were left dead on the field of attle. The successor of Constantius has expressed, in a conse but lively manner, some of the theological calamities which flicted the empire, and more especially the East, in the reign f a prince who was the slave of his own passions and of those his eunuchs. "Many were imprisoned, and persecuted, and iven into exile. Whole troops of those who were styled eretics were massacred, particularly at Cyzicus, and at Samota. In Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, and in many other rovinces, towns and villages were laid waste and utterly estroyed."[159]

The revolt and fury of the Donatist Circumcellions. A.D 345, &c.

While the flames of the Arian controversy consumed the vitals of the empire, the African provinces were infested by their peculiar enemies the savage fanatics, who, under the name of *Circumcellions*, formed the strength and scandal of the Donatist party.[160] The severe execution of the laws of Constantine had

zicus, who were esteemed for their virtues, and especially for their charity. I nnot forbear reminding the reader that the difference between the *Homoousion* d *Homoiousion* is almost invisible to the nicest theological eye.

[158] We are ignorant of the precise situation of Mantinium. In speaking of these ir bands of legionaries, Socrates, Sozomen, and the author of the Acts of St. ul, use the indefinite terms of ἀριθμοί, φάλαγγες, τάγματα, which Nicephorus very operly translates *thousands*. Vales. ad Socrat. l. ii. c. 38. [Mantinium was in onorias; see Ramsay, Hist. Geogr. of Asia Minor, p. 194, where Acta Sanct. 24th ug., Mart. S. Tatiani, and *ib.* 12th Sept., Vit. S. Autonomi, are quoted. The sition of the place is still unknown.]

[159] Julian. Epistol. lii. p. 436, edit. Spanheim.

[160] See Optatus Milevitanus (particularly iii. 4), with the Donatist history, by M. ipin, and the original pieces at the end of his edition. The numerous circumnces which Augustin has mentioned of the fury of the Circumcellions against iers, and against themselves, have been laboriously collected by Tillemont, ém Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 147-165; and he has often, though without design, exsed the injuries which had provoked those fanatics.

excited a spirit of discontent and resistance; the strenuous effort of his son Constans to restore the unity of the church exasperated the sentiments of mutual hatred which had first occasioned the separation; and the methods of force and corruption employed by the two imperial commissioners, Paul and Macarius, furnished the schismatics with a specious contrast between the maxims of the apostles and the conduct of their pretended successors.[161] The peasants who inhabited the villages of Numidia and Mauritania were a ferocious race, who had been imperfectly reduced under the authority of the Roman laws; who were imperfectly converted to the Christian faith; but who were actuated by a blind and furious enthusiasm in the cause of their Donatist teachers. They indignantly supported the exile of their bishops, the demolition of their churches, and the interruption of their secret assemblies. The violence of the officers of justice, who were usually sustained by a military guard, was sometimes repelled with equal violence; and the blood of some popular ecclesiastics, which had been shed in the quarrel, inflamed their rude followers with an eager desire of revenging the death of these holy martyrs. By their own cruelty and rashness, the ministers of persecution sometimes provoked their fate; and the guilt of an accidental tumult precipitated the criminals into despair and rebellion. Driven from their native villages, the Donatist peasants assembled in formidable gangs on the edge of the Gætulian desert; and readily exchanged the habits of labour for a life of idleness and rapine which was consecrated by the name of religion and faintly condemned by the doctors of the sect. The leaders of the Circumcellions assumed the title of captains of the saints; their principal weapon, as they were indifferently provided with swords and spears, was a huge and weighty club, which they termed an *Israelite;* and the well-known sound of "Praise be to God," which they used as their cry of war, diffused consternation over the unarmed provinces of Africa. At first their depredations

[161] It is amusing enough to observe the language of opposite parties, when they speak of the same men and things. Gratus, bishop of Carthage, begins the acclamations of an orthodox synod, "Gratias Deo omnipotenti et Christo Jesu . . . qui imperavit religiosissimo Constanti Imperatori, ut votum gereret unitatis et mitteret ministros sancti operis *famulos Dei* Paulum et Macarium". Mon. Ved. ad Calcem Optati, p. 313. "Ecce subito" (says the Donatist author of the Passion of Marculus), "de Constantis regis tyrannicâ domo . . . pollutum Macarianæ persecutionis murmur increpuit, et *duabus bestiis* ad Africam missis, eodem scilicet Macario et Paulo execrandum prorsus ac dirum ecclesiæ certamen indictum est; ut populus Christianus ad unionem cum traditoribus faciendam, nudatis militum gladiis et draconum præsentibus signis, et tubarum vocibus cogeretur." Monument. p. 304.

ere coloured by the plea of necessity; but they soon exceeded
ıe measure of subsistence, indulged without control their in-
mperance and avarice, burnt the villages which they had pil-
ged, and reigned the licentious tyrants of the open country.
he occupations of husbandry, and the administration of justice,
ere interrupted; and, as the Circumcellions pretended to re-
ore the primitive equality of mankind and to reform the
ouses of civil society, they opened a secure asylum for the
aves and debtors, who flocked in crowds to their holy standard.
Vhen they were not resisted, they usually contented themselves
ith plunder, but the slightest opposition provoked them to acts
f violence and murder; and some Catholic priests, who had
nprudently signalized their zeal, were tortured by the fanatics
ith the most refined and wanton barbarity. The spirit of the
ircumcellions was not always exerted against their defenceless
nemies; they engaged, and sometimes defeated, the troops of
ıe province; and in the bloody action of Bagai, they attacked
ı the open field, but with unsuccessful valour, an advanced
uard of the Imperial cavalry. The Donatists who were taken
ı arms received, and they soon deserved, the same treatment
hich might have been shewn to the wild beasts of the desert.
he captives died, without a murmur, either by the sword, the
xe, or the fire; and the measures of retaliation were multiplied
ı a rapid proportion, which aggravated the horrors of rebellion,
nd excluded the hope of mutual forgiveness. In the beginning
f the present century, the example of the Circumcellions has
een renewed in the persecution, the boldness, the crimes, and
ıe enthusiasm of the Camisards; and, if the fanatics of Lan-
uedoc surpassed those of Numidia by their military achieve-
ents, the Africans maintained their fierce independence with
ıore resolution and perseverance.[162]

Their religious suicides

Such disorders are the natural effects of religious tyranny; but the rage of the Donatists was inflamed by a frenzy of a very extraordinary kind; and which, if it really prevailed among hem in so extravagant a degree, cannot surely be paralleled in ny country or in any age. Many of these fanatics were possessed with the horror of life, and the desire of martyrdom; and hey deemed it of little moment by what means, or by what ands, they perished, if their conduct was sanctified by the intention of devoting themselves to the glory of the true faith and

[162] The Histoire des Camisards, in 3 vols. 12mo. Villefranche, 1760, may be commended as accurate and impartial. It requires some attention to discover ıe religion of the author.

the hope of eternal happiness.[163] Sometimes they rudely disturbed the festivals and profaned the temples of paganism, with the design of exciting the most zealous of the idolaters to revenge the insulted honour of their gods. They sometimes forced their way into the courts of justice, and compelled the affrighted judge to give orders for their immediate execution. They frequently stopped travellers on the public highways, and obliged them to inflict the stroke of martyrdom, by the promise of a reward, if they consented, and by the threat of instant death, if they refused to grant so very singular a favour. When they were disappointed of every other resource, they announced the day on which, in the presence of their friends and brethren, they should cast themselves headlong from some lofty rock; and many precipices were shewn, which had acquired fame by the number of religious suicides. In the actions of these desperate enthusiasts, who were admired by one party as the martyrs of God, and abhorred by the other as the victims of Satan, an impartial philosopher may discover the influence and the last abuse of that inflexible spirit, which was originally derived from the character and principles of the Jewish nation.

General character of the Christian sects. A.D. 312-361

The simple narrative of the intestine divisions, which distracted the peace, and dishonoured the triumph, of the church will confirm the remark of a pagan historian, and justify the complaint of a venerable bishop. The experience of Ammianus had convinced him that the enmity of the Christians towards each other surpassed the fury of savage beasts against man;[164] and Gregory Nazianzen most pathetically laments that the kingdom of heaven was converted, by discord, into the image of chaos, of a nocturnal tempest, and of hell itself.[165] The fierce and partial writers of the times, ascribing *all* virtue to themselves, and imputing *all* guilt to their adversaries, have painted the battle of the angels and dæmons. Our calmer reason will reject such pure and perfect monsters of vice or sanctity, and will impute an equal, or at least an indiscriminate, measure of good and evil to the hostile sectaries, who assumed and bestowed the appellations of orthodox and heretics. They had been educated in the same religion, and the same civil society. Their hopes

[163] The Donatist suicides alleged in their justification the example of Razias, which is related in the 14th chapter of the second book of the Maccabees.

[164] Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum expertus. Ammian. xxii. 5.

[165] Gregor. Nazianzen, Orat. i. p. 33. See Tillemont, tom. vi. p. 501, quarto edit.

nd fears in the present, or in a future, life were balanced in ne same proportion. On either side, the error might be nnocent, the faith sincere, the practice meritorious or corrupt. Their passions were excited by similar objects; and they might lternately abuse the favour of the court, or of the people. The netaphysical opinions of the Athanasians and the Arians could ot influence their moral character; and they were alike actuated y the intolerant spirit which has been extracted from the pure nd simple maxims of the gospel.

Toleration of paganism

A modern writer, who, with a just confidence, has prefixed to is own history the honourable epithets of political and philoso- hical,[166] accuses the timid prudence of Montesquieu for neglecting to enumerate, among the causes of the decline of the mpire, a law of Constantine, by which the exercise of the pagan vorship was absolutely suppressed, and a considerable part of his subjects was left destitute of priests, of temples, and of any ublic religion. The zeal of the philosophic historian for the ights of mankind has induced him to acquiesce in the ambigu- us testimony of those ecclesiastics, who have too lightly ascribed to their favourite hero the *merit* of a general persecu- tion.[167] Instead of alleging this imaginary law, which would have blazed in the front of the Imperial codes, we may safely appeal to the original epistle which Constantine addressed to the followers of the ancient religion; at a time when he no longer disguised his conversion nor dreaded the rivals of his throne. He invites and exhorts, in the most pressing terms, the subjects of the Roman empire to imitate the example of their master; but he declares that those who still refuse to open their eyes to the celestial light may freely enjoy their temples and their fancied gods. A report that the ceremonies of paganism were suppressed is formally contradicted by the emperor himself, who wisely assigns, as the principle of his moderation, the in- vincible force of habit, of prejudice, and of superstition.[168]

by Constantine

[166] Histoire Politique et Philosophique des Etablissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes, tom. i. p. 9.

[167] According to Eusebius (in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 45) the emperor prohibited, both in cities and in the country, τὰ μυσαρὰ . . . τῆς Εἰδωλολατρείας; the abominable acts or parts of idolatry. Socrates (l. i. c. 17) and Sozomen (l. ii. c. 4, 5) have represented the conduct of Constantine with a just regard to truth and history; which has been neglected by Theodoret (l. v. c. 21) and Orosius (vii. 28). Tum deinde (says the latter) primus Constantinus *justo* ordine et *pio* vicem vertit edicto; siquidem statuit citra ullam hominum cædem paganorum templa claudi.

[168] See Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. ii. c. 56, 60. In the sermon to the assembly of saints, which the emperor pronounced when he was mature in years and piety, he declares to the idolaters (c. xi.) that they are permitted to offer sacrifices and to exercise every part of their religious worship.

Without violating the sanctity of his promise, without alarming the fears of the pagans, the artful monarch advanced, by slow and cautious steps, to undermine the irregular and decayed fabric of polytheism. The partial acts of severity which he occasionally exercised, though they were secretly prompted by a Christian zeal, were coloured by the fairest pretences of justice and the public good; and, while Constantine designed to ruin the foundations, he seemed to reform the abuses, of the ancient religion. After the example of the wisest of his predecessors, he condemned, under the most rigorous penalties, the occult and impious arts of divination; which excited the vain hopes, and sometimes the criminal attempts, of those who were discontented with their present condition. An ignominious silence was imposed on the oracles, which had been publicly convicted of fraud and falsehood; the effeminate priests of the Nile were abolished; and Constantine discharged the duties of a Roman censor, when he gave orders for the demolition of several temples of Phœnicia, in which every mode of prostitution was devoutly practised in the face of day, and to the honour of Venus.[169] The Imperial city of Constantinople was, in some measure, raised at the expense, and was adorned with the spoils, of the opulent temples of Greece and Asia; the sacred property was confiscated; the statues of gods and heroes were transported, with rude familiarity, among a people who considered them as objects, not of adoration, but of curiosity: the gold and silver were restored to circulation; and the magistrates, the bishops, and the eunuchs, improved the fortunate occasion of gratifying at once their zeal, their avarice, and their resentment. But these depredations were confined to a small part of the Roman world; and the provinces had been long since accustomed to endure the same sacrilegious rapine, from the tyranny of princes and proconsuls, who could not be suspected of any design to subvert the established religion.[170]

and his sons

The sons of Constantine trod in the footsteps of their father, with more zeal and with less discretion. The pretences of

[169] See Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 54-58, and l. iv. c. 23, 25. These acts of authority may be compared with the suppression of the Bacchanals, and the demolition of the temple of Isis, by the magistrates of pagan Rome.

[170] Eusebius (in Vit. Constant. l. iii. c. 54) and Libanius (Orat. pro Templis, p. 9, 10, edit. Gothofred.) both mention the pious sacrilege of Constantine, which they viewed in very different lights. The latter expressly declares that "he made use of the sacred money, but made no alteration in the legal worship; the temples indeed were impoverished, but the sacred rites were performed there". Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 140.

pine and oppression were insensibly multiplied ;[171] every in-ulgence was shewn to the illegal behaviour of the Christians ; very doubt was explained to the disadvantage of paganism ; nd the demolition of the temples was celebrated as one of the uspicious events of the reign of Constans and Constantius.[172] he name of Constantius is prefixed to a concise law, which ight have superseded the necessity of any future prohibitions. It is our pleasure that in all places, and in all cities, the mples be immediately shut, and carefully guarded, that none ay have the power of offending. It is likewise our pleasure hat all our subjects should abstain from sacrifices. If any one ould be guilty of such an act, let him feel the sword of engeance, and, after his execution, let his property be confis-ated to the public use. We denounce the same penalties gainst the governors of the provinces, if they neglect to punish ie criminals." [173] But there is the strongest reason to believe hat this formidable edict was either composed without being ublished, or was published without being executed. The vidence of facts, and the monuments which are still extant of rass and marble, continue to prove the public exercise of the agan worship during the whole reign of the sons of Constantine. h the east, as well as in the west, in cities, as well as in the ountry, a great number of temples were respected, or at least ere spared ; and the devout multitude still enjoyed the luxury f sacrifices, of festivals, and of processions, by the permission, r by the connivance, of the civil government. About four ears after the supposed date of his bloody edict, Constantius isited the temples of Rome ; and the decency of his behaviour recommended by a pagan orator as an example worthy of the

[171] Ammianus (xxii. 4) speaks of some court eunuchs who were spoliis templorum sti. Libanius says (Orat. pro Templ. p. 23), that the emperor often gave away temple, like a dog, or a horse, or a slave, or a gold cup : but the devout philoso-er takes care to observe that these sacrilegious favourites very seldom prospered.

[172] See Gothofred. Cod. Theodos. tom. vi. p. 262 ; Liban. Orat. Parental. c. x. in abric. Bibl. Græc. tom. vii. p. 235.

[173] Placuit omnibus locis atque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa, et ccessu vetitis omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam nctos a sacrificiis abstinere. Quod siquis aliquid forte hujusmodi perpetraverit, adio sternatur : facultates etiam perempti fisco decernimus vindicari ; et similiter fligi rectores provinciarum si facinora vindicare neglexerint. Cod. Theodos. l. vi. tit. x. leg. 4. Chronology has discovered some contradiction in the date of is extravagant law ; the only one, perhaps, by which the negligence of magis-ates is punished by death and confiscation. M. de la Bastie (Mém. de l Académie, m. xv. p. 98) conjectures, with a show of reason, that this was no more than the inutes of a law, the heads of an intended bill, which were found in Scriniis femoriæ, among the papers of Constantius, and afterwards inserted, as a worthy odel, in the Theodosian code.

imitation of succeeding princes. "That emperor," say Symmachus, "suffered the privileges of the vestal virgins t remain inviolate; he bestowed the sacerdotal dignities on th nobles of Rome, granted the customary allowance to defray th expenses of the public rites and sacrifices: and, though he ha embraced a different religion, he never attempted to depriv the empire of the sacred worship of antiquity."[174] The senat still presumed to consecrate, by solemn decrees, the *divin* memory of their sovereigns; and Constantine himself wa associated, after his death, to those gods whom he had renounce and insulted during his life. The title, the ensigns, the pre rogatives of SOVEREIGN PONTIFF, which had been instituted b Numa, and assumed by Augustus, were accepted, withou hesitation, by seven Christian emperors; who were investe with a more absolute authority over the religion which the had deserted than over that which they professed.[175]

The divisions of Christianity suspended the ruin of *paganism*;[176]

[174] Symmach. Epistol. x. 54.

[175] The fourth Dissertation of M. de la Bastie, sur le Souverain Pontificat de Empereurs Romains (in Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xv. p. 75-144), is a very learne and judicious performance, which explains the state, and proves the toleration, o paganism from Constantine to Gratian. The assertion of Zosimus that Gratia was the first who refused the pontifical robe is confirmed beyond a doubt; and th murmurs of bigotry, on that subject, are almost silenced.

[176] As I have freely anticipated the use of *pagans* and paganism, I shall now trace th singular revolutions of those celebrated words. 1. Παγή [παγά], in the Doric dialect so familiar to the Italians, signifies a fountain; and the rural neighbourhood which frequented the same fountain derived the common appellation of *pagus* and *pagan* (Festus sub voce, and Servius ad Virgil. Georgic. ii. 382). 2. By an easy extension of the word, *pagan* and rural became almost synonymous (Plin. Hist. Natur. xxviii 5); and the meaner rustics acquired that name, which has been corrupted into *peasants* in the modern languages of Europe. 3. The amazing increase of the military order introduced the necessity of a correlative term (Hume's Essays, vol. i. p. 555); and all the *people* who were not enlisted in the service of the prince were branded with the contemptuous epithet of pagans (Tacit. Hist. iii. 24, 43, 77. Juvenal. Satir. xvi. [33]. Tertullian. de Pallio, c. 4). 4. The Christians were the soldier of Christ; their adversaries, who refused his *sacrament*, or military oath of baptism might deserve the metaphorical name of pagans: and this popular reproach was introduced as early as the reign of Valentinian (A.D. 365) into Imperial laws (Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. ii. leg. 18) and theological writings. 5. Christianity gradually filled the cities of the empire; the old religion, in the time of Prudentius (advers. Symmachum, l. i. ad fin.) and Orosius (in Præfat. Hist.), retired and languished in obscure villages; and the word *pagans*, with its new signification, reverted to its primitive origin. 6. Since the worship of Jupiter and his family has expired, the vacant title of pagans has been successively applied to all the idolaters and polytheists of the old and new world. 7. The Latin Christians bestowed it, without scruple, on their mortal enemies the Mahometans; and the purest *unitarians* were branded with the unjust reproach of idolatry and paganism. See Gerard Vossius, Etymologicon Linguæ Latinæ, in his works, tom. i. p. 420. Godefroy's Commentary on the Theodosian Code, tom. vi. p. 250, and Ducange, mediæ et infimæ Latinitat. Glossar. [Latin *pagus*, canton or village, has nothing to do with πηγή.]

d the holy war against the infidels was less vigorously pro-
cuted by princes and bishops who were more immediately
armed by the guilt and danger of domestic rebellion. The
tirpation of *idolatry*[177] might have been justified by the
tablished principles of intolerance: but the hostile sects,
hich alternately reigned in the imperial court, were mutually
prehensive of alienating, and perhaps exasperating, the minds
a powerful, though declining, faction. Every motive of
thority and fashion, of interest and reason, now militated on
e side of Christianity; but two or three generations elapsed
fore their victorious influence was universally felt. The re-
ion which had so long and so lately been established in the
oman empire was still revered by a numerous people, less
tached indeed to speculative opinion than to ancient custom.
he honours of the state and army were indifferently bestowed
all the subjects of Constantine and Constantius; and a con-
derable portion of knowledge and wealth and valour was still
gaged in the service of polytheism. The superstition of the
nator and of the peasant, of the poet and the philosopher,
as derived from very different causes, but they met with
ual devotion in the temples of the gods. Their zeal was
sensibly provoked by the insulting triumph of a proscribed
ct; and their hopes were revived by the well-grounded con-
dence that the presumptive heir of the empire, a young and
liant hero, who had delivered Gaul from the arms of the
rbarians, had secretly embraced the religion of his ancestors.

177 In the pure language of Ionia and Athens, Εἴδωλον and Λατρεια were ancient
d familiar words. The former expressed a likeness, an apparition (Homer,
lyss. xi. 601), a representation, an *image*, created either by fancy or art. The
ter denoted any sort of *service* or slavery. The Jews of Egypt, who translated
e Hebrew scriptures, restrained the use of these words (Exodus xx. 4, 5) to the
ligious worship of an image. The peculiar idiom of the Hellenists, or Grecian
ws, has been adopted by the sacred and ecclesiastical writers; and the reproach
idolatry (Εἰδωλολατρεία) has stigmatized that visible and abject mode of superstiti-
n which some sects of Christianity should not hastily impute to the polytheists
Greece and Rome.

CHAPTER XXII

Julian is declared Emperor by the Legions of Gaul—His Mar and Success—The Death of Constantius—Civil Administrati of Julian

The jealousy of Constantius against Julian

WHILE the Romans languished under the ignominious tyranı of eunuchs and bishops, the praises of Julian were repeate with transport in every part of the empire, except in the pala of Constantius. The Barbarians of Germany had felt, and st dreaded, the arms of the young Cæsar; his soldiers were th companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed th blessings of his reign; but the favourites who had opposed h elevation were offended by his virtues; and they justly co sidered the friend of the people as the enemy of the court. A long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of th palace, who were skilled in the language of satire, tried th efficacy of those arts which they had so often practised wit success. They easily discovered that his simplicity was n exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hair savage, of an ape invested with the purple, were applied to th dress and person of the philosophic warrior; and his moder dispatches were stigmatized as the vain and elaborate fictio of a loquacious Greek, a speculative soldier, who had studie the art of war amidst the groves of the academy.[1] The voic of malicious folly was at length silenced by the shouts of victory the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer b painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himse was meanly ambitious of stealing from his lieutenant th honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned wit

[1] Omnes qui plus poterant in palatio, adulandi professores jam docti, rect consulta prospereque completa vertebant in deridiculum: talia sine modo strepente insulse; in odium venit cum victoriis suis capella, non homo; ut hirsutum Julianum carpentes, appellantesque loquacem talpam, et purpuratam simiam, et litterionem Græcum: et his congruentia plurima atque vernacula [*legendum cum Unger* aeque ut tintinnabula] principi resonantes, audire hæc taliaque gestienti, virtute ejus obruere verbis impudentibus conabantur, ut segnem incessentes et timidum et umbratilem, gestaque secus verbis comptioribus exornantem. Ammianus xvii. 11.

rel, which, according to ancient custom, were addressed to e provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Constantius d made his dispositions in person; *he* had signalized his valour the foremost ranks; *his* military conduct had secured the tory; and the captive king of the Barbarians was presented *him* on the field of battle," from which he was at that time stant about forty days' journey.[2] So extravagant a fable was capable, however, of deceiving the public credulity, or even satisfying the pride of the emperor himself. Secretly nscious that the applause and favour of the Romans accomnied the rising fortunes of Julian, his discontented mind was epared to receive the subtle poison of those artful sycophants no coloured their mischievous designs with the fairest appearces of truth and candour.[3] Instead of depreciating the erits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, s popular fame, superior talents, and important services. ut they darkly insinuated that the virtues of the Cæsar might stantly be converted into the most dangerous crimes, if the constant multitude should prefer their inclinations to their uty; or if the general of a victorious army should be tempted om his allegiance by the hopes of revenge and independent reatness. The personal fears of Constantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public safety; hilst in private, and perhaps in his own breast, he disguised, nder the less odious appellation of fear, the sentiments of atred and envy, which he had secretly conceived for the initable virtues of Julian.

Fears and envy of Constantius

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul and the imminent danger f the eastern provinces offered a specious pretence for the esign which was artfully concerted by the Imperial ministers. hey resolved to disarm the Cæsar; to recall those faithful roops who guarded his person and dignity; and to employ in distant war against the Persian monarch the hardy veterans vho had vanquished, on the banks of the Rhine, the fiercest

The legions of Gaul are ordered to march into the East. A. D. 360, April

[2] Ammian. xvi. 12. The orator Themistius (iv p. 56, 57) believed whatever was ontained in the Imperial letters which were addressed to the senate of Constantiople. Aurelius Victor, who published his Abridgment in the last year of Conantius, ascribes the German victories to the *wisdom* of the emperor, and the *ortune* of the Cæsar. Yet the historian, soon afterwards, was indebted to the avour or esteem of Julian for the honour of a brass statue, and the important ffices of consular of the second Pannonia, and præfect of the city. Ammian. xi. 10.

[3] Callido nocendi artificio, accusatoriam diritatem laudum titulis peragebant. . . . Hæ voces fuerunt ad inflammanda odia probris omnibus potentiores. See Mamertin. in Actione Gratiarum in Vet. Panegyr. xi. 5, 6.

nations of Germany. While Julian used the laborious hou of his winter quarters at Paris in the administration of powe which, in his hands, was the exercise of virtue, he was surprise by the hasty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with positiv orders from the emperor, which *they* were directed to execut and *he* was commanded not to oppose. Constantius signifie his pleasure, that four entire legions, the Celtæ, and Petulant the Heruli, and the Batavians,[4] should be separated from th standard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fam and discipline; that in each of the remaining bands thre hundred of the bravest youths should be selected;[5] and th this numerous detachment, the strength of the Gallic army should instantly begin their march, and exert their utmos diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on th frontiers of Persia.[6] The Cæsar foresaw, and lamented, th consequences of this fatal mandate. Most of the auxiliaries who engaged their voluntary service, had stipulated that the should never be obliged to pass the Alps. The public faith o Rome and the personal honour of Julian had been pledged fo the observance of this condition. Such an act of treachery an oppression would destroy the confidence, and excite the resent ment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who considered truth as the noblest of their virtues, and freedom as the mos valuable of their possessions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges of Romans, were enlisted for the genera defence of the republic; but those mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the Republic and o Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian they despised, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Persian arrows, and the burning deserts of Asia. They claimed as their own the country which they had saved; and excused their want of spirit by pleading the sacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families

[4] [These are *auxilia palatina* (not legions; see Appendix 12); the best troops in the army, τέτταρας ἀριθμοὺς (*numeros*) τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν, Julian, ad S. P. Q. Ath. p. 361, ed. Hertl.]

[5] [*Ex numeris aliis* (Amm. 20, 4, 2), a general expression for "from other troops," inclusive of the legions.]

[6] The minute interval, which may be interposed, between the *hyeme adultâ* and the *primo vere* of Ammianus (xx, 1 [3], 4, [2]), instead of allowing a sufficient space for a march of three thousand miles, would render the orders of Constantius as extravagant as they were unjust. The troops of Gaul could not have reached Syria till the end of autumn. The memory of Ammianus must have been inaccurate, and his language incorrect. [As to this criticism, see App. 1.]

l friends. The apprehensions of the Gauls were derived
m the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger.
soon as the provinces were exhausted of their military
ength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been
posed on their fears; and, notwithstanding the abilities and
our of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the
blic calamities would be imputed, must find himself, after a
n resistance, either a prisoner in the camp of the Barbarians
a criminal in the palace of Constantius. If Julian complied
h the orders which he had received, he subscribed his own
truction, and that of a people who deserved his affection.
t a positive refusal was an act of rebellion and a declaration
war. The inexorable jealousy of the emperor, the peremp-
y, and perhaps insidious, nature of his commands, left not
y room for a fair apology or candid interpretation; and the
pendent station of the Cæsar scarcely allowed him to pause
to deliberate. Solitude increased the perplexity of Julian;
could no longer apply to the faithful counsels of Sallust,
o had been removed from his office by the judicious malice
the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his representations
the concurrence of the ministers, who would have been
aid or ashamed to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment
d been chosen, when Lupicinus,[7] the general of the cavalry,
s dispatched into Britain, to repulse the inroads of the Scots
d Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the assess-
nt of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt statesman,
clining to assume a responsible part on this dangerous
casion, eluded the pressing and repeated invitations of
lian, who represented to him that in every important measure,
e presence of the præfect was indispensable in the council
the prince. In the meanwhile the Cæsar was oppressed by
e rude and importunate solicitations of the Imperial messengers,
o presumed to suggest that, if he expected the return of his
nisters, he would charge himself with the guilt of the delay,
d reserve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to
sist, unwilling to comply, Julian expressed, in the most serious
rms, his wish, and even his intention, of resigning the purple,

[7] Ammianus, xx. 1. The valour of Lupicinus, and his military skill, are acowledged by the historian, who, in his affected language, accuses the general exalting the horns of his pride, bellowing in a tragic tone, and exciting a doubt ether he was more cruel or avaricious. The danger from the Scots and Picts as so serious that Julian himself had some thoughts of passing over into the and. [Constantius was doubtless ignorant of this danger.]

which he could not preserve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with safety.

Their discontents

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge that obedience was the virtue of the most eminent subject, and that the sovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He issued the necessary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Constantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the several garrisons moved towards their respective places of assembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite the pity by silent despair or loud lamentations; while the wives of the soldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accused the desertion of their husbands, in the mixed language of grief, of tenderness, and of indignation. This scene of general distress afflicted the humanity of the Cæsar; he granted a sufficient number of post-waggons to transport the wives and families of the soldiers,[8] endeavoured to alleviate the hardships which he was constrained to inflict, and increased, by the most laudable arts, his own popularity and the discontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is soon converted into rage: their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldness and effect, prepared their minds for the most daring acts of sedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a seasonable libel was secretly dispersed, which painted in lively colours the disgrace of the Cæsar, the oppression of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Asia. The servants of Constantius were astonished and alarmed by the progress of this dangerous spirit. They pressed the Cæsar to hasten the departure of the troops: but they imprudently rejected the honest and judicious advice of Julian, who proposed that they should not march through Paris, and suggested the danger and temptation of a last interview.

They proclaim Julian emperor

As soon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæsar went out to meet them, and ascended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After distinguishing the officers and soldiers who by their rank or merit deserved a peculiar attention, Julian addressed himself in a studied oration to the surrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applause: encouraged them to

[8] He granted them the permission of the *cursus clavularis*, or *clabularis*. These post-waggons are often mentioned in the Code, and were supposed to carry fifteen hundred pounds weight. See Vales. ad Ammian. xx. 4.

epted, with alacrity, the honour of serving under the eyes of a werful and liberal monarch; and admonished them that the mmands of Augustus required an instant and cheerful obedi-ce. The soldiers, who were apprehensive of offending their neral by an indecent clamour, or of belying their sentiments false and venal acclamations, maintained an obstinate silence, d, after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The ncipal officers were entertained by the Cæsar, who professed, the warmest language of friendship, his desire and his inability reward, according to their deserts, the brave companions of victories. They retired from the feast, full of grief and rplexity; and lamented the hardship of their fate, which tore em from their beloved general and their native country. The ly expedient which could prevent their separation was boldly itated and approved; the popular resentment was insensibly oulded into a regular conspiracy; their just reasons of com-aint were heightened by passion, and their passions were lamed by wine; as, on the eve of their departure, the troops ere indulged in licentious festivity. At the hour of midnight, e impetuous multitude, with swords and bowls [8a] and torches in eir hands, rushed into the suburbs; encompassed the palace; [9] d, careless of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and ir-vocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whose anxious spense was interrupted by their disorderly acclamations, cured the doors against their intrusion; and, as long as it was his power, secluded his person and dignity from the accidents a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the soldiers, whose al was irritated by opposition, forcibly entered the palace, ized, with respectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded

[8a] [So quarto rightly (Zos. iii. 9); Smith's text and others give *bows!*]

[9] Most probably the palace of the baths (*Thermarum*), of which a solid and y hall still subsists in the *rue de la Harpe*. The buildings covered a consider-e space of the modern quarter of the University; and the gardens, under the rovingian kings, communicated with the abbey of St. Germain des Prez. By injuries of time and the Normans, this ancient palace was reduced, in the elfth century, to a maze of ruins; whose dark recesses were the scene of ntious love.

> Explicat ulla sinus montemque amplectitur alis;
> Multiplici latebrâ scelerum tersura ruborem.
> ... ... pereuntis sæpe pudoris
> Celatura nefas, Venerisque accommoda *furtis*.

hese lines are quoted from the Architrenius, l. iv. c. 8, a poetical work of John Hauteville, or Hanville [Altavilla or Auvilla, near Rouen], a Monk of St. Alban's out the year 1190 [1184]. See Warton's Hist. of English Poetry, vol. i. dissert. ii.) t such *thefts* might be less pernicious to mankind than the theological disputes the Sorbonne, which have been since agitated on the same ground. Bonamy, ém. de l'Académie, tom. xv. p. 678-682.

Julian with drawn swords through the streets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated shouts saluted him as their emperor. Prudence as well as loyalty inculcated the propriety of resisting their treasonable designs and of preparing for his oppressed virtue the excuse of violence. Addressing himself by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he sometimes implored their mercy, and sometimes expressed his indignation; conjured them not to sully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promise that, if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their resentment. But the soldiers, who were conscious of their guilt, chose rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was insensibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæsar sustained, till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly assured that, if he wished to live, he must consent to reign. He was exalted on a shield in the presence, and amidst the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, supplied the want of a diadem;[10] the ceremony was concluded by the promise of a moderate donative;[11] and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the most secret recesses of his apartment.[12]

His protestations of innocence

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence must appear extremely doubtful[13] in the eyes of those who have learned to suspect the motives and the pro-

[10] Even in this tumultuous moment, Julian attended to the forms of superstitious ceremony, and obstinately refused the inauspicious use of a female necklace, or a horse-collar, which the impatient soldiers would have employed in the room of a diadem.

[11] An equal proportion of gold and silver, five pieces of the former, one pound of the latter; the whole amounting to about five pounds ten shillings of our money.

[12] For the whole narrative of this revolt, we may appeal to authentic and original materials; Julian himself (ad S. P. Q. Atheniensem, p. 282, 283, 284 [p. 362-366, ed. Hertl.]), Libanius (Orat. Parental, c. 44-48, in Fabricius Bibliot. Græc. t. vii. p. 269-273), Ammianus (xx. 4), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 151, 152, 153, [c. 9]), who, in the reign of Julian, appears to follow the more respectable authority of Eunapius. With such guides we *might* neglect the abbreviators and ecclesiastical historians.

[13] Eutropius, a respectable witness, uses a doubtful expression, "consensu militum" (x. 15). Gregory Nazianzen, whose ignorance might excuse his fanaticism, directly charges the apostate with presumption, madness, and impious rebellion, αὐθάδεια, ἀπόνοια, ἀσέβεια. Orat. iii. [= iv. ed Migne] p. 67 [c. 26].

ssions of princes. His lively and active mind was susceptible the various impressions of hope and fear, of gratitude and venge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the ar of reproach. But it is impossible for us to calculate the spective weight and operation of these sentiments; or to certain the principles of action, which might escape the servation, while they guided or rather impelled the steps, of lian himself. The discontent of the troops was produced by e malice of his enemies; their tumult was the natural effect interest and of passion; and, if Julian had tried to conceal a ep design under the appearances of chance, he must have nployed the most consummate artifice without necessity, and obably without success. He solemnly declares, in the presence Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other ities, that, till the close of the evening which preceded his evation, he was utterly ignorant of the designs of the soldiers;[14] d it may seem ungenerous to distrust the honour of a hero d the truth of a philosopher. Yet the superstitious confidence at Constantius was the enemy, and that he himself was the vourite, of the gods, might prompt him to desire, to solicit, d even to hasten the auspicious moment of his reign, which as predestined to restore the ancient religion of mankind. hen Julian had received the intelligence of the conspiracy, resigned himself to a short slumber; and afterwards related his friends that he had seen the Genius of the empire waiting ith some impatience at his door, pressing for admittance, and proaching his want of spirit and ambition.[15] Astonished and rplexed, he addressed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who mediately signified, by a clear and manifest omen, that he ould submit to the will of heaven and of the army. The nduct which disclaims the ordinary maxims of reason excites ir suspicion and eludes our inquiry. Whenever the spirit of naticism, at once so credulous and so crafty, has insinuated self into a noble mind, it insensibly corrodes the vital principles virtue and veracity.

[14] Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 284 [p. 365, ed. H.]. The *devout* Abbé de la Bléterie ie de Julien, p. 159) is almost inclined to respect the *devout* protestations of a gan.

[15] Ammian. xx. 5, with a note of Lindenbrogius on the Genius of the empire. lian himself, in a confidential letter to his friend and physician, Oribasius pist. xvii. p. 384 [p. 496, ed. H.]), mentions another dream, to which, before the ent, he gave credit; of a stately tree thrown to the ground, of a small plant iking a deep root into the earth. Even in his sleep, the mind of Cæsar must ve been agitated by the hopes and fears of his fortune. Zosimus (l. iii. p. 155 . 9]) relates a subsequent dream.

His embassy to Constantius

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the persons of his enemies,[16] to defeat and to despise the secret enterprises which were formed against his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the first days of the reign of the new emperor. Although he was firmly resolved to maintain the station which he had assumed, he was still desirous of saving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a contest with the superior forces of Constantius, and of preserving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the ensigns of military and Imperial pomp, Julian showed himself in the field of Mars to the soldiers, who glowed with ardent enthusiasm in the cause of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their sufferings, applauded their resolution, animated their hopes, and checked their impetuosity; nor did he dismiss the assembly till he had obtained a solemn promise from the troops that, if the emperor of the East would subscribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conquest, and satisfy themselves with the tranquil possession of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he composed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a specious and moderate epistle,[17] which was delivered to Pentadius, his master of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambassadors whom he appointed to receive the answer, and observe the dispositions, of Constantius. This epistle is inscribed with the modest appellation of Cæsar; but Julian solicits in a peremptory, though respectful, manner the confirmation of the title of Augustus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he justifies, in some measure, the resentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant consent. He allows the supremacy of his brother Constantius; and engages to send him an annual present of Spanish horses, to recruit his army with a select number of Barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a Prætorian præfect of approved discretion and fidelity. But he reserves for himself the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admonishes the emperor to consult the dictates of justice; to distrust the arts of those

[16] The difficult situation of the prince of a rebellious army is finely described by Tacitus (Hist. 1, 80-85). But Otho had much more guilt, and much less abilities, than Julian.

[17] To this ostensible epistle he added, says Ammianus, private letters, objurgatorias et mordaces, which the historian had not seen, and would not have published. Perhaps they never existed.

nal flatterers who subsist only by the discord of princes; and embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally dvantageous to the republic and to the house of Constantine. this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already ossessed. The delegated authority which he had long exercised er the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain was still obeyed nder a name more independent and august. The soldiers and ie people rejoiced in a revolution which was not stained even ith the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupici- is a prisoner. The persons who were disaffected to the new overnment were disarmed and secured; and the vacant offices ere distributed, according to the recommendation of merit, y a prince who despised the intrigues of the palace and the amours of the soldiers.[18]

His fourth and fifth expedition beyond the Rhine. A.D. 360, 361

The negociations of peace were accompanied and supported y the most vigorous preparations for war. The army, which ulian held in readiness for immediate action, was recruited and ugmented by the disorders of the times. The cruel persecution f the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous ands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the ffer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could trust, ubmitted to the restraints of military discipline, and retained nly their implacable hatred to the person and government of onstantius.[19] As soon as the season of the year permitted ulian to take the field, he appeared at the head of his legions; hrew a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; nd prepared to chastise the perfidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of franks, who presumed that they might ravage, with impunity, he frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as lory, of this enterprise, consisted in a laborious march; and ulian had conquered, as soon as he could penetrate into, a ountry which former princes had considered as inaccessible. After he had given peace to the Barbarians, the emperor care- ully visited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Basil; surveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which ie had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, passed through

[18] See the first transactions of his reign, in Julian. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 285, 86 [p. 367, 368]. Ammianus, xx. 5, 8. Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 49, 50, p. 273-75.

[19] Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 50, p. 275, 276. A strange disorder, since it con- inued above seven years. In the factions of the Greek republics, the exiles mounted to 20,000 persons; and Isocrates assures Philip that it would be easier o raise an army from the vagabonds than from the cities. See Hume's Essays, om. i. p. 426, 427.

Besançon,[20] which had severely suffered from their fury, and
[Vienne] fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the ensuing winter. The
barrier of Gaul was improved and strengthened with additional
fortifications; and Julian entertained some hopes that the
Germans, whom he had so often vanquished, might, in his
absence, be restrained by the terror of his name. Vadomair[21]
was the only prince of the Alemanni whom he esteemed or
feared; and, while the subtle Barbarian affected to observe the
faith of treaties, the progress of his arms threatened the state
with an unseasonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian
condescended to surprise the prince of the Alemanni by his
own arts; and Vadomair who, in the character of a friend, had
incautiously accepted an invitation from the Roman governors,
was seized in the midst of the entertainment, and sent away
prisoner into the heart of Spain. Before the Barbarians were
recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms
on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more crossing the river,
renewed the deep impressions of terror and respect which had
been already made by four preceding expeditions.[22]

Fruitless treaty and declaration of war. A.D. 361

The ambassadors of Julian had been instructed to execute,
with the utmost diligence, their important commission. But,
in their passage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained
by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors;
they were conducted by slow journeys from Constantinople to
[Summer, A.D. 360] Cæsarea in Cappadocia; and, when at length they were admitted
to the presence of Constantius, they found that he had already
conceived, from the dispatches of his own officers, the most
unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian and of the
Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the
trembling messengers were dismissed with indignation and
contempt; and the looks, the gestures, the furious language of
the monarch expressed the disorder of his soul. The domestic
connexion, which might have reconciled the brother and the
husband of Helena, was recently dissolved by the death of that
princess, whose pregnancy had been several times fruitless, and

[20] Julian (Epist. xxxviii. p. 414 [p. 535, ed. H.]) gives a short description of Vesontio, or Besançon; a rocky peninsula almost encircled by the river Doux [Doubs]; once a magnificent city, filled with temples, &c. now reduced to a small town, emerging however from its ruins.

[21] Vadomair entered into the Roman service, and was promoted from a Barbarian kingdom to the military rank of duke of Phœnicia. He still retained the same artful character (Ammian. xxi. 4): but, under the reign of Valens, he signalized his valour in the Armenian war (xxix. 1).

[22] Ammian, xx. 10, xxi. 3, 4. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 155 [10].

was at last fatal to herself.[23] The empress Eusebia had preserved, to the last moment of her life, the warm and even jealous affection which she had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the resentment of a prince who, since her death, was abandoned to his own passions and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invasion obliged him to suspend the punishment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Persia, and thought it sufficient to signify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended sovereign. He required that the presumptuous Cæsar should expressly renounce the appellation and rank of Augustus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he should descend to his former station of a limited and dependent minister; that he should vest the powers of the state and army in the hands of those officers who were appointed by the Imperial court; and that he should trust his safety to the assurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic bishop, and one of the Arian favourites of Constantius. Several months were ineffectually consumed in a treaty which was negotiated at the distance of three thousand miles between Paris and Antioch; and, as soon as Julian perceived that his moderate and respectful behaviour served only to irritate the pride of an implacable adversary, he boldly resolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæstor Leonas: the haughty epistle of Constantius was read to the attentive multitude; and Julian protested, with the most flattering deference, that he was ready to resign the title of Augustus, if he could obtain the consent of those whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint proposal was impetuously silenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Augustus, continue to reign, by the authority of the army, of the people, of the republic, which you have saved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambassador of Constantius. A part of the

[23] Her remains were sent to Rome, and interred near those of her sister Constantina, in the suburb of the *Via Nomentana*, Ammian. xxi. 1. Libanius has composed a very weak apology to justify his hero from a very absurd charge; of poisoning his wife, and rewarding her physician with his mother's jewels. (See the seventh of seventeen new orations, published at Venice 1754 [by A. Bongiovanni], from a Ms. in St. Mark's library, p. 117-127 [Or. 36, ed. Reiske].) Elpidius, the Prætorian præfect of the East, to whose evidence the accuser of Julian appeals, is arraigned by Libanius as *effeminate* and ungrateful; yet the religion of Elpidius is praised by Jerom (tom. i. p. 243), and his humanity by Ammianus (xxi. 6) [and Libanius praises him elsewhere, cp. Epp. 176 and 192].

letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had invested with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with so much care and tenderness; whom he had preserved in his infancy, when he was left a helpless orphan; "an orphan!" interrupted Julian, who justified his cause by indulging his passions; "does the assassin of my family reproach me that I was left an orphan? He urges me to revenge those injuries which I have long studied to forget." The assembly was dismissed; and Leonas, who, with some difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was sent back to his master, with an epistle, in which Julian expressed, in a strain of the most vehement eloquence, the sentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of resentment, which had been suppressed and embittered by the dissimulation of twenty years. After this message, which might be considered as a signal of irreconcileable war, Julian, who some weeks before had celebrated the Christian festival of the Epiphany,[24] made a public declaration that he committed the care of his safety to the IMMORTAL GODS; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendship, of Constantius.[25]

Julian prepares to attack Constantius

The situation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate resolution. He had discovered from intercepted letters that his adversary, sacrificing the interest of the state to that of the monarch, had again excited the Barbarians to invade the provinces of the West. The position of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Constance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, seemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the size of those magazines, each of which consisted of six hundred thousand quarters of wheat, or rather flour,[26] was a threatening evidence

[24] Feriarum die quem celebrantes mense Januario Christiani *Epiphania* dictitant, progressus in eorum ecclesiam, solemniter numine orato discessit. Ammian. xxi. 2. Zonaras observes that it was on Christmas-day, and his assertion is not inconsistent; since the churches of Egypt, Asia, and perhaps Gaul, celebrated on the same day (the sixth of January) the nativity and the baptism of their Saviour. The Romans, as ignorant as their brethren of the real date of his birth, fixed the solemn festival on the 25th of December, the *Brumalia*, or winter solstice, when the Pagans annually celebrated the birth of the Sun. See Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, l. xx. c. 4, and Beausobre, Hist. Critique du Manichéisme, tom. ii. p. 690-700.

[25] The public and secret negotiations between Constantius and Julian must be extracted, with some caution, from Julian himself (Orat. ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 51, p. 276), Ammianus (xx. 9), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 154 [c. 9]), and even Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 20, 21, 22 [c. 10]), who, on this occasion, appears to have possessed and used some valuable materials.

[26] Three hundred myriads or three millions of *medimni*, a corn-measure familiar to the Athenians, and which contained six Roman *modii*. Julian explains, like a

the strength and numbers of the enemy, who prepared to rround him. But the Imperial legions were still in their stant quarters of Asia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and, Julian could occupy by a sudden incursion the important ovinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of soldiers uld resort to his standard, and that the rich mines of gold d silver would contribute to the expenses of the civil war. e proposed this bold enterprise to the assembly of the soldiers; spired them with a just confidence in their general and in emselves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, being terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, d obedient to their officers. His spirited discourse was re-ived with the loudest acclamations, and the same troops nich had taken up arms against Constantius, when he sum-oned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that ey would follow Julian to the farthest extremities of Europe Asia. The oath of fidelity was administered; and the ldiers, clashing their shields, and pointing their drawn swords their throats, devoted themselves, with horrid imprecations, the service of a leader whom they celebrated as the de-rerer of Gaul and the conqueror of the Germans.[27] This lemn engagement, which seemed to be dictated by affection ther than by duty, was singly opposed by Nebridius, who had en admitted to the office of Prætorian præfect. That faitnful inister, alone and unassisted, asserted the rights of Constantius the midst of an armed and angry multitude, to whose fury had almost fallen an honourable, but useless, sacrifice. After sing one of his hands by the stroke of a sword, he embraced e knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered e præfect with his Imperial mantle, and, protecting him from e zeal of his followers, dismissed him to his own house, with ss respect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy.[28] he high office of Nebridius was bestowed on Sallust; and the rovinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intoler-ble oppression of taxes, enjoyed the mild and equitable dministration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to

ldier and a statesman, the danger of his situation, and the necessity and dvantages of an offensive war (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286, 287).

27 See his oration, and the behaviour of the troops, in Ammian. xxi. 5.

28 He sternly refused his hand to the suppliant præfect, whom he sent into uscany (Ammian. xxi. 5). Libanius, with savage fury, insults Nebridius, applauds e soldiers, and almost censures the humanity of Julian (Orat. Parent. c. 53, p. 8).

practise those virtues which he had instilled into the mind his pupil.[29]

His march from the Rhine into Illyricum

The hopes of Julian depended much less on the number his troops than on the celerity of his motions. In the executio of a daring enterprise, he availed himself of every precautio as far as prudence could suggest; and, where prudence coul no longer accompany his steps, he trusted the event to valou and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Basil he assemble and divided his army.[30] One body, which consisted of te thousand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitt general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland par of Rhætia and Noricum. A similar division of troops, und the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the obliqu course of the highways, through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The instructions to the generals were co ceived with energy and precision: to hasten their march i close and compact columns, which, according to the dispositio of the ground, might readily be changed into any order o battle; to secure themselves against the surprises of the nigh by strong posts and vigilant guards; to prevent resistance b their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their sudde departure; to spread the opinion of their strength and th terror of his name; and to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himself, Julian had reserved a more difficul and extraordinary part. He selected three thousand brave and active volunteers, resolved, like their leader, to cast behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band he fearlessly plunged into the recesses of the Marcian or black forest, which conceals the sources of the Danube;[31] and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The secrecy of his march, his diligence and vigour, surmounted every obstacle; he forced his way over mountains and morasses, occupied the bridges or swam the rivers, pursued his direct course,[32] without reflecting whether he traversed the territory

[29] Ammian. xxi. 8. In this promotion, Julian obeyed the law which he publicly imposed on himself. Neque civilis quisquam judex nec militaris [*leg.* militiæ] rector, alio quodam præter merita suffragante, ad potiorum [*leg.* potiorem] veniat gradum (Ammian. xx. 5). Absence did not weaken his regard for Sallust, with whose name (A.D. 363) he honoured the consulship.

[30] Ammianus (xxi. 8) ascribes the same practice, and the same motive, to Alexander the Great and other skilful generals.

[31] This wood was a part of the great Hercynian forest, which, in the time of Cæsar, stretched away from the country of the Rauraci (Basil) into the boundless regions of the North. See Cluver, Germania Antiqua, l. iii. c. 47.

[32] Compare Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 53, p. 278, 279, with Gregory Nazianzen.

the Romans or of the Barbarians, and at length emerged, tween Ratisbon and Vienna, at the place where he designed embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted atagem, he seized a fleet of light brigantines,[33] as it lay at chor; secured a supply of coarse provisions sufficient to satisfy e indelicate, but voracious, appetite of a Gallic army; and ldly committed himself to the stream of the Danube. The ours of his mariners, who plied their oars with incessant igence, and the steady continuance of a favourable wind, ried his fleet above seven hundred miles in eleven days;[34] d he had already disembarked his troops at Bononia, only neteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive y certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the ine. In the course of this long and rapid navigation, the nd of Julian was fixed on the object of his enterprise; and, ough he accepted the deputation of some cities, which stened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed fore the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, thout indulging the temptation of signalizing an useless and -timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on her side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, ticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through e adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced th more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable ces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum. s alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports which he uld neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and esolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops; nen he was surprised by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom lian, as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forwards th some light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of

at. iii. p. 68 [iv. c. 47]. Even the saint admires the speed and secrecy of this march. modern divine might apply to the progress of Julian the lines which were originally signed for another apostate:—

————So eagerly the fiend,
O'er bog, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.

[33] In that interval the *Notitia* places two or three fleets, the Lauriacensis (at uriacum, or Lorch), the Arlapensis, the Maginensis; and mentions five legions, cohorts, of Liburnarii, who should be a sort of marines. Sect. lviii. edit. Labb.

[34] Zosimus alone (l. iii. p. 156 [c. 10]) has specified this interesting circumstance. amertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 6, 7, 8), who accompanied Julian, as count of e sacred largesses, describes this voyage in a florid and picturesque manner, allenges Triptolemus and the Argonauts of Greece, &c.

his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and con
ducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him fro
the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement whic
seemed to stupefy his faculties. But Lucilian had no soon
recovered his spirits than he betrayed his want of discretion
by presuming to admonish his conqueror that he had rashl
ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in th
midst of his enemies. "Reserve for your master Constantiu
these timid remonstrances," replied Julian, with a smile o
contempt; "when I gave you my purple to kiss, I received yo
not as a counsellor, but as a suppliant." Conscious that succes
alone could justify his attempt, and that boldness only coul
command success, he instantly advanced, at the head of thre
thousand soldiers, to attack the strongest and most populou
city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long suburb
of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of th
army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holdin
lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledge
sovereign to his Imperial residence. Two days were devote
to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of th
Circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julia
[Kapudžik, or Trojanova Vrata] marched to occupy the narrow pass of Succi, in the defile
of Mount Hæmus; which, almost in the mid-way betwee
Sirmium and Constantinople, separates the provinces of Thrac
and Dacia, by an abrupt descent towards the former and
simple declivity on the side of the latter.[35] The defence of thi
important post was entrusted to the brave Nevitta; who, a
well as the generals of the Italian division, successfully execute
the plan of the march and junction which their master had s
ably conceived.[36]

He justifies his cause

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the in
clination of the people, extended far beyond the immediat
effect of his arms.[37] The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum
were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united tha
important office with the vain honours of the consulship; and

[35] The description of Ammianus, which might be supported by collateral evidence
ascertains the precise situation of the *Angustiæ Succorum*, or passes of *Succi*. M
d'Anville, from the trifling resemblance of names, has placed them between Sardic
and Naissus. For my own justification, I am obliged to mention the *only* erro
which I have discovered in the maps or writings of that admirable geographer. [Th
road from Constantinople crosses here the mountains which form the watershed be
tween the Thracian plain and the basin of Sofia. Jireček, Gesch. der Bulgaren, p. 15.

[36] Whatever circumstances we may borrow elsewhere, Ammianus (xxi. 8, 9, 10
still supplies the series of the narrative.

[37] Ammian. xxi. 9, 10. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 54, p. 279, 280. Zosimus, l
iii. p. 156, 157 [c. 10].

those magistrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Asia, Julian, who could not always restrain the levity of his temper, stigmatized their flight by adding, in all the Acts of the year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two consuls. The provinces which had been deserted by their first magistrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a soldier with those of a philosopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naissus, he distributed to the principal cities of the empire a laboured apology for his own conduct; published the secret dispatches of Constantius; and solicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had compelled, and the other had invited, the Barbarians.[38] Julian, whose mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aspired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the superior merits of his cause; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in those of composition. His epistle to the senate and people of Athens[39] seems to have been dictated by an elegant enthusiasm; which prompted him to submit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the same humble deference as if he had been pleading, in the days of Aristides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the senate of Rome, which was still permitted to bestow the titles of Imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An assembly was summoned by Sertullus, præfect of the city; the epistle of Julian was read; and, as he appeared to be master of Italy, his claims were admitted without a dissenting voice. His oblique censure of the innovations of Constantine, and his passionate invective against the vices of Constantius, were heard with less satisfaction; and the senate, as if Julian had been present, unanimously exclaimed,

[38] Julian (ad S. P. Q. Athen. p. 286 [p. 368, ed. H.]) positively asserts that he intercepted the letters of Constantius to the Barbarians: and Libanius as positively affirms that he read them on his march to the troops and the cities. Yet Ammianus (xi. 4) expresses himself with cool and candid hesitation, si *famæ solius* admittenda fit fides. He specifies, however, an intercepted letter from Vadomair to Constantius, which supposes an intimate correspondence between them: "Cæsar tuus disciplinam non habet".

[39] Zosimus mentions his epistles to the Athenians, the Corinthians, and the Lacedæmonians. The substance was probably the same, though the address was properly varied. The epistle to the Athenians is still extant (p. 268-287), and has afforded much valuable information. It deserves the praises of the Abbé de la Bléterie (Préf. à l'Histoire de Jovien, p. 24, 25), and is one of the best manifestos to be found in any language.

"Respect, we beseech you, the author of your own fortune".[40] An artful expression, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the usurper, or as a flattering confession that a single act of success benefit to the state ought to atone for all the failings of Constantius.

Hostile preparations

The intelligence of the march and rapid progress of Julian was speedily transmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained some respite from the Persian war. Disguising the anguish of his soul under the semblance of contempt, Constantius professed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chase to Julian; for he never spoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party.[41] In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this design to his army, slightly mentioned the guilt and rashness of the Cæsar, and ventured to assure them that, if the mutineers of Gaul presumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to sustain the fire of their eyes and the irresistible weight of their shout of onset. The speech of the emperor was received with military applause, and Theodotus, the president of the council of Hierapolis, requested, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquished rebel.[42] A chosen detachment was dispatched away in post-waggons, to secure, if it were yet possible, the pass of Succi; the recruits, the horses, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared against Sapor, were appropriated to the service of the civil war; and the domestic victories of Constantius inspired his partisans with the most sanguine assurances of success. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the subsistence of Rome was intercepted; and the distress of Julian was increased by an unexpected event which might have been productive of fatal consequences. Julian had received the submission of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were stationed at Sirmium; but he suspected, with reason, the fidelity of those troops, which had been dis-

[40] *Auctori tuo reverentiam rogamus.* Ammian. xxi. 10. It is amusing enough to observe the secret conflicts of the senate between flattery and fear. See Tacit. Hist. i. 85.

[41] Tanquam venaticiam prædam caperet: hoc enim ad leniendum suorum metum subinde prædicabat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

[42] See the speech and preparations in Ammianus, xxi. 13. The vile Theodotus afterwards implored and obtained his pardon from the merciful conqueror, who signified his wish of diminishing his enemies, and increasing the number of his friends (xxii. 14).

uished by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under pretence of the exposed state of the Gallic frontier, to dis- s them from the most important scene of action. They anced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but, hey dreaded the length of the way and the savage fierceness he Germans, they resolved, by the instigation of one of their unes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Con- ntius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance ulian perceived at once the extent of the mischief and the essity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, inus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the siege Aquileia was formed with diligence and prosecuted with vigour. the legionaries, who seemed to have rejected the yoke of ipline, conducted the defence of the place with skill and severance; invited the rest of Italy to imitate the example their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of ian, if he should be forced to yield to the superior numbers he arms of the East.[43]

But the humanity of Julian was preserved from the cruel and death of Constantius. A.D. 361, November 3 ernative, which he pathetically laments, of destroying or of ng himself destroyed: and the seasonable death of Con- ntius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil r. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at tioch; and his favourites durst not oppose his impatient desire revenge. A slight fever, which was perhaps occasioned by e agitation of his spirits, was increased by the fatigues of the rney; and Constantius was obliged to halt at the little town Mopsucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarsus, where he expired, er a short illness, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the enty-fourth of his reign.[44] His genuine character, which was

[43] Ammian. xxi. 7. 11, 12. He seems to describe, with superfluous labour, the rations of the siege of Aquileia, which, on this occasion, maintained its impreg- ble fame. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iii. p. 68 [iv. c. 48]) ascribes this accidental olt to the wisdom of Constantius, whose assured victory he announces with some bearance of truth. Constantio quem credebat procul dubio fore victorem: nemo m omnium tunc ab hac constanti sententia discrepabat. Ammian. xxi. 7.

[44] His death and character are faithfully delineated by Ammianus (xxi. 14, 15, ; and we are authorized to despise and detest the foolish calumny of Gregory rat. iii. p. 68), who accuses Julian of contriving the death of his benefactor. de private repentance of the emperor that he had spared and promoted Julian 69, and Orat. xxi. p. 389) is not improbable in itself, nor incompatible with public verbal testament which prudential considerations might dictate in the t moments of his life. [Our text of Ammianus gives 5th Oct. as date of death Constantius, cp. Ranke. Weltgeschichte, iv. 102. Idatius and Socrates give Nov. See Büttner Wobst, *der Tod des K. Julians* (Philologus, 52, p. 561), who nts out that the astronomical datum of the oracle in Amm. 21, 2, 2 agrees ither with 5th Oct. nor 3rd Nov. but is rather nearer the latter.]

composed of pride and weakness, of superstition and cruelt
has been fully displayed in the preceding narrative of civil a
ecclesiastical events. The long abuse of power rendered him
considerable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but,
personal merit can alone deserve the notice of posterity, the la
of the sons of Constantine may be dismissed from the world wi
the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilitie
of his father. Before Constantius expired, he is said to ha
named Julian for his successor; nor does it seem improbab
that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wif
whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his la
moments, over the harsher passions of hatred and reveng
Eusebius, and his guilty associates, made a faint attempt to pr
long the reign of the eunuchs by the election of another emperor
but their intrigues were rejected with disdain by an army whic
now abhorred the thought of civil discord; and two officers o
rank were instantly dispatched, to assure Julian that every swor
in the empire would be drawn for his service. The militar
designs of that prince, who had formed three different attack
against Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Wit
out shedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he escaped th
dangers of a doubtful conflict and acquired the advantages of
complete victory. Impatient to visit the place of his birth an
the new capital of the empire, he advanced from Naissus throug
the mountains of Hæmus and the cities of Thrace. When h
reached Heraclea, at the distance of sixty miles, all Constantino

Julian enters Constantinople, December 11

ple was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumpha
entry, amidst the dutiful acclamations of the soldiers, the people
and the senate. An innumerable multitude pressed around him
with eager respect; and were perhaps disappointed when they
beheld the small stature and simple garb of a hero whose
unexperienced youth had vanquished the Barbarians of Germany
and who had now traversed, in a successful career, the whole
continent of Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to those o
the Bosphorus.[45] A few days afterwards, when the remains o
the deceased emperor were landed in the harbour, the subjects
of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their
sovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a
mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church
of the Holy Apostles, where the body was deposited: and, if

[45] In describing the triumph of Julian, Ammianus (xxii. 1, 2) assumes the lofty tone of an orator or poet: while Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 56. p. 281) sinks to the grave simplicity of an historian.

ese marks of respect may be interpreted as a selfish tribute to e birth and dignity of his Imperial kinsman, the tears of Julian ofessed to the world that he had forgot the injuries, and re-mbered only the obligations, which he had received from nstantius.[46] As soon as the legions of Aquileia were assured the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, d, by the sacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an easy rdon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the irty-second year of his age, acquired the undisputed possession the Roman empire.[47]

and is acknowledged by the whole empire

Philosophy had instructed Julian to compare the advantages action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth and the cidents of his life never allowed him the freedom of choice. e might perhaps sincerely have preferred the groves of the ademy and the society of Athens; but he was constrained, at st by the will, and afterwards by the injustice, of Constantius, expose his person and fame to the dangers of Imperial great-ss; and to make himself accountable to the world, and to sterity, for the happiness of millions.[48] Julian recollected th terror the observation of his master Plato,[49] that the vernment of our flocks and herds is always committed to ings of a superior species; and that the conduct of nations quires and deserves the celestial powers of the Gods or of the enii. From this principle he justly concluded that the man o presumes to reign should aspire to the perfection of the vine nature; that he should purify his soul from her mortal d terrestrial part; that he should extinguish his appetites, lighten his understanding, regulate his passions, and subdue e wild beast which, according to the lively metaphor of

His civil government, and private life

[46] The funeral of Constantius is described by Ammianus (xxi. 16), Gregory zianzen (Orat. iv. [v. ed. Migne] p. 119 [c. 17]), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. 27), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lvi. p. 283), and Philostorgius (l. vi. c. 6, with Gode-y's Dissertations, p. 265). These writers, and their followers, Pagans, Catholics, ians, beheld with very different eyes both the dead and the living emperor.

[47] The day and year of the birth of Julian are not perfectly ascertained. The y is probably the sixth of November, and the year must be either 331 or 332. lemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 693. Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. I have preferred the earlier date.

[48] Julian himself (p. 253-267) has expressed these philosophical ideas with ch eloquence, and some affectation, in a very elaborate epistle to Themistius. e Abbé de la Bléterie (tom. ii. p. 146-193), who has given an elegant trans-ion, is inclined to believe that it was the celebrated Themistius, whose orations still extant.

[49] Julian. ad Themist. p. 258 [p. 334]. Petavius (note, p. 95) observes that this ssage is taken from the fourth book de Legibus; but either Julian quoted m memory, or his Mss. were different from ours. Xenophon opens the ropædia with a similar reflection.

Aristotle,[50] seldom fails to ascend the throne of a despot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Constantius fixed on an independent basis, was the seat of reason, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He despised the honours, renounced the pleasures, and discharged with incessant diligence the duties, of his exalted station; and there were few among his subjects who would have consented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to submit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philosophic emperor imposed on himself. One of his most intimate friends,[51] who had often shared the frugal simplicity of his table, has remarked that his light and sparing diet (which was usually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active for the various and important business of an author, a pontiff, a magistrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the same day he gave audience to several ambassadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magistrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He listened to the memorials which had been received, considered the subject of the petitions, and signified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in shorthand by the diligence of his secretaries. He possessed such flexibility of thought, and such firmness of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to listen, and his voice to dictate; and pursue at once three several trains of ideas without hesitation and without error. While his ministers reposed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a hasty dinner, retired into his library, till the public business, which he had appointed for the evening, summoned him to interrupt the prosecution of his studies. The supper of the emperor was still less substantial than the former meal; his sleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigestion; and, except in the short interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaste Julian never shared his bed with a female companion.[52] He was soon awakened by the entrance of fresh

[50] Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπον κελεύων ἄρχειν, προστίθησι και θηρίον. Aristot. ap. Julian. p. 261 [338, ed. Hertl.]. The Ms. of Vossius, unsatisfied with a single beast, affords the stronger reading of θηρία, which the experience of despotism may warrant. [This (Leiden) Ms. is the best; θηρία is right.]

[51] Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. lxxxiv. lxxxv. p. 310, 311, 312) has given this interesting detail of the private life of Julian. He himself (in Misopogon. p. 350) mentions his vegetable diet, and upbraids the gross and sensual appetite of the people of Antioch.

[52] Lectulus . . . Vestalium toris purior, is the praise which Mamertinus (Panegyr. Vet. xi. 13) addresses to Julian himself. Libanius affirms, in sober peremptory

retaries, who had slept the preceding day; and his servants re obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable ster allowed himself scarcely any other refreshment than the ange of occupations. The predecessors of Julian, his uncle, brother, and his cousin, indulged their puerile taste for the nes of the circus, under the specious pretence of complying h the inclinations of the people; and they frequently re- ined the greatest part of the day, as idle spectators, and as a t of the splendid spectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty- r races[53] was completely finished. On solemn festivals, lian, who felt and professed an unfashionable dislike to these volous amusements, condescended to appear in the circus; l, after bestowing a careless glance on five or six of the races, hastily withdrew, with the impatience of a philosopher, who nsidered every moment as lost that was not devoted to the vantage of the public or the improvement of his own mind.[54] this avarice of time, he seemed to protract the short duration his reign; and, if the dates were less securely ascertained, should refuse to believe that only sixteen months elapsed tween the death of Constantius and the departure of his cessor for the Persian war. The actions of Julian can only preserved by the care of the historian; but the portion of voluminous writings which is still extant remains as a nument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the peror. The Misopogon, the Cæsars, several of his orations, and elaborate work against the Christian religion, were composed in long nights of the two winters, the former of which he passed Constantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

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guage, that Julian never knew a woman before his marriage or after the death is wife (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxviii. p. 313). The chastity of Julian is confirmed the impartial testimony of Ammianus (xxv. 4), and the partial silence of istians. Yet Julian ironically urges the reproach of the people of Antioch t he *almost always* (ὡς ἐπίπαν, in Misopogon. p. 345 [p. 445, ed. H.]) lay he. This suspicious expression is explained by the Abbé de la Bléterie (Hist. ovien, tom. ii. p. 103-109) with candour and ingenuity.

[53] See Salmasius ad Sueton. in Claud. c. xxi. A twenty-fifth race, or *missus*, added, to complete the number of one hundred chariots, four of which, the colours, started each heat.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

ppears that they ran five or seven times round the *Meta* (Sueton. in Domitian.); and (from the measure of the Circus Maximus at Rome, the Hippodrome Constantinople, &c.) it might be about a four-mile course.

[54] Julian. in Misopogon. p. 340 [p. 437, ed. H.]. Julius Cæsar had offended the man people by reading his dispatches during the actual race. Augustus in- ged their taste, or his own, by his constant attention to the important business he circus, for which he professed the warmest inclination. Sueton. in August. lv.

Reformation of the palace

The reformation of the Imperial court was one of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian.[55] Soon after his entrance into the palace of Constantinople, he had occasion for the service of a barber. An officer, magnificently dressed, immediately presented himself. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected surprise, "that I want, and not a receiver-general of the finances."[56] He questioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed that, besides a large salary and some valuable perquisites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty servants and as many horses. A thousand barbers, a thousand cup-bearers, a thousand cooks, were distributed in the several offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the insects of a summer's day.[57] The monarch who resigned to his subjects the superiority of merit and virtue was distinguished by the oppressive magnificence of his dress, his table, his buildings, and his train. The stately palaces erected by Constantine and his sons were decorated with many coloured marbles and ornaments of massy gold. The most exquisite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride rather than their taste; birds of the most distant climates, fish from the most remote seas, fruits out of their natural season, winter roses, and summer snows.[58] The domestic crowd of the palace surpassed the expense of the legions; yet the smallest part of this costly multitude was subservient to the use, or even to the splendour, of the throne. The monarch was disgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and sale of an infinite number of obscure and even titular employments; and the most worthless of mankind might purchase the privilege of being maintained, without the necessity of labour, from the public revenue. The waste of an enormous household, the increase of fees and per-

[55] The reformation of the palace is described by Ammianus (xxii. 4), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxii. p. 288, &c.), Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 11), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 24 [c. 12]).

[56] Ego non *rationalem* jussi sed tonsorem acciri. Zonaras uses the less natural image of a *senator*. Yet an officer of the finances, who was satiated with wealth, might desire and obtain the honours of the senate.

[57] Μαγείρους μὲν χιλίους, κουρέας δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττονς, οἰνοχόους δὲ πλείους, σμήνη τραπεζοποιῶν, εὐνούχους ὑπὲρ τὰς μυίας παρὰ τοῖς ποιμέσι ἐν ἤρι, are the original words of Libanius, which I have faithfully quoted, lest I should be suspected of magnifying the abuses of the royal household.

[58] The expressions of Mamertinus are lively and forcible. Quin etiam prandiorum et cenarum laboratas magnitudines Romanus populus sensit [*leg.* pop. Rom. sentiebat] ; cum quæsitissimæ dapes non gustu sed difficultatibus æstimarentur; miracula avium longinqui maris pisces, alieni temporis poma, æstivæ nives hibernæ rosæ.

visites, which were soon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bes which they extorted from those who feared their enmity solicited their favour, suddenly enriched these haughty enials. They abused their fortune, without considering their st, or their future, condition; and their rapine and venality uld be equalled only by the extravagance of their dissipations. eir silken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables re served with delicacy and profusion; the houses which they ilt for their own use would have covered the farm of an cient consul; and the most honourable citizens were obliged dismount from their horses, and respectfully to salute an nuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of e palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who ually slept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the dispensable calls of nature, and who placed his vanity, not in nulating, but in despising, the pomp of royalty. By the total tirpation of a mischief which was magnified even beyond its real tent, he was impatient to relieve the distress, and to appease the urmurs, of the people; who support with less uneasiness the weight taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their industry are propriated to the service of the state. But in the execution of this lutary work Julian is accused of proceeding with too much haste d inconsiderate severity. By a single edict, he reduced the lace of Constantinople to an immense desert, and dismissed with nominy the whole train of slaves and dependents,[59] without roviding any just, or at least benevolent, exceptions, for the ge, the services, or the poverty, of the faithful domestics of the nperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who ldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Aristotle that ue virtue is placed at an equal distance between the opposite ces. The splendid and effeminate dress of the Asiatics, the urls and paint, the collars and bracelets, which had appeared o ridiculous in the person of Constantine, were consistently jected by his philosophic successor. But with the fopperies, ulian affected to renounce the decencies, of dress; and seemed o value himself for his neglect of the laws of cleanliness. In a tirical performance, which was designed for the public eye, he emperor descants with pleasure, and even with pride, on the ngth of his nails, and the inky blackness of his hands; protests

[59] Yet Julian himself was accused of bestowing whole towns on the eunuchs (Orat. vii. against Polyclet. p. 117-127). Libanius contents himself with a cold nt positive denial of the fact, which seems indeed to belong more properly to onstantius. This charge however may allude to some unknown circumstance.

that, although the greatest part of his body was covered wit hair, the use of the razor was confined to his head alone; an celebrates, with visible complacency, the shaggy and *populous* beard, which he fondly cherished after the example of th philosophers of Greece. Had Julian consulted the simpl dictates of reason, the first magistrate of the Romans woul have scorned the affectation of Diogenes as well as that o Darius.

Chamber of Justice

But the work of public reformation would have remained im perfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuses, without punish ing the crimes, of his predecessor's reign. "We are now de livered," says he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are now surprisingly delivered from the voracious jaws of the Hydra.[61] I do not mean to apply that epithet to my brother Constantius. He is no more; may the earth lie light on his head! But his artful and cruel favourites studied to deceive and exasperate a prince whose natural mildness can not be praised without some efforts of adulation. It is not, how ever, my intention that even those men should be oppressed: they are accused, and they shall enjoy the benefit of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this inquiry, Julian named six judges of the highest rank in the state and army; and, as he wished to escape the reproach of condemning his personal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus; and transferred to the commissioners an absolute power to pronounce and execute their final sentence, without delay and without appeal. The office of president was exercised by the venerable præfect of the East, a *second* Sallust,[62] whose virtues conciliated the esteem of Greek sophists and of Christian bishops. He was assisted by the elo-

[60] In the Misopogon (p. 338, 339 [p. 434-436]) he draws a very singular picture of himself, and the following words are strangely characteristic: αὐτὸς προστέθεικα τὸν βαθὺν τουτονὶ πώγωνα . . . ταῦτά τοι διαθεύντων ἀνέχομαι τῶν φθειρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν λοχμῇ τῶν θηρίων. The friends of the Abbé de la Bléterie adjured him, in the name of the French nation, not to translate this passage, so offensive to their delicacy (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 94). Like him, I have contented myself with a transient allusion; but the little animal, which Julian *names*, is a beast familiar to man, and signifies love.

[61] Julian, epist. xxiii. p. 389 [p. 503, ed. H.]. He uses the words πολυκέφαλον ὕδραν, in writing to his friend Hermogenes, who, like himself, was conversant with the Greek poets.

[62] The two Sallusts, the præfect of Gaul and the præfect of the East, must be carefully distinguished (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 696). I have used the surname of *Secundus*, as a convenient epithet. The second Sallust extorted the esteem of the Christians themselves; and Gregory Nazianzen, who condemned his religion, has celebrated his virtues (Orat. iii. p. 90 [iv. c. 91]). See a curious note of the Abbé de la Bléterie, Vie de Julien, p. 363.

quent Mamertinus,[63] one of the consuls elect, whose merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applause. But the civil wisdom of two magistrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have seen with less surprise at the bar than on the bench, was supposed to possess the secret of the commission; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculian bands encompassed the tribunal; and the judges were alternately swayed by the laws of justice, and by the clamours of faction.[64]

Punishment of the innocent and the guilty

The chamberlain Eusebius, who had so long abused the favour of Constantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the insolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his servile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of so many hundred Romans, whom those legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But Justice herself (if we may use the pathetic expression of Ammianus)[65] appeared to weep over the fate of Ursulus, the treasurer of the empire; and his blood accused the ingratitude of Julian, whose distress had been seasonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honest minister. The rage of the soldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiscretion, was the cause and the excuse of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and those of the public, offered some consolation to the family of Ursulus, by the restitution of his confiscated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the ensigns of the præfecture and consulship,[66] Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was banished to Vercellæ in Italy, and a sentence of death was pronounced against the latter. A wise prince should have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful minister, when he was no longer able to oppose the

[63] Mamertinus praises the emperor (xi. 1) for bestowing the offices of Treasurer and Præfect on a man of wisdom, firmness, integrity, &c. like himself. Yet Ammianus ranks him (xxi. 1) among the ministers of Julian, quorum merita nôrat et fidem.

[64] The proceedings of this chamber of justice are related by Ammianus (xxii. 3), and praised by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 74, p. 299, 300).

[65] Ursuli vero necem ipsa mihi videtur flêsse justitia. Libanius, who imputes his death to the soldiers, attempts to criminate the count of the largesses.

[66] Such respect was still entertained for the venerable names of the commonwealth that the public was surprised and scandalized to hear Taurus summoned as a criminal under the consulship of Taurus. The summons of his colleague Florentius was probably delayed till the commencement of the ensuing year.

progress of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor and his lawful sovereign. But the guilt of Florentius justified the severity of the judges; and his escape served to display the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the interested diligence of an informer, and refused to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his just resentment.[67] Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been dissolved, the prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius,[68] duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practised the arts of calumny against the innocent, the virtuous, and even the person of Julian himself. Yet the circumstances of their trial and condemnation were so unskilfully managed, that these wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of suffering for the obstinate loyalty with which they had supported the cause of Constantius. The rest of his servants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted either to defend the oppressed or to oppress the friendless. This measure, which, on the soundest principles of policy, may deserve our approbation, was executed in a manner which seemed to degrade the majesty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly demanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally bestowed; he foresaw the endless prosecution of vexatious suits; and he engaged a promise, which ought always to have been sacred, that, if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in person, to hear and determine their complaints. But, as soon as they were landed, he issued an absolute order, which prohibited the watermen from transporting any Egyptian to Constantinople; and thus detained his disappointed clients on the Asiatic shore, till, their patience and money being utterly exhausted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country.[69]

[67] Ammian. xx. 7.

[68] For the guilt and punishment of Artemius, see Julian (Epist. x. p. 379), and Ammianus (xxii. 6, and Vales. ad loc.). The merit of Artemius, who demolished temples, and was put to death by an apostate, has tempted the Greek and Latin churches to honour him as a martyr. But, as ecclesiastical history attests that he was not only a tyrant, but an Arian, it is not altogether easy to justify this indiscreet promotion. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1319.

[69] See Ammian. xxii. 6, and Vales. ad locum; and the Codex Theodosianus, l. ii. tit. xxxix. leg. 1; and Godefroy's Commentary, tom. i. p. 218, ad locum.

clemency of Julian

The numerous army of spies, of agents, and informers, enisted by Constantius to secure the repose of one man and to nterrupt that of millions, was immediately disbanded by his enerous successor. Julian was slow in his suspicions and gentle n his punishments; and his contempt of treason was the result f judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conscious of superior nerit, he was persuaded that few among his subjects would dare o meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to seat hemselves on his vacant throne. The philosopher could excuse he hasty sallies of discontent; and the hero could despise the mbitious projects which surpassed the fortune or the abilities f the rash conspirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for is own use a purple garment; and this indiscreet action, which, under the reign of Constantius, would have been conidered as a capital offence,[70] was reported to Julian by the fficious importunity of a private enemy. The monarch, after naking some inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, lispatched the informer with a present of a pair of purple lippers, to complete the magnificence of his Imperial habit. A nore dangerous conspiracy was formed by ten of the domestic guards, who had resolved to assassinate Julian in the field of exercise near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the presence of their inured sovereign, who, after a lively representation of the wickedness and folly of their enterprise, instead of a death of torture, which they deserved and expected, pronounced a sentence of exile against the two principal offenders. The only instance in which Julian seemed to depart from his accustomed clemency was the execution of a rash youth, who, with a feeble hand, had aspired to seize the reins of empire. But that youth was the son of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who in the first campaign of the Gallic war had deserted the standard of the Cæsar and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his personal resentment, Julian might easily confound the crime of the son and of the father: but he was reconciled by the distress of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of justice.[71]

[70] The president Montesquieu (Considérations sur la Grandeur, &c. des Romains, c. xiv., in his works, tom. iii. p. 448, 449) excuses this minute and absurd tyranny, by supposing that actions the most indifferent in our eyes might excite, in a Roman mind, the idea of guilt and danger. This strange apology is supported by a strange misapprehension of the English laws, "chez une nation . . . où il est défendu de boire à la santé d'une certaine personne".

[71] The clemency of Julian, and the conspiracy which was formed against his

His love of freedom and the republic

Julian was not insensible of the advantages of freedom. From his studies he had imbibed the spirit of ancient sages and heroes; his life and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and, when he ascended the throne, his pride was sometimes mortified by the reflection that the slaves who would not dare to censure his defects were not worthy to applaud his virtues.[73] He sincerely abhorred the system of Oriental despotism which Diocletian, Constantine, and the patient habit of fourscore years had established in the empire. A motive of superstition prevented the execution of the design which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a costly diadem:[74] but he absolutely refused the title of *Dominus* or *Lord*,[75] a word which was grown so familiar to the ears of the Romans that they no longer remembered its servile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of consul, was cherished by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the same behaviour which had been assumed by the prudence of Augustus was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at break of day, the new consuls, Mamertinus and Nevitta, hastened to the palace to salute the emperor. As soon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the blushing magistrates to receive the demonstrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the senate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient times, or secretly blamed a conduct which, in their eyes, degraded

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life at Antioch, are described by Ammianus (xxii. 9, 10, and Vales. ad loc.), and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 99, p. 323).

72 According to some, says Aristotle (as he is quoted by Julian ad Themist. p. 261 [p. 338, ed. H.]), the form of absolute government, the παμβασίλεια, is contrary to nature. [Politics, iii. 16, 2 = 1287a.] Both the prince and the philosopher choose, however, to involve this eternal truth in artful and laboured obscurity.

73 That sentiment is expressed almost in the words of Julian himself. Ammian. xxii. 10.

74 Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 95, p. 320), who mentions the wish and design of Julian, insinuates, in mysterious language (θεῶν οὕτω γνόντων . . . ἀλλ' ἦν ἀμείνων ὁ κωλύων), that the emperor was restrained by some particular revelation.

75 Julian. in Misopogon. p. 343 [p. 442, ed. H.]. As he never abolished, by any public law, the proud appellations of *Despot* or *Dominus*, they are still extant on his medals (Ducange, Fam. Byzantin. p. 38, 39); and the private displeasure which he affected to express only gave a different tone to the servility of the court. The Abbé de la Bléterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 99-102) has curiously traced the origin and progress of the word *Dominus* under the Imperial government.

ıe majesty of the purple.[76] But the behaviour of Julian was niformly supported. During the games of the Circus, he had, nprudently or designedly, performed the manumission of a ave in the presence of the consul. The moment he was re- inded that he had trespassed on the jurisdiction of *another* agistrate, he condemned himself to pay a fine of ten pounds f gold; and embraced this public occasion of declaring to the orld that he was subject, like the rest of his fellow-citizens, the laws,[77] and even to the forms, of the republic. The pirit of his administration, and his regard for the place of his ativity, induced Julian to confer on the senate of Constan- nople, the same honours, privileges, and authority, which were ill enjoyed by the senate of ancient Rome.[78] A legal fiction as introduced, and gradually established, that one half of the ational council had migrated into the East: and the despotic ıccessors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknow- dged themselves the members of a respectable body, which as permitted to represent the majesty of the Roman name. rom Constantinople, the attention of the monarch was ex- ended to the municipal senates of the provinces. He abolished, y repeated edicts, the unjust and pernicious exemptions which ad withdrawn so many idle citizens from the service of their ountry; and by imposing an equal distribution of public duties e restored the strength, the splendour, or, according to the lowing expression of Libanius,[79] the soul of the expiring cities f his empire. The venerable age of Greece excited the most ender compassion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into apture when he recollected the gods, the heroes, and the men,

His care of the Grecian cities

[76] Ammian. xxii. 7. The consul Mamertinus (in Panegyr. Vet. xi. 28, 29, 30) elebrates the auspicious day, like an eloquent slave, astonished and intoxicated y the condescension of his master.

[77] Personal satire was condemned by the laws of the twelve tables:

> Si male condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus est
> Judiciumque———

ılian (in Misopogon. p. 337 [ad init.]) owns himself subject to the law; and the Abbé e la Bléterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 92) has eagerly embraced a declaration o agreeable to his own system, and indeed to the true spirit of the imperial onstitution.

[78] Zosimus, l. iii. p. 158.

[79] Ἡ τῆς βουλῆς ἰσχυς ψύχη πόλεώς ἐστιν. See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 71, 296), Ammianus (xxii. 9), and the Theodosian Code (l. xii. tit. i. leg. 50-55), ith Godefroy's Commentary (tom. iv. p. 390-402). Yet the whole subject of the *uriae*, notwithstanding very ample materials, still remains the most obscure in ıe legal history of the empire.

superior to heroes and to gods, who had bequeathed to th latest posterity the monuments of their genius or the exampl of their virtues. He relieved the distress, and restored th beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponnesus.[80] Athen acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her delivere The pride of Corinth, again rising from her ruins with th honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacen republics, for the purpose of defraying the games of the Isthmu which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the huntin of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, c Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remot ancestors the sacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, th Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a just exemption The immunity of Elis and Delphi was respected by th Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the insolenc of oppression; and the feeble complaints of its deputies wer silenced by the decree of a provincial magistrate, who seems t have consulted only the interest of the capital in which h resided. Seven years after this sentence, Julian[81] allowed th cause to be referred to a superior tribunal; and his eloquenc was interposed, most probably with success, in the defence c a city which had been the royal seat of Agamemnon[82] and ha given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors.[83]

Julian, an orator and a judge

The laborious administration of military and civil affair which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of th empire, exercised the abilities of Julian; but he frequentl

[80] Quæ paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, mundar madere; Fora, Deambulacra, Gymnasia, lætis et gaudentibus populis frequentar dies festos, et celebrari veteres, et novos in honorem principis consecrari (Mame tin. xi. 9). He particularly restored the city of Nicopolis, and the Actiac game which had been instituted by Augustus.

[81] Julian, Epist. xxxv. p. 407-411. This epistle, which illustrates the declinin age of Greece, is omitted by the Abbé de la Bléterie; and strangely disfigured b the Latin translator, who, by rendering ἀτέλεια, *tributum*, and ἰδιῶται, *populu* directly contradicts the sense of the original.

[82] He reigned in Mycenæ, at the distance of fifty stadia, or six miles, fro Argos: but these cities, which alternately flourished, are confounded by the Gree poets. Strabo, l. viii. p. 579, edit. Amstel. p. 1707.

[83] Marsham, Canon. Chron. p. 421. This pedigree from Temenus and He cules may be suspicious; yet it was allowed, after a strict inquiry by the judges c the Olympic games (Herodot. l. v. c. 22), at a time when the Macedonian king were obscure and unpopular in Greece. When the Achæan league declare against Philip, it was thought decent that the deputies of Argos should retire (L Liv. xxxii. 22).

umed the two characters of Orator[84] and of Judge,[85] which
e almost unknown to the modern sovereigns of Europe.
ie arts of persuasion, so diligently cultivated by the first
esars, were neglected by the military ignorance, and Asiatic
ide, of their successors; and, if they condescended to harangue
e soldiers, whom they feared, they treated with silent disdain
e senators, whom they despised. The assemblies of the
iate, which Constantius had avoided, were considered by
lian as the place where he could exhibit, with the most
opriety, the maxims of a republican and the talents of a
etorician. He alternately practised, as in a school of de-
amation, the several modes of praise, of censure, of exhorta-
on; and his friend Libanius has remarked that the study of
omer taught him to imitate the simple, concise style of
enelaus, the copiousness of Nestor, whose words descended
ke the flakes of a winter's snow, or the pathetic and forcible
oquence of Ulysses. The functions of a judge, which are
metimes incompatible with those of a prince, were exercised
y Julian, not only as a duty, but as an amusement: and,
though he might have trusted the integrity and discernment
f his Prætorian præfects, he often placed himself by their side
n the seat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind
as agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery
f the advocates, who laboured to disguise the truth of facts
nd to pervert the sense of the laws. He sometimes forgot
ie gravity of his station, asked indiscreet or unseasonable
uestions, and betrayed, by the loudness of his voice and the
gitation of his body, the earnest vehemence with which he
iaintained his opinion against the judges, the advocates, and
ieir clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted
im to encourage, and even to solicit, the reproof of his friends
nd ministers; and, whenever they ventured to oppose the

[84] His eloquence is celebrated by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 75, 76, p. 300, 301), who distinctly mentions the orators of Homer. Socrates (l. iii. c. 1) has rashly asserted that Julian was the only prince, since Julius Cæsar, who harangued the senate. All the predecessors of Nero (Tacit. Annal. xiii. 3), and many of his successors, possessed the faculty of speaking in public; and it might be proved, by various examples, that they frequently exercised it in the senate.

[85] Ammianus (xxii. 10) has impartially stated the merits and defects of his judicial proceedings. Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 90, 91, p. 315, &c.) has seen only the fair side, and his picture, if it flatters the person, expresses at least the duties, of the Judge. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 120), who suppresses the virtues, and exaggerates even the venial faults, of the apostate, triumphantly asks, Whether such a judge was fit to be seated between Minos and Rhadamanthus, in the Elysian fields?

irregular sallies of his passions, the spectators could observe th shame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decree of Julian were almost always founded on the principles c justice; and he had the firmness to resist the two mos dangerous temptations which assault the tribunal of a sovereig under the specious forms of compassion and equity. He de cided the merits of the cause without weighing the circumstance of the parties; and the poor, whom he wished to relieve, wer condemned to satisfy the just demands of a noble and wealth adversary. He carefully distinguished the judge from th legislator;[86] and, though he meditated a necessary reformatio of the Roman jurisprudence, he pronounced sentence according to the strict and literal interpretation of those laws which th magistrates were bound to execute and the subjects to obey.

His character

The generality of princes, if they were stripped of thei purple and cast naked into the world, would immediately sin to the lowest rank of society, without a hope of emerging from their obscurity. But the personal merit of Julian was, in som measure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been hi choice of life, by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, anc intense application, he would have obtained, or at least h would have deserved, the highest honours of his profession and Julian might have raised himself to the rank of minister or general, of the state in which he was born a private citizen If the jealous caprice of power had disappointed his expecta tions; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatness, the employment of the same talents in studious solitude would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his present happiness and his immortal fame. When we inspect, with minute o perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, something seems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure His genius was less powerful and sublime than that of Cæsar nor did he possess the consummate prudence of Augustus The virtues of Trajan appear more steady and natural, and the philosophy of Marcus is more simple and consistent. Yet Julian sustained adversity with firmness, and prosperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans behel

[86] Of the laws which Julian enacted in a reign of sixteen months, fifty-four have been admitted into the Codes of Theodosius and Justinian (Gothofred. Chron. Legum, p. 64-67). The Abbé de la Bléterie (tom. ii. p. 329-336) has chosen one of these laws to give an idea of Julian's Latin style, which is forcible and elaborate but less pure than his Greek.

emperor who made no distinction between his duties and
s pleasures; who laboured to relieve the distress, and to
vive the spirit, of his subjects; and who endeavoured always
connect authority with merit, and happiness with virtue.
ven faction, and religious faction, was constrained to acknow-
dge the superiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war;
d to confess, with a sigh, that the apostate Julian was a
ver of his country, and that he deserved the empire of the
orld.[87]

[87] . . . . . Ductor fortissimus armis;
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manûque
Consultor patriæ; sed non consultor habendæ
Religionis; amans tercentûm millia Divûm.
Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et [*leg.* quamuis non] perfidus orbi.
Prudent. Apotheosis, 450, &c. [ed. Dressel, p. 102].

he consciousness of a generous sentiment seems to have raised the Christian
et above his usual mediocrity

CHAPTER XXIII

The Religion of Julian—Universal Toleration—He attempts to restore and reform the Pagan Worship; to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem—His artful Persecution of the Christians—Mutual Zeal and Injustice

Religion of Julian

THE character of Apostate has injured the reputation of Julian, and the enthusiasm which clouded his virtues has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may represent him as a philosophic monarch, who studied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanasius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian will remove this favourable prepossession for a prince who did not escape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the singular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondest admirers and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid historian, the impartial spectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himself; and his various writings express the uniform tenor of his religious sentiments, which policy would have prompted him to dissemble rather than to affect. A devout and sincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome constituted the ruling passion of Julian;[1] the powers of an enlightened understanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of superstitious prejudice; and the phantoms which existed only in the mind of the emperor had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Christians, who despised the worship, and overturned

[1] I shall transcribe some of his own expressions from a short religious discourse which the imperial pontiff composed to censure the bold impiety of a Cynic: Ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτω δή τι τοὺς θεοὺς πέφρικα, καὶ φιλῶ, καὶ σέβω, καὶ ἄζομαι, καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα πάσχω, ὅσαπερ ἄν τις καὶ οἷα πρὸς ἀγαθοὺς δεσπότας, πρὸς διδασκάλους, πρὸς πατέρας, πρὸς κηδεμόνας. Orat. vii. p. 212 [275, ed. Hertl.]. The variety and copiousness of the Greek tongue seems inadequate to the fervour of his devotion.

ie altars, of those fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a ate of irreconcileable hostility with a very numerous party of is subjects; and he was sometimes tempted, by the desire of ctory or the shame of a repulse, to violate the laws of pru- ence, and even of justice. The triumph of the party which he eserted and opposed has fixed a stain of infamy on the name f Julian; and the unsuccessful apostate has been overwhelmed ith a torrent of pious invectives, of which the signal was given y the sonorous trumpet[2] of Gregory Nazianzen.[3] The inter- sting nature of the events which were crowded into the short ign of this active emperor deserves a just and circumstantial arrative. His motives, his counsels, and his actions, as far as ney are connected with the history of religion, will be the bject of the present chapter.

His education and apostacy

The cause of his strange and fatal apostacy may be derived om the early period of his life, when he was left an orphan in ie hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Christ nd of Constantius, the ideas of slavery and of religion, were on associated in a youthful imagination, which was susceptible f the most lively impressions. The care of his infancy was en- usted to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia,[4] who was related to im on the side of his mother; and, till Julian reached the wentieth year of his age, he received from his Christian pre- eptors the education, not of a hero, but of a saint. The mperor, less jealous of a heavenly than of an earthly crown, ontented himself with the imperfect character of a catechumen, hile he bestowed the advantages of baptism[5] on the nephews

[2] The orator, with some eloquence, much enthusiasm, and more vanity, ad- resses his discourse to heaven and earth, to men and angels, to the living and the ead; and above all, to the great Constantius (εἰ τις αἴσθησις, an odd Pagan ex- ression [cp. Isocr. *Evagoras*, 1, 2]). He concludes with a bold assurance that he as erected a monument not less durable, and much more portable, than the columns f Hercules. See Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 50, iv. p. 134 [iv. c. 3, v. ad fin. c. 42].

[3] See this long invective, which has been injudiciously divided into two orations Gregory's Works, tom. i. p. 49-134. Paris, 1630. It was published by Gregory nd his friend Basil (iv. p. 133 [v. c. 39]) about six months after the death of Julian, hen his remains had been carried to Tarsus (iv. p. 120 [v. c. 18]); but while Jovian as still on the throne (iii. p. 54, iv. p. 117 [v. c. 15]). I have derived much ssistance from a French version and remarks, printed at Lyons 1735.

[4] Nicomediæ ab Eusebio educatus Episcopo, quem genere longius contingebat Ammian. xxii. 9). Julian never expresses any gratitude towards that Arian prelate; ut he celebrates his preceptor, the eunuch Mardonius, and describes his mode of ducation, which inspired his pupil with a passionate admiration for the genius, nd perhaps the religion, of Homer. Misopogon. p. 351, 352.

[5] Greg. Naz. iii. p. 70 [iv. c. 52]. He laboured to efface that holy mark in the lood, perhaps, of a Taurobolium. Baron. Annal. Eccles. A.D. 361, No. 3, 4.

of Constantine.[6] They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the ecclesiastical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The study of religion, which they assiduously cultivated, appeared to produce the fairest fruits of faith and devotion.[7] They prayed, they fasted, they distributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the splendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæsarea, was erected, or at least was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian.[8] They respectfully conversed with the bishops who were eminent for superior sanctity, and solicited the benediction of the monks and hermits who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardships of the ascetic life.[9] As the two princes advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Christianity; which never influenced his conduct or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but, while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections and severely checked the freedom of his enquiries.

[6] Julian himself (Epist. li. p. 434 [558, ed. Hertl.]) assures the Alexandrians that he had been a Christian (he must mean a sincere one) till the twentieth year of his age.

[7] See his Christian and even ecclesiastical education, in Gregory (iii. p. 58 [iv. c. 23 *sqq.*]), Socrates (l. iii. c. 1), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 2). He escaped very narrowly from being a bishop, and perhaps a saint.

[8] The share of the work which had been allotted to Gallus was prosecuted with vigour and success; but the earth obstinately rejected and subverted the structures which were imposed by the sacrilegious hand of Julian. Greg. iii. p. 59, 60, 61 [c. 26 *sqq.*]. Such a partial earthquake, attested by many living spectators, would form one of the clearest miracles in ecclesiastical story.

[9] The *philosopher* (Fragment, p. 228) ridicules the iron chains, &c. of these solitary fanatics (see Tillemont, Mém Ecclés. tom. ix. p. 661, 662), who had forgot that man is by nature a gentle and social animal, ἀνθρώπου φύσει πολιτικοῦ ζώου καὶ ἡμέρου. The *Pagan* supposes that, because they had renounced the gods, they were possessed and tormented by evil dæmon

ney secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the uthority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the esser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy.[10] he fierce contests of the eastern bishops, the incessant altera- ons of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion r which they so fiercely contended. Instead of listening to ie proofs of Christianity with that favourable attention which lds weight to the most respectable evidence, he heard with spicion, and disputed with obstinacy and acuteness, the doc- ines for which he already entertained an invincible aversion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compose eclamations on the subject of the prevailing controversies, ulian always declared himself the advocate of Paganism; under ie specious excuse that, in the defence of the weaker cause, is learning and ingenuity might be more advantageously xercised and displayed.

He embraces the mythology of Paganism

As soon as Gallus was invested with the honours of the urple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of terature, and of Paganism.[11] The crowd of sophists, who were ttracted by the taste and liberality of their royal pupil, had rmed a strict alliance between the learning and the religion of reece; and the poems of Homer, instead of being admired s the original productions of human genius, were seriously scribed to the heavenly inspiration of Apollo and the muses. he deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal ard, imprint themselves on the minds which are the least ddicted to superstitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of heir names and characters, their forms and attributes, *seems* to estow on those airy beings a real and substantial existence; nd the pleasing enchantment produces an imperfect and omentary assent of the imagination to those fables which are he most repugnant to our reason and experience. In the age f Julian every circumstance contributed to prolong and fortify he illusion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Asia; the vorks of those artists who had expressed, in painting or in

[10] See Julian apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 206, l. viii. p. 253, 262. "You persecute," ays he, "those heretics who do not mourn the dead man precisely in the way which you approve." He shews himself a tolerable theologian; but he maintains hat the Christian Trinity is not derived from the doctrine of Paul, of Jesus, or of Moses.

[11] Libanius, Orat. Parentalis. c. 9, 10, p. 232, &c. Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. . 61 [IV. c. 31]. Eunap. Vit. Sophist. in Maximo, p. 68, 69, 70, edit. Commelin.

sculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp o festivals and sacrifices; the successful arts of divination; th popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancien practice of two thousand years. The weakness of polytheism was, in some measure, excused by the moderation of its claims and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with th most licentious scepticism.[12] Instead of an indivisible an regular system, which occupies the whole extent of the believin mind, the mythology of the Greeks was composed of a thousan loose and flexible parts, and the servant of the gods was a liberty to define the degree and measure of his religious faith The creed which Julian adopted for his own use was of th largest dimensions; and, by a strange contradiction, he dis dained the salutary yoke of the gospel, whilst he made a volun tary offering of his reason on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo One of the orations of Julian is consecrated to the honour o Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effem nate priests the bloody sacrifice, so rashly performed by the mad ness of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condescends t relate, without a blush, and without a smile, the voyage of th goddess from the shores of Pergamus to the mouth of th Tiber, and the stupendous miracle, which convinced the senat and people of Rome that the lump of clay which their ambassa dors had transported over the seas was endowed with life, an sentiment, and divine power.[13] For the truth of this prodigy he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and censures with some acrimony, the sickly and affected taste of those me who impertinently derided the sacred traditions of thei ancestors.[14]

The allegories

But the devout philosopher, who sincerely embraced an warmly encouraged the superstition of the people, reserved fo himself the privilege of a liberal interpretation; and silentl

[12] A modern philosopher has ingeniously compared the different operation o theism and polytheism, with regard to the doubt or conviction which they produc in the human mind. See Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 444 457, in 8vo edit. 1777.

[13] The Idæan mother landed in Italy about the end of the second Punic wa The miracle of Claudia, either virgin or matron, who cleared her fame by disgracin the graver modesty of the Roman ladies, is attested by a cloud of witnesses. The evidence is collected by Drakenborch (ad Silium Italicum, xvii. 33): but we ma observe that Livy (xxix. 14) slides over the transaction with discreet ambiguity.

[14] I cannot refrain from transcribing the emphatical words of Julian: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκ ταῖς πόλεσι πιστεύειν μᾶλλον τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ τουτοισὶ τοῖς κομψοῖς, ὧν τὸ ψυχάριον δριμ μὲν, ὑγιὲς δὲ οὐδὲ ἓν βλέπει. Orat. v. p. 161 [209, ed. Hertl.]. Julian likewis declares his firm belief in the *ancilia*, the holy shields, which dropt from heaven o the Quirinal hill; and pities the strange blindness of the Christians, who preferre the *cross* to these celestial trophies. Apud Cyril. l. vi. p. 194.

thdrew from the foot of the altars into the sanctuary of the nple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed th a clear and audible voice that the pious inquirer, instead being scandalized or satisfied with the literal sense, should igently explore the occult wisdom which had been disguised, the prudence of antiquity, under the mask of folly and of ble.[15] The philosophers of the Platonic school,[16] Plotinus, rphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admired as the most ilful masters of this allegorical science which laboured to ften and harmonize the deformed features of paganism. Julian mself, who was directed in the mysterious pursuit by Ædesius, e venerable successor of Iamblichus, aspired to the possession a treasure which he esteemed, if we may credit his solemn severations, far above the empire of the world.[17] It was in- ed a treasure which derived its value only from opinion; and ery artist who flattered himself that he had extracted the ecious ore from the surrounding dross claimed an equal right stamping the name and figure the most agreeable to his culiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already plained by Porphyry; but his labours served only to animate e pious industry of Julian, who invented and published his vn allegory of that ancient and mystic tale. This freedom interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platonists, posed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the odern reader could not form a just idea of the strange al- sions, the forced etymologies, the solemn trifling, and the im- enetrable obscurity of these sages, who professed to reveal e system of the universe. As the traditions of Pagan mytho- gy were variously related, the sacred interpreters were at berty to select the most convenient circumstances; and, as ey translated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from *any* ble *any* sense which was adapted to their favourite system religion and philosophy. The lascivious form of a naked enus was tortured into the discovery of some moral precept some physical truth: and the castration of Atys explained

[15] See the principles of allegory in Julian (Orat. vii. p. 216, 222 [280, 288, ed. ertl.]). His reasoning is less absurd than that of some modern theologians, ho assert that an extravagant or contradictory doctrine *must* be divine; since no an alive could have thought of inventing it.

[16] Eunapius has made these sophists the subject of a partial and fanatical story; and the learned Brucker (Hist. Philosoph. tom. ii. p. 217-303) has em- oyed much labour to illustrate their obscure lives and incomprehensible doctrines.

[17] Julian, Orat. vii. p. 222 [288]. He swears with the most fervent and thusiastic devotion; and trembles lest he should betray too much of these holy ysteries, which the profane might deride with an impious sardonic laugh.

the revolution of the sun between the tropics or the separation of the human soul from vice and error.[18]

Theological system of Julian

The theological system of Julian appears to have contained the sublime and important principles of natural religion. But, as the faith which is not founded on revelation must remain destitute of any firm assurance, the disciple of Plato imprudently relapsed into the habits of vulgar superstition; and the popular and philosophic notion of the Deity seems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian.[19] The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cause of the universe, to whom he ascribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, invisible to the eyes, and inaccessible to the understanding, of feeble mortals. The Supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual succession of dependent spirits, of gods, of dæmons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its existence immediately from the First Cause received the inherent gift of immortality. That so precious an advantage might not be lavished upon unworthy objects, the Creator had entrusted to the skill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of these divine ministers he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect administration is not exempt from discord or error. The earth, and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus, may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whose grosser parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice.[20] The inferior gods might sometimes

[18] See the fifth oration of Julian. But all the allegories which ever issued from the Platonic school are not worth the short poem of Catullus on the same extraordinary subject. The transition of Atys from the wildest enthusiasm to sober pathetic complaint, for his irretrievable loss, must inspire a man with pity, an eunuch with despair.

[19] The true religion of Julian may be deduced from the Cæsars, p. 308 [395, ed. Hertl.], with Spanheim's notes and illustrations, from the fragments in Cyril, l. ii. p. 57, 58, and especially from the theological oration in Solem Regem, p. 130-158 [168-205, Or. iv.], addressed, in the confidence of friendship, to the præfect Sallust.

[20] Julian adopts this gross conception, by ascribing it to his favourite Marcus Antoninus (Cæsares, p. 333 [428]). The Stoics and Platonists hesitated between

ndescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, nich were dedicated to their honour. They might occasion- y visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne d symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the sun, oon, and stars, was hastily admitted by Julian as a proof of eir *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence at they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but the Omnipotent King. In the system of the Platonists, the sible, was a type of the invisible, world. The celestial bodies, they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The Sun, hose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly aimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative the Logos, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of e intellectual Father.[21]

In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm and the mimic arts of nposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised nly by the Pagan priests, for the support of an expiring cause, me indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the interest and abits of the sacerdotal character. But it may appear a subject f surprise and scandal that the philosophers themselves should ave contributed to abuse the superstitious credulity of man- ind,[22] and that the Grecian mysteries should have been sup- orted by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platonists. hey arrogantly pretended to control the order of nature, to xplore the secrets of futurity, to command the service of the nferior dæmons, to enjoy the view and conversation of the uperior gods, and, by disengaging the soul from her material ands, to re-unite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

Fanaticism of the philosophers

he analogy of bodies and the purity of spirits; yet the gravest philosophers in- ined to the whimsical fancy of Aristophanes and Lucian that an unbelieving age ight starve the immortal gods. See Observations de Spanheim, p. 284, 444, &c.

21 Ἥλιον λέγω, τὸ ζῶν ἄγαλμα καὶ ἔμψυχον, καὶ ἔννουν, καὶ ἀγαθόεργον τοῦ νοητοῦ πατρός. Julian, epist. xli. [*leg.* li.; p. 558, ed. Hertl.]. In another place (apud yril. l. ii. p. 69), he calls the Sun, God, and the throne of God. Julian believed he Platonician Trinity; and only blames the Christians for preferring a mortal, to n immortal, *Logos*.

22 The sophists of Eunapius perform as many miracles as the saints of the esert; and the only circumstance in their favour is that they are of a less gloomy omplexion. Instead of devils with horns and tails, Iamblichus evoked the genii f love, Eros and Anteros, from two adjacent fountains. Two beautiful boys ssued from the water, fondly embraced him as their father, and retired at his ommand, p. 26, 27.

Initiation and fanaticism of Julian

The devout and fearless curiosity of Julian tempted the philosophers with the hopes of an easy conquest; which, from the situation of their young proselyte, might be productive of the most important consequences.[23] Julian imbibed the first rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædesius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and persecuted school. But, as the declining strength of that venerable sage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his most learned disciples, Chrysanthes and Eusebius, supplied, at his own desire, the place of their aged master. These philosophers seem to have prepared and distributed their respective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints and affected disputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aspirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their associate Maximus, the boldest and most skilful master of the Theurgic science. By his hands Julian was secretly initiated at Ephesus, in the twentieth year of his age. His residence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philosophy and superstition. He obtained the privilege of a solemn initiation into the mysteries of Eleusis, which, amidst the general decay of the Grecian worship, still retained some vestiges of their primæval sanctity; and such was the zeal of Julian that he afterwards invited the Eleusinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the sole purpose of consummating, by mystic rites and sacrifices, the great work of his sanctification. As these ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the silence of the night, and as the inviolable secret of the mysteries was preserved by the discretion of the initiated, I shall not presume to describe the horrid sounds and fiery apparitions, which were presented to the senses, or the imagination, of the credulous aspirant,[24] till the visions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celestial light.[25] In the caverns of Ephesus and Eleusis,[26] the mind of Julian was penetrated with sincere, deep,

[Chrysanthius]

[23] The dexterous management of these sophists, who played their credulous pupil into each other's hands, is fairly told by Eunapius (p. 69-76), with unsuspecting simplicity. The Abbé de la Bléterie understands, and neatly describes, the whole comedy (Vie de Julien, p. 61-67).

[24] When Julian, in a momentary panic, made the sign of the cross, the dæmons instantly disappeared (Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 71 [iv. c. 55]). Gregory supposes that they were frightened, but the priests declared that they were indignant. The reader, according to the measure of his faith, will determine this profound question.

[25] A dark and distant view of the terrors and joys of initiation is shewn by Dion Chrysostom, Themistius, Proclus, and Stobæus. The learned author of the Divine Legation has exhibited their words (vol. i. p. 239, 247, 248, 280, edit. 1765), which he dexterously or forcibly applies to his own hypothesis.

[26] [Not in caverns at Eleusis, but in a great Hall, the *Telesterion*.]

unalterable enthusiasm; though he might sometimes exhibit vicissitudes of pious fraud and hypocrisy, which may be erved, or at least suspected, in the characters of the most scientious fanatics. From that moment he consecrated his to the service of the gods; and, while the occupations of , of government, and of study, seemed to claim the whole asure of his time, a stated portion of the hours of the night invariably reserved for the exercise of private devotion. e temperance which adorned the severe manners of the lier and the philosopher was connected with some strict and olous rules of religious abstinence; and it was in honour of n or Mercury, of Hecate or Isis, that Julian, on particular s, denied himself the use of some particular food, which ght have been offensive to his tutelar deities. By these untary fasts, he prepared his senses and his understanding for frequent and familiar visits with which he was honoured the celestial powers. Notwithstanding the modest silence Julian himself, we may learn from his faithful friend, the tor Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourse with gods and goddesses; that they descended upon earth, to oy the conversation of their favourite hero; that they gently errupted his slumbers, by touching his hand or his hair; that y warned him of every impending danger, and conducted n, by their infallible wisdom, in every action of his life; and t he had acquired such an intimate knowledge of his heavenly sts, as readily to distinguish the voice of Jupiter from that Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules.[27] ese sleeping or waking visions, the ordinary effects of absti- nce and fanaticism, would almost degrade the emperor to the el of an Egyptian monk. But the useless lives of Antony Pachomius were consumed in these vain occupations. Julian ld break from the dream of superstition to arm himself for ttle; and, after vanquishing in the field the enemies of Rome, calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wise and salutary ys of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant rsuits of literature and philosophy.

His religious dissimulation

The important secret of the apostacy of Julian was entrusted the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the red ties of friendship and religion.[28] The pleasing rumour

[27] Julian's modesty confined him to obscure and occasional hints; but Libanius patiates with pleasure on the fasts and visions of the religious hero (Legat. ad ian. p. 157 and Orat. Parental. c. lxxxiii. p. 309, 310).

[28] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. x. p. 233, 234. Gallus had some reasons to

was cautiously circulated among the adherents of the ancient worship; and his future greatness became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proselyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil and the restoration of every blessing; and, instead of disapproving of the ardour of their pious wishes, Julian ingenuously confessed that he was ambitious to attain a situation in which he might be useful to his country and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hostile eye by the successor of Constantine, whose capricious passions alternately saved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were strictly prohibited under a despotic government which condescended to fear them; and, if the pagans were reluctantly indulged in the exercise of their superstition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apostate soon became the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeased the just apprehensions of the Christians.[29] But the young prince, who aspired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, consulted his safety by dissembling his religion; and the easy temper of polytheism permitted him to join in the public worship of a sect which he inwardly despised. Libanius has considered the hypocrisy of his friend as a subject, not of censure, but of praise. "As the statues of the gods," says that orator, "which have been defiled with filth, are again placed in a magnificent temple; so the beauty of truth was seated in the mind of Julian, after it had been purified from the errors and follies of his education. His sentiments were changed; but, as it would have been dangerous to have avowed his sentiments, his conduct still continued the same. Very different from the ass in Æsop, who disguised himself with a lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal himself under the skin of an ass; and, while he embraced the dictates of reason, to obey the laws of prudence and necessity." [30] The dissimulation of Julian lasted above ten years, from his secret

suspect the secret apostacy of his brother; and in a letter, which may be received as genuine, he exhorts Julian to adhere to the religion of their *ancestors;* an argument which, as it should seem, was not yet perfectly ripe. See Julian. Op. p. 454 [613, ed. Hertl.], and Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 141. [The letter of Gallus is rejected by Petavius.]

[29] Gregory (iii. p. 50 [iv. c. 3]), with inhuman zeal, censures Constantius for sparing the infant apostate (κακῶς σωθέντα). His French translator (p. 265) cautiously observes that such expressions must not be prises à la lettre. [The phrase implies no censure of the preserver.]

[30] Libanius, Orat. Parental. c. ix. p. 233.

lation at Ephesus to the beginning of the civil war; when declared himself at once the implacable enemy of Christ of Constantius. This state of constraint might contribute trengthen his devotion; and, as soon as he had satisfied the gation of assisting, on solemn festivals, at the assemblies of Christians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, urn his free and voluntary incense on the domestic chapels upiter and Mercury. But, as every act of dissimulation must painful to an ingenuous spirit, the profession of Christianity eased the aversion of Julian for a religion which oppressed freedom of his mind and compelled him to hold a conduct ugnant to the noblest attributes of human nature, sincerity courage.

He writes against Christianity

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, of the Scipios, to the new faith which his uncle had established in the Roman empire; and in which he himself had been ctified by the sacrament of baptism. But, as a philosopher, vas incumbent on him to justify his dissent from Christianity, ich was supported by the number of its converts, by the in of prophecy, the splendour of miracles, and the weight of dence. The elaborate work,[31] which he composed amidst preparations of the Persian war, contained the substance those arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. ne fragments have been transcribed and preserved by his ersary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria;[32] and they exhibit ery singular mixture of wit and learning, of sophistry and aticism. The elegance of the style, and the rank of the thor, recommended his writings to the public attention;[33] d in the impious list of the enemies of Christianity, the ebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the superior merit reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either luced, or scandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who

[31] Fabricius (Biblioth. Græc. l. v. c. viii. p. 88-90) and Lardner (Heathen timonies, vol. iv. p. 44-47) have accurately compiled all that can now be covered of Julian's work against the Christians. [These compilations are erseded by the work of C. J. Neumann; see Appendix 1.]

[32] About seventy years after the death of Julian, he executed a task which had n feebly attempted by Philip of Side, a prolix and contemptible writer. Even work of Cyril has not entirely satisfied the most favourable judges: and the bé de la Bléterie (Préface à l'Hist. de Jovien, p. 30, 32) wishes that some ologien philosophe (a strange centaur) would undertake the refutation of Julian.

[33] Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lxxxvii. p. 313), who has been suspected of isting his friend, prefers this divine vindication (Orat. ix. in necem Julian. p. , edit. Morel.) to the writings of Porphyry. His judgment may be arraigned crates, l. iii. c. 23), but Libanius cannot be accused of flattery to a dead nce.

sometimes presumed to engage in the unequal dispute, derive from the popular work of their Imperial missionary an ine haustible supply of fallacious objections. But in the assiduo prosecution of these theological studies, the emperor of th Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and passions of polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and, whilst H secretly applauded the strength and dexterity with which H wielded the weapons of controversy, he was tempted to distru the sincerity, or to despise the understandings, of his an tagonists, who could obstinately resist the force of reason an eloquence.

Universal toleration

The Christians, who beheld with horror and indignation th apostacy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power tha from his arguments. The pagans, who were conscious of h fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flam of persecution should be immediately kindled against th enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julia would invent some cruel refinements of death and tortur which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fur of his predecessors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of th religious factions were apparently disappointed by the pruden humanity of a prince [34] who was careful of his own fame, of th public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed b history and reflection, Julian was persuaded that, if the disease of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinion of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to th foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaim the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy i hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as th persecution subsides, those who have yielded are restored a penitents, and whose who have resisted are honoured as saint and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty o Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he shoul stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glorie to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and increas from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by thes

[34] Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lviii. p. 283, 284) has eloquently explained th tolerating principles and conduct of his Imperial friend. In a very remarkab epistle to the people of Bostra, Julian himself (epist. lii) professes his moderation and betrays his zeal; which is acknowledged by Ammianus, and exposed b Gregory, Orat. iii. p. 72 [iv. c. 57].

tives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an untled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict which was t unworthy of a statesman or a philosopher. He extended all the inhabitants of the Roman world the benefits of a free d equal toleration; and the only hardship which he inflicted the Christians was to deprive them of the power of tormentg their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatized with the odious les of idolaters and heretics. The pagans received a gracious rmission, or rather an express order, to open ALL their mples;[35] and they were at once delivered from the oppresle laws and arbitrary vexations which they had sustained der the reign of Constantine and of his sons. At the same ne, the bishops and clergy who had been banished by the ian monarch were recalled from exile and restored to their spective churches; the Donatists, the Novatians, the Macenians, the Eunomians, and those who, with a more prosperous rtune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, o understood and derided their theological disputes, invited the palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might joy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters. The amour of controversy sometimes provoked the emperor to claim, "Hear me! the Franks have heard me, and the lemanni;" but he soon discovered that he was now engaged th more obstinate and implacable enemies; and, though he erted the powers of oratory to persuade them to live in cord, or at least in peace, he was perfectly satisfied, before he smissed them from his presence, that he had nothing to dread om the union of the Christians. The impartial Ammianus has cribed this affected clemency to the desire of fomenting the testine divisions of the church; and the insidious design of ndermining the foundations of Christianity was inseparably nnected with the zeal which Julian professed to restore the ncient religion of the empire.[36]

As soon as he ascended the throne, he assumed, according to

Zeal and devotion of Julian in the restoration of Paganism

[35] In Greece the temples of Minerva were opened by his express command, fore the death of Constantius (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 55, p. 280); and Julian clares himself a pagan in his public manifesto to the Athenians. This unestionable evidence may correct the hasty assertion of Ammianus, who seems to ppose Constantinople to be the place where he discovered his attachment to the ds.

[36] Ammian. xxii. 5. Sozomen, l. v. c. 5. Bestia moritur, tranquillitas redit . omnes episcopi, qui de propriis sedibus fuerant exterminati, per indulgentiam vi principis ad ecclesias redeunt. Jerom. adversus Luciferianos, tom. ii. p. 143. ptatus accuses the Donatists for owing their safety to an apostate (l. ii. c. 16, 36, 37, edit. Dupin).

the custom of his predecessors, the character of supreme pontiff not only as the most honourable title of Imperial greatness, bu as a sacred and important office, the duties of which he wa resolved to execute with pious diligence. As the business o the state prevented the emperor from joining every day in th public devotion of his subjects, he dedicated a domestic chape to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with statue and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace dis played the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morn ing he saluted the parent of light with a sacrifice; the bloo of another victim was shed at the moment when the Sun sun below the horizon; and the Moon, the Stars, and the Genii o the night, received their respective and seasonable honour from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On solemn festivals he regularly visited the temple of the god or goddess to whon the day was peculiarly consecrated, and endeavoured to excit the religion of the magistrates and people by the example o his own zeal. Instead of maintaining the lofty state of a monarch, distinguished by the splendour of his purple, anc encompassed by the golden shields of his guards, Julian solicited with respectful eagerness, the meanest offices which contributed to the worship of the gods. Amidst the sacred but licentious crowd of priests, of inferior ministers, and of female dancers who were dedicated to the service of the temple, it was the business of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to slaughter the victim, and, thrusting his bloody hand into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the consummate skill of an haruspex, the imaginary signs of future events. The wisest of the pagans censured this extravagant superstition which affected to despise the restraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince who practised the rigid maxims of economy the expense of religious worship consumed a very large portion of the revenue; a constant supply of the scarcest and most beautiful birds was transported from distant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently sacrificed by Julian on one and the same day; and it soon became a popular jest that, if he should return with conquest from the Persian war, the breed of horned cattle must infallibly be extinguished. Yet this expense may appear inconsiderable, when it is compared with the splendid presents which were offered, either by the hand or by order of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world;

and with the sums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had suffered the silent decay of time or the recent injuries of Christian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious sovereign, the cities and families resumed the practice of their neglected ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius with devout transport, "displayed the triumph of religion; and the grateful prospect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, the smoke of incense, and a solemn train of priests and prophets, without fear and without danger. The sound of prayer and of music was heard on the tops of the highest mountains; and the same ox afforded a sacrifice for the gods and a supper for their joyous votaries." [37]

Reformation of Paganism

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterprise of restoring a religion which was destitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of ecclesiastical discipline; which rapidly hastened to decay and dissolution, and was not susceptible of any solid or consistent reformation. The jurisdiction of the supreme pontiff, more especially after that office had been united with the Imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the several provinces, the priests and philosophers whom he esteemed the best qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great design; and his pastoral letters,[38] if we may use that name, still represent a very curious sketch of his wishes and intentions. He directs that in every city the sacerdotal order should be composed, without any distinction of birth or fortune, of those persons who were the most conspicuous for their love of the gods and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of any scandalous offence, they should be censured or degraded by the superior pontiff; but, as long as they retain their rank, they are entitled to the respect of the magistrates and people. Their humility may be shown in the plainness of

[37] The restoration of the pagan worship is described by Julian (Misopogon, p. 346 [446, ed. Hertl.]), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60, p. 286, 287, and Orat. Consular. ad Julian, p. 245, 246, edit. Morel.), Ammianus (xxii. 12), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 121). These writers agree in the essential, and even minute, facts; but the different lights in which they view the extreme devotion of Julian are expressive of the gradations of self-applause, passionate admiration, mild reproof, and partial invective.

[38] See Julian. Epistol. xlix. lxii. lxiii. and a long and curious fragment, without beginning or end, p. 288-305 [371-392]. The supreme pontiff derides the Mosaic history and the Christian discipline, prefers the Greek poets to the Hebrew prophets, and palliates, with the skill of a Jesuit, the *relative* worship of images.

their domestic garb; their dignity, in the pomp of holy vestments. When they are summoned in their turn to officiate before the altar, they ought not, during the appointed number of days, to depart from the precincts of the temple; nor should a single day be suffered to elapse without the prayers and the sacrifice, which they are obliged to offer for the prosperity of the state and of individuals. The exercise of their sacred functions requires an immaculate purity, both of mind and body; and, even when they are dismissed from the temple to the occupations of common life, it is incumbent on them to excel in decency and virtue the rest of their fellow-citizens. The priest of the gods should never be seen in theatres or taverns. His conversation should be chaste, his diet temperate; his friends of honourable reputation; and, if he sometimes visits the Forum or the Palace, he should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy. His studies should be suited to the sanctity of his profession. Licentious tales, or comedies, or satires, must be banished from his library; which ought solely to consist of historical and philosophical writings; of history which is founded in truth, and of philosophy which is connected with religion. The impious opinions of the Epicureans and Sceptics deserve his abhorrence and contempt;[39] but he should diligently study the systems of Pythagoras, of Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanimously teach that there *are* gods; that the world is governed by their providence; that their goodness is the source of every temporal blessing; and that they have prepared for the human soul a future state of reward or punishment." The Imperial pontiff inculcates, in the most persuasive language, the duties of benevolence and hospitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the universal practice of those virtues; promises to assist their indigence from the public treasury; and declares his resolution of establishing hospitals in every city, where the poor should be received without any invidious distinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wise and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confesses his intention to deprive the Christians of the applause, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the exclusive

[39] The exultation of Julian (p. 301) that these impious sects, and even their writings, are extinguished may be consistent enough with the sacerdotal character: but it is unworthy of a philosopher to wish that any opinions and arguments the most repugnant to his own should be concealed from the knowledge of mankind.

ractice of charity and beneficence.[40] The same spirit of imitation might dispose the emperor to adopt several ecclesiastical institutions, the use and importance of which were approved by he success of his enemies. But, if these imaginary plans of eformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been less beneficial to Paganism than honourable to Christianity.[41] The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the ustoms of their ancestors, were rather surprised than pleased with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the short eriod of his reign, Julian had frequent occasions to complain of he want of fervour of his own party.[42]

The philosophers

The enthusiasm of Julian prompted him to embrace the riends of Jupiter as his personal friends and brethren; and, hough he partially overlooked the merit of Christian constancy, e admired and rewarded the noble perseverance of those Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the mperor.[43] If they cultivated the literature, as well as the eligion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the riendship of Julian, who ranked the Muses in the number of is tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety nd learning were almost synonymous;[44] and a crowd of poets, f rhetoricians, and of philosophers, hastened to the Imperial ourt, to occupy the vacant places of the bishops who had educed the credulity of Constantius. His successor esteemed he ties of common initiation as far more sacred than those of

[40] Yet he insinuates that the Christians, under the pretence of charity, inveigled hildren from their religion and parents, conveyed them on ship-board, and deoted those victims to a life of poverty or servitude in a remote country (p. 305 391]). Had the charge been proved, it was his duty, not to complain, but to unish. [It is very questionable whether Julian meant to insinuate this charge. Ie compares the conduct of the "Galilæans" in looking after the poor for the sake f proselytizing to that of kidnappers who inveigle children by giving them cake; the simile does not seem to be applied literally to the Christians.]

[41] Gregory Nazianzen is facetious, ingenious, and argumentative. Orat. iii. p. 01, 102, &c. [iv., c. 115 *sqq.*]. He ridicules the folly of such vain imitation; and muses himself with inquiring, what lessons, moral or theological, could be exracted from the Grecian fables.

[42] He accuses one of his pontiffs of a secret confederacy with the Christian ishops and presbyters. Epist. lxii [p. 583]. Ὁρῶν οὖν πολλὴν μὲν ὀλιγωρίαν οὖσαν μὶν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, and again, ἡμᾶς δὲ οὕτω ῥαθύμως, &c. Epist. lxiii [p. 587].

[43] He praises the fidelity of Callixene, priestess of Ceres, who had been twice as onstant as Penelope, and rewards her with the priesthood of the Phrygian goddess t Pessinus. (Julian. Epist. xxi.) He applauds the firmness of Sopater of Hierapolis, who had been repeatedly pressed by Constantius and Gallus to *apostatize*. (Epist. xvii. p. 401 [518].)

[44] Ὁ δὲ νομίζων ἀδελφὰ λόγους τε καὶ θεῶν ἱερά Orat. Parent. c. 77, p. 302. The ame sentiment is frequently inculcated by Julian, Libanius, and the rest of their party.

consanguinity: he chose his favourites among the sages who were deeply skilled in the occult sciences of magic and divination; and every impostor who pretended to reveal the secrets of futurity was assured of enjoying the present hour in honour and affluence.[45] Among the philosophers, Maximus obtained the most eminent rank in the friendship of his royal disciple, who communicated, with unreserved confidence, his actions, his sentiments, and his religious designs, during the anxious suspense of the civil war.[46] As soon as Julian had taken possession of the palace of Constantinople, he dispatched an honourable and pressing invitation to Maximus; who then resided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chrysanthius, the associate of his art and studies. The prudent and superstitious Chrysanthius refused to undertake a journey which showed itself, according to the rules of divination, with the most threatening and malignant aspect: but his companion, whose fanaticism was of a bolder cast, persisted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a seeming consent to his own wishes and those of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Asia displayed the triumph of philosophic vanity; and the magistrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their sovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the senate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his discourse, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midst of the assembly; where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the instructions of the philosopher. Maximus,[47] who soon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was insensibly corrupted by the temptations of a court. His dress became more splendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was exposed, under a succeeding reign, to a disgraceful inquiry into the means by which the disciple of Plato had accumulated, in the short duration of his favour, a very scandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philosophers and sophists, who were invited to the Imperial residence by the choice of Julian or by the success of Maximus,

[45] The curiosity and credulity of the emperor, who tried every mode of divination, are fairly exposed by Ammianus, xxii. 12.

[46] Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Three other epistles (xv. xvi. xxxix.) in the same style of friendship and confidence are addressed to the philosopher Maximus.

[47] Eunapius (in Maximo, p. 77, 78, 79, and in Chrysanthio, p. 147, 148) has minutely related these anecdotes, which he conceives to be the most important events of the age. Yet he fairly confesses the frailty of Maximus. His reception at Constantinople is described by Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 86, p. 301) and Ammianus (xxii. 7).

ew were able to preserve their innocence or their reputation.[48] he liberal gifts of money, lands, and houses, were insufficient o satiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the eople was justly excited by the remembrance of their abject overty and disinterested professions. The penetration of ulian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to espise the characters of those men whose talents deserved his steem; he desired to escape the double reproach of imprudence nd inconstancy; and he was apprehensive of degrading, in the yes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion.[49]

Conversions

The favour of Julian was almost equally divided between the agans, who had firmly adhered to the worship of their ancestors, nd the Christians, who prudently embraced the religion of heir sovereign. The acquisition of new proselytes[50] gratified he ruling passions of his soul, superstition and vanity; and he as heard to declare with the enthusiasm of a missionary that, if e could render each individual richer than Midas, and every ity greater than Babylon, he should not esteem himself the enefactor of mankind, unless, at the same time, he could re- laim his subjects from their impious revolt against the im- ortal gods.[51] A prince, who had studied human nature, and ho possessed the treasures of the Roman empire, could adapt is arguments, his promises, and his rewards, to every order f Christians;[52] and the merit of a seasonable conversion was llowed to supply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate he guilt of a criminal. As the army is the most forcible engine

[48] Chrysanthius, who had refused to quit Lydia, was created high-priest of the rovince. His cautious and temperate use of power secured him after the evolution; and he lived in peace; while Maximus, Priscus, &c. were persecuted y the Christian ministers. See the adventures of those fanatic sophists, collected y Brucker, tom. ii. p. 281-293.

[49] See Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 101, 102, p. 324, 325, 326) and Eunapius (Vit. ophist. in Proæresio, p. 126). Some students, whose expectations perhaps were roundless or extravagant, retired in disgust. Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. p. 120. It strange that we should not be able to contradict the title of one of Tillemont's hapters (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 960): "La Cour de Julien est pleine e philosophes et de gens perdus".

[50] Under the reign of Lewis XIV. his subjects of every rank aspired to the lorious title of *Convertisseur*, expressive of their zeal and success in making roselytes. The word and the idea are growing obsolete in France; may they ever be introduced into England!

[51] See the strong expressions of Libanius, which were probably those of Julian imself. (Orat. Parent. c. 59, p. 285.)

[52] When Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. x. p. 167) is desirous to magnify the hristian firmness of his brother Cæsarius, physician to the Imperial court, he wns that Cæsarius disputed with a formidable adversary, πολυν εν ὁπλοις, καὶ ἐγαν ἐν λόγων δεινότητι. In his invectives he scarcely allows any share of it or courage to the apostate.

of absolute power, Julian applied himself, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whose hearty concurrence every measure must be dangerous and unsuccessful; and the natural temper of soldiers made this conquest as easy as it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Constantius, he had the satisfaction of announcing to his friends that they assisted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the sacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen.[53] The armies of the East, which had been trained under the standard of the cross, and of Constantius, required a more artful and expensive mode of persuasion. On the days of solemn and public festivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merits, of the troops. His throne of state was encircled with the military ensigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Christ was erased from the *Labarum;* and the symbols of war, of majesty, and of pagan superstition, were so dexterously blended, that the faithful subject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he respectfully saluted the person or image of his sovereign. The soldiers passed successively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and services, was required to cast a few grains of incense into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Christian confessors might resist, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the prospect of gold and awed by the presence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement; and their future perseverance in the worship of the gods was enforced by every consideration of duty and of interest. By the frequent repetition of these arts, and at the expense of sums which would have purchased the service of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himself the firm and effectual support of the Roman legions.[54] It is indeed more than probable that the restoration and encouragement of Paganism revealed a multitude of pretended Christians, who, from

[53] Julian. Epist. xxxviii. Ammianus, xxii. 12 [6]. Adeo ut in dies pæne singulos milites carnis distentiore sagina victitantes incultius, potusque aviditate correpti [read, *corrupti*] humeris impositi transeuntium per plateas, ex publicis ædibus . . . ad sua diversoria portarentur. The devout prince and the indignant historian describe the same scene; and in Illyricum or Antioch similar causes must have produced similar effects.

[54] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 74, 75, 83-86 [iv., c. 65 *sqq.*, 82 *sqq.*]) and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. lxxxi. lxxxii. p. 307, 308) περὶ ταύτην τὴν σπουδήν, οὐκ ἀρνοῦμαι πλοῦτον ἀνηλῶσθαι μέγαν. The sophist owns and justifies the expense of these military conversions,

notives of temporal advantage, had acquiesced in the religion f the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with the ame flexibility of conscience, to the faith which was professed y the successors of Julian.

The Jews

While the devout monarch incessantly laboured to restore nd propagate the religion of his ancestors, he embraced the xtraordinary design of rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. n a public epistle[55] to the nation or community of the Jews, ispersed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, ondemns their oppressors, praises their constancy, declares imself their gracious protector, and expresses a pious hope hat, after his return from the Persian war, he may be permitted o pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of erusalem. The blind superstition and abject slavery of those nfortunate exiles must excite the contempt of a philosophic mperor; but they deserved the friendship of Julian by their nplacable hatred of the Christian name. The barren syna- ogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: he power of the Jews was not equal to their malice; but their ravest rabbis approved the private murder of an apostate;[56] nd their seditious clamours had often awakened the indolence f the pagan magistrates. Under the reign of Constantine, the ews became the subjects of their revolted children, nor was it ong before they experienced the bitterness of domestic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus were gradually repealed by the Christian princes; and rash tumult excited by the Jews of Palestine[57] seemed to justify the lucrative modes of oppression, which were invented

[55] Julian's epistle (xxv) is addressed to the community o. the Jews. Aldus Venet. 1499) has branded it with an εἰ γνήσιος; but this stigma is justly removed by the subsequent editors, Petavius and Spanheim. The epistle is mentioned by Sozomen (l. v. c. 22), and the purport of it is confirmed by Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 111), and by Julian himself (Fragment. p. 295). [In a Syriac chronicle (early 6th cent.) a story is told that a number of Jews from Palestine met Julian at Tarsus, to ask leave to rebuild their Temple. As it was known that Julian objected to the Jewish monotheism, they exhibited seven idols to propitiate him, and offered incense on the altars of his heathen deities. He acceded to their request, but on their way home the Jews were murdered by Christian soldiers. See Hoffmann, Julianos der Abtrünnige, 1880 (Leiden).]

[56] The Misnah denounced death against those who abandoned the foundation. The judgment of zeal is explained by Marsham (Canon. Chron. p. 161, 162, edit. fol. London, 1672) and Basnage (Hist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 120). Constantine made a law to protect Christian converts from Judaism. Cod. Theod. l. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 1. Godefroy, tom. vi. p. 215.

[57] Et interea (during the civil war of Magnentius) Judæorum seditio, qui Patricium nefarie in regni speciem sustulerunt, oppressa. Aurelius Victor, in Constantio, c. xlii. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 379 in 4to.

by the bishops and eunuchs of the court of Constantius. The Jewish patriarch, who was still permitted to exercise a precarious jurisdiction, held his residence at Tiberias;[58] and the neighbouring cities of Palestine were filled with the remains of a people who fondly adhered to the promised land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the cross and the devotion of the Christians.[59]

Jerusalem

In the midst of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jerusalem[60] inclosed the two mountains of Sion and Acra within an oval figure of about three English miles.[61] Towards the south, the upper town and the fortress of David were erected on the lofty ascent of Mount Sion: on the north side [The Sakhra Enclosure] the buildings of the lower town covered the spacious summit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, distinguished by the name of Moriah and levelled by human industry, was crowned with the stately temple of the Jewish nation. After the final destruction of the temple, by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deserted; and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from design or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus on the spot which had been sanctified by the death and resurrection of Christ.[62]

[58] The city and synagogue of Tiberias are curiously described by Reland, Palestin. tom. ii. p. 1036-1042.

[59] Basnage has fully illustrated the state of the Jews under Constantine and his successors (tom. viii. c. iv. p. 111-153). [Cp. Grätz, Ges. der Juden, iv., c. 19-21.]

[60] Reland (Palestin. l. i. p. 309, 390, l. iii. p. 838) describes, with learning and perspicuity, Jerusalem, and the face of the adjacent country. [See the article "Jerusalem" by Sir Charles Wilson, in the new ed. of Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; also the series of memoirs of the Palestine Exploration Fund; the "ordnance survey of Jerusalem," by Sir Charles Wilson, 1866. Cp. Appendix 23.]

[61] I have consulted a rare and curious treatise of M. d'Anville (sur l'ancienne Jérusalem, Paris, 1747, p. 75). The circumference of the ancient city (Euseb. Præparat. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36) was twenty-seven stadia, or 2550 *toises*. A plan taken on the spot assigns no more than 1980 for the modern town. The circuit is defined by natural land-marks which cannot be mistaken or removed. [Josephus (B. J. v. 4) gives 33 stadia; Sir C. Wilson calculates not more than 25. The dimensions of the modern town are about 1000 yards from E. to W. and the same from N. to S. A map showing the various theories as to the line of the old walls is given in the book of Mr. T. H. Lewis, The Holy Places of Jerusalem, 1888.]

[62] See two curious passages in Jerom (tom. i. p. 102, t. vi. p. 315), and the ample details of Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 569, tom. ii. p. 289, 294, 4to edition).

almost three hundred years after those stupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demolished by the order of Constantine; and the removal of the earth and stones revealed the holy sepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that mystic ground, by the first Christian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every spot which had been consecrated by the footsteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God.[63]

Pilgrimages

The passionate desire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption attracted to Jerusalem a successive crowd of pilgrims, from the shores of the Atlantic ocean and the most distant countries of the East;[64] and their piety was authorized by the example of the empress Helena, who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent conversion. Sages and heroes, who have visited the memorable scenes of ancient wisdom or glory, have confessed the inspiration of the genius of the place;[65] and the Christian who knelt before the holy sepulchre ascribed his lively faith and his fervent devotion to the more immediate influence of the Divine spirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jerusalem cherished and multiplied these beneficial visits. They fixed, by unquestionable tradition, the scene of each memorable event. They exhibited the instruments which had been used in the passion of Christ; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his side; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head, the pillar at which he was scourged; and, above all, they shewed the cross on which he suffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of those princes who inserted the symbol of Christianity in the banners of the Roman legions.[66] Such miracles as seemed

[63] Eusebius, in Vit. Constantin. l. iii. c. 25-47, 51-53. The emperor likewise built churches at Bethlem, the Mount of Olives, and the oak of Mambre. The holy sepulchre is described by Sandys (Travels, p. 125-133), and curiously delineated by Le Bruyn (Voyage au Levant, p. 288-296). [For the churches of Constantine at Jerusalem, see the publication for 1891 of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc., where the original sources are translated by Mr. J. H. Bernard. Cp. App. 23.]

[64] The Itinerary from Bourdeaux to Jerusalem was composed in the year 333, for the use of pilgrims; among whom Jerom (tom. i. p. 126) mentions the Britons and the Indians. The causes of this superstitious fashion are discussed in the learned and judicious preface of Wesseling (Itin. p. 537-545). [A translation of this itinerary by Mr. A. Stewart is published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc., 1887.]

[65] Cicero (de Finibus, v. 1) has beautifully expressed the common sense of mankind.

[66] Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A.D. 326, No. 42-50) and Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 8-16) are the historians and champions of the miraculous *invention* of the cross, under the reign of Constantine. Their oldest witnesses are Paulinus,

necessary to account for its extraordinary preservation and seasonable discovery were gradually propagated without opposition. The custody of the *true cross*, which on Easter Sunday was solemnly exposed to the people, was entrusted to the bishop of Jerusalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of small pieces, which they enchased in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their respective countries. But, as this gainful branch of commerce must soon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to suppose that the marvellous wood possessed a secret power of vegetation: and that its substance, though continually diminished, still remained entire and unimpaired.[67] It might perhaps have been expected that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, should have produced some salutary effects on the morals as well as on the faith of the people. Yet the most respectable of the ecclesiastical writers have been obliged to confess, not only that the streets of Jerusalem were filled with the incessant tumult of business and pleasure,[68] but that every species of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poisoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city.[69] The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jerusalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, since his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were displayed in the exercise, rather than in the acquisition, of his episcopal dignity.[70]

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of the temple of Jerusalem.[71] As the

Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, Ambrose, and perhaps Cyril of Jerusalem. The silence of Eusebius and the Bourdeaux pilgrim, which satisfies those who think, perplexes those who believe. See Jortin's sensible remarks, vol. ii. p. 238-248. [Cp. App. 21.]

[67] This multiplication is asserted by Paulinus (epist. xxxvii. See Dupin, Biblioth. Ecclés. tom. iii. p. 149), who seems to have improved a rhetorical flourish of Cyril into a real fact. The same supernatural privilege must have been communicated to the Virgin's milk (Erasmi Opera, tom. i. p. 778. Lug. Bat. 1703, in Colloq. de Peregrinat. Religionis ergo), saints' heads, &c. and other relics, which were repeated in so many different churches.

[68] Jerom (tom. i. p. 103), who resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlem, describes the vices of Jerusalem from his personal experience.

[69] Gregor. Nyssen, apud Wesseling, p. 539. The whole epistle, which condemns either the use or the abuse of religious pilgrimage, is painful to the Catholic divines, while it is dear and familiar to our Protestant polemics.

[70] He renounced his orthodox ordination, officiated as a deacon, and was re-ordained by the hands of the Arians. But Cyril afterwards changed with the times, and prudently conformed to the Nicene faith. Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés, tom. viii.), who treats his memory with tenderness and respect, has thrown his virtues into the text, and his faults into the notes, in decent obscurity, at the end of the volume.

[71] Imperii sui memoriam magnitudine operum gestiens propagare. Ammian. xxiii. 1. The temple of Jerusalem had been famous even among the Gentiles.

ristians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting struction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of e Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the ccess of his undertaking into a specious argument against the th of the prophecy and the truth of revelation.[72] He was pleased with the spiritual worship of the synagogue; but approved the institutions of Moses, who had not disdained adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt.[73] The al and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by polytheist who desired only to multiply the number of the ds;[74] and such was the appetite of Julian for bloody sacrifice at his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, o had offered, at the feast of the dedication, twenty-two ousand oxen and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep.[75] ese considerations might influence his designs; but the ospect of an immediate and important advantage would not ffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and un-rtain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect, without lay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a stately temple hich might eclipse the splendour of the church of the Re-rrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an der of priests, whose interested zeal would detect the arts, id resist the ambition, of their Christian rivals; and to invite numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would be ways prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile easures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the nperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incom-tible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the

hey had many temples in each city (at Sichem five, at Gaza eight, at Rome four ndred and twenty-four); but the wealth and religion of the Jewish nation was ntered in one spot.

72 The secret intentions of Julian are revealed by the late bishop of Gloucester, the arned and dogmatic Warburton; who, with the authority of a theologian, prescribes e motives and conduct of the Supreme Being. The discourse entitled *Julian* l edition, London, 1751) is strongly marked with all the peculiarities which are puted to the Warburtonian school.

73 I shelter myself behind Maimonides, Marsham, Spencer, Le Clerc, Warburton, c. who have fairly derided the fears, the folly, and the falsehood of some super-tious divines. See Divine Legation, vol. iv. p. 25, &c.

74 Julian (Fragment, p. 295) respectfully styles him μέγας θεός, and mentions m elsewhere (epist. lxiii) with still higher reverence. He doubly condemns the ristians: for believing and for renouncing the religion of the Jews. Their eity was a *true*, but not the *only*, God. Apud Cyril. l. ix. p. 305, 306.

75 1 Kings, viii. 63. 2 Chronicles vii. 5. Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. viii. c. p. 431, edit. Havercamp. As the blood and smoke of so many hecatombs ight be inconvenient, Lightfoot, the Christian Rabbi, removes them by a miracle. e Clerc (ad loca) is bold enough to suspect the fidelity of the numbers.

virtuous and learned Alypius.[76] The humanity of Alypius w tempered by severe justice and manly fortitude; and, while exercised his abilities in the civil administration of Britain, imitated, in his poetical compositions, the harmony and softne of the odes of Sappho. This minister, to whom Julian co municated, without reserve, his most careless levities and l most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission restore, in its pristine beauty, the temple of Jerusalem; and t diligence of Alypius required and obtained the strenuous suppo of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great d liverer, the Jews, from all the provinces of the empire, assembl on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their insolent triumj alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusale The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been t ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitio moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women tha delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by t vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contrib tions, every hand claimed a share in the pious labour; and t commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusias of a whole people.[77]

The enterprise is defeated

Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusias were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, whic is now covered by a Mahometan mosque,[78] still continued exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolatio Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the ne maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last s months of the life of Julian.[79] But the Christians entertain

[76] Julian, epist. xxix. xxx. La Bléterie has neglected to translate the second these epistles.

[77] See the zeal and impatience of the Jews in Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. III [v., c. 4]) and Theodoret (l. iii. c. 20).

[78] Built by Omar, the second Khalif, who died A.D. 644. This great mosq covers the whole consecrated ground of the Jewish temple, and constitutes almost square of 760 *toises*, or one Roman mile in circumference. See d'Anville, Jérusale p. 45.

[79] Ammianus records the consuls of the year 363, before he proceeds to menti the *thoughts* of Julian. Templum . . . instaurare sumptibus *cogitabat* immodic Warburton has a secret wish to anticipate the design; but he must have und stood, from former examples, that the execution of such a work would ha demanded many years. [An examination of the evidence,—especially of Julian's o statement (ep. 25, p. 514, l. 8) that he intends to rebuild Jerusalem when he h finished the Persian War (διορθωσάμενος)—leads us to believe that the work of buil ing was never even begun. The whole story seems to have been (as Dr. Ad concludes in his full discussion of the subject, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1893, p. 6

atural and pious expectation that, in this memorable contest, honour of religion would be vindicated by some signal racle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, ich overturned and scattered the new foundations of the nple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and pectable evidence.[80] This public event is described by nbrose,[81] bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theo- sius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the ws; by the eloquent Chrysostom,[82] who might appeal to the mory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and Gregory Nazianzen,[83] who published his account of the racle before the expiration of the same year. The last of ese writers has boldly declared that this preternatural event s not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it y seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of nmianus Marcellinus.[84] The philosophic soldier, who loved e virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his master, has corded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, e extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of e temple of Jerusalem. "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the vernor of the province, urged with vigour and diligence the ecution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near

perhaps by a preternatural event

) a deliberate fiction of Gregory Nazianzen, from whose Invective against Julian assed into Ambrose, Chrysostom, and then (embellished with contradictions) into ecclesiastical historians Socrates, &c. (see next notes). Ammianus, who liked a racle, can have got the tale from the same source. Dr. Adler has disposed of late Jewish authorities who are mustered in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae.*]

80 The subsequent witnesses, Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Philostorgius, &c. d contradictions rather than authority. Compare the objections of Basnage ist. des Juifs, tom. viii. p. 157-168) with Warburton's answer (Julian, p. 174-258). e bishop has ingeniously explained the miraculous crosses which appeared on garments of the spectators by a similar instance, and the natural effects of ntning.

81 Ambros. tom. ii. epist. xl. p. 946, edit. Benedictin. He composed this fanatic stle (A.D. 388) to justify a bishop, who had been condemned by the civil gistrate for burning a synagogue.

82 Chrysostom, tom. i. p. 580, advers. Judæos et Gentes; tom. ii. p. 574, de ncto Babylâ, edit. Montfaucon. I have followed the common and natural pposition; but the learned Benedictine, who dates the composition of these mons in the year 383, is confident they were never pronounced from the pulpit.

83 Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 110-113 [v., c. 2 *sqq.*]. Τὸ δὲ οὖν περιβόητον τι θαῦμα, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀθέοις αὐτοῖς ἀπιστούμενον λέξων ἔρχομαι.

84 Ammian. xxiii. 1. Cum itaque rei fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciæ tor, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes ere locum exustis aliquoties operantibus inaccessum: hocque modo elemento stinatius repellente, cessavit inceptum. Warburton labours (p. 60-90) to extort confession of the miracle from the mouths of Julian and Libanius, and to employ evidence of a rabbi who lived in the fifteenth century. Such witnesses can ly be received by a very favourable judge.

the foundations with frequent and reiterated attacks, render the place, from time to time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and, the victorious element continuing in the manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis, any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jerusalem and the active credulity of the Christian world; and, at the distance of twenty years, a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle.[85]

Partiality of Julian

The restoration of the Jewish temple was secretly connected with the ruin of the Christian church. Julian still continued to maintain the freedom of religious worship, without distinguishing whether this universal toleration proceeded from his justice or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Christians, who were mistaken in the most important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the sentiments of Julian were expressed in a style of sarcastic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound whenever it issues from the mouth of a sovereign. As he was sensible that the Christians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the use of the less honourable appellation of GALILÆANS.[86] He declared that, by the folly of the Galilæans, whom he describes as a sect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of destruction; and he insinuates in a public edict that a frantic patient might sometimes be cured by salutary violence.[87] An ungenerous

[85] Dr. Lardner, perhaps alone of the Christian critics, presumes to doubt the truth of this famous miracle (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iv. p. 47-71). The silence of Jerom would lead to a suspicion that the same story, which was celebrated at a distance, might be despised on the spot. [Dr. Adler (loc. cit.) also notices the silence of Prudentius, Orosius (7, 30) and the two Cyrils.]

[86] Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 81. And this law was confirmed by the invariable practice of Julian himself. Warburton has justly observed (p. 35) that the Platonists believed in the mysterious virtue of words; and Julian's dislike for the name of Christ might proceed from superstition, as well as from contempt.

[87] Fragment. Julian. p. 288 [371, ed. Hertl.]. He derides the μωρία Γαλιλαίων (epist. vii), and so far loses sight of the principles of toleration as to wish (epist. xlii) ἄκοντας ἰᾶσθαι.

nction was admitted into the mind and counsels of Julian, according to the difference of their religious sentiments, part of his subjects deserved his favour and friendship, e the other was entitled only to the common benefits that ustice could not refuse to an obedient people.[88] According principle, pregnant with mischief and oppression, the eror transferred to the pontiffs of his own religion the agement of the liberal allowances from the public revenue ch had been granted to the church by the piety of Constan- and his sons. The proud system of clerical honours and unities, which had been constructed with so much art and [A.D 362] ur, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of testamentary ations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the sts of the Christian sect were confounded with the last most ignominious class of the people. Such of these ulations as appeared necessary to check the ambition and rice of the ecclesiastics were soon afterwards imitated by the dom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar distinctions which cy has bestowed, or superstition has lavished, on the rdotal order *must* be confined to those priests who profess religion of the state. But the will of the legislator was not mpt from prejudice and passion; and it was the object of insidious policy of Julian to deprive the Christians of all temporal honours and advantages which rendered them pectable in the eyes of the world.[89]

A just and severe censure has been inflicted on the law which hibited the Christians from teaching the arts of grammar l rhetoric.[90] The motives alleged by the emperor to justify s partial and oppressive measure might command, during his time, the silence of slaves and the applause of flatterers. lian abuses the ambiguous meaning of a word which might indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the EEKS: he contemptuously observes that the men who exalt

He prohibits the Christians from teaching schools [17th June, A.D. 362]

[88] Οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν ἠ ἐλεαίρειν.
Ἄνδρας [*leg.* ἄνερας] οἵ κε θεοῖσιν ἀπεχθωντ' ἀθανάτοισιν.
ese two lines, which Julian has changed and perverted in the true spirit of a ot (Epist. xlix), are taken from the speech of Æolus, when he refuses to grant vsses a fresh supply of winds (Odyss. x. 73). Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. lix. 286) attempts to justify this partial behaviour by an apology in which persecu- n peeps through the mask of candour.

[89] These laws which affected the clergy may be found in the slight hints of lian himself (Epist. lii), in the vague declamations of Gregory (Orat. in. p. 86, , and in the positive assertions of Sozomen (l. v. c. 5). [See Cod. Theod. 12, 50.]

[90] Inclemens . . . perenni obruendum silentio. Ammian. xxii. 10, xxv. 5.

the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy th advantages of science; and he vainly contends that, if they refu to adore the gods of Homer and Demosthenes, they ought content themselves with expounding Luke and Matthew in th churches of the Galilæans.[91] In all the cities of the Roma world, the education of the youth was entrusted to masters grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magistrate maintained at the public expense, and distinguished by man lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appea to have included the physicians, and professors of all the libera arts; and the emperor, who reserved to himself the approbatio of the candidates, was authorized by the laws to corrupt, or t punish, the religious constancy of the most learned of th Christians.[92] As soon as the resignation of the more obstin ate[93] teachers had established the unrivalled dominion of th Pagan sophists, Julian invited the rising generation to resor with freedom to the public schools, in a just confidence tha their tender minds would receive the impressions of literatur and idolatry. If the greatest part of the Christian youth shoul be deterred by their own scruples, or by those of their parent from accepting this dangerous mode of instruction, they mus at the same time relinquish the benefits of a liberal education Julian had reason to expect that, in the space of a few years the church would relapse into its primæval simplicity, and tha the theologians, who possessed an adequate share of the learn ing and eloquence of the age, would be succeeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles or of exposing the various follies of Poly theism.[94]

[91] The edict itself, which is still extant among the epistles of Julian (xlii.), ma be compared with the loose invectives of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 96). Tillemon (Mém. Ecclés. t. vii. p. 1291-1294) has collected the seeming differences o ancients and moderns. They may be easily reconciled. The Christians were *directly* forbid to teach, they were *indirectly* forbid to learn; since they would no frequent the schools of the Pagans.

[92] Codex Theodos. l. xiii. tit. iii. de medicis et professoribus, leg. 5 (published the 17th June, received, at Spoleto in Italy, the 29th of July, A.D. 363), with Godefroy's Illustrations, tom. v. p. 31.

[93] Orosius celebrates their disinterested resolution, Sicut a majoribus nostris com pertum habemus, omnes ubique propemodum . . . . officium quam fidem de serere maluerunt, vii. 30. Proæresius, a Christian sophist, refused to accept th partial favour of the emperor, Hieronym. in Chron. p. 185, edit. Scaliger. Euna pius in Proæresio. p. 126.

[94] They had recourse to the expedient of composing books for their ow schools. Within a few months Apollinaris produced his Christian imitations o Homer (a sacred history in xxiv books), Pindar, Euripides, and Menander; an Sozomen is satisfied that they equalled, or excelled, the originals.

t was undoubtedly the wish and the design of Julian to de- Disgrace and oppression of the Christians
e the Christians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge,
of power; but the injustice of excluding them from all offices
rust and profit seems to have been the result of his general
cy rather than the immediate consequence of any positive
.[95] Superior merit might deserve, and obtain, some extraor-
ary exceptions; but the greater part of the Christian officers
e gradually removed from their employments in the state,
army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates
e extinguished by the declared partiality of a prince who
liciously reminded them that it was unlawful for a Christian
use the sword either of justice or of war; and who studiously
rded the camp and the tribunals with the ensigns of
latry. The powers of government were entrusted to the
gans, who professed an ardent zeal for the religion of their
estors; and, as the choice of the emperor was often directed
the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as
most agreeable to the gods did not always obtain the
robation of mankind.[96] Under the administration of their
mies, the Christians had much to suffer, and more to appre-
nd. The temper of Julian was averse to cruelty; and the
e of his reputation, which was exposed to the eyes of the
verse, restrained the philosophic monarch from violating the
s of justice and toleration which he himself had so recently
ablished. But the provincial ministers of his authority were
ced in a less conspicuous station. In the exercise of arbi-
ry power, they consulted the wishes, rather than the com-
nds, of their sovereign; and ventured to exercise a secret
l vexatious tyranny against the sectaries, on whom they
re not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The
peror, who dissembled as long as possible his knowledge of
injustice that was exercised in his name, expressed his real
se of the conduct of his officers by gentle reproofs and sub-
ntial rewards.[97]

The most effectual instrument of oppression with which they They are condemned to restore the Pagan temples

[95] It was the instruction of Julian to his magistrates (Epist. vii) προτιμᾶσθαι μεν τοὺς θεοσεβεῖς καὶ πάνυ φημὶ δεῖν. Sozomen (l. v. c. 18) and Socrates (l. iii. c. must be reduced to the standard of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 95), not less prone exaggeration, but more restrained by the actual knowledge of his contemporary ders.

[96] Ψήφῳ θεῶν καὶ διδοὺς καὶ μὴ διδούς. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 88, p. 314.

[97] Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. p. 74, 91, 92. Socrates, l. iii. c. 14. Theodoret, l. iii. 5. Some drawback may however be allowed for the violence of *their* zeal, not partial than the zeal of Julian. [On Julian's persecutions, compare Mr. atkin's Arianism, p. 215 *sqq.*]

were armed was the law that obliged the Christians to make full and ample satisfaction for the temples which they had destroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the sanction of the public authority; and the bishops, who were secure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demolish the fortresses of the prince of darkness. The consecrated lands, which had increased the patrimony of the sovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined, and easily restored. But on these lands, and on the ruins of Pagan superstition, the Christians had frequently erected their own religious edifices; and, as it was necessary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the justice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his sacrilegious violence.[98] After the ground was cleared, the restitution of those stately structures which had been levelled with the dust and of the precious ornaments which had been converted to Christian uses swelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to discharge this accumulated demand: and the impartial wisdom of a legislator would have been displayed in balancing the adverse claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the East, was thrown into confusion by the rash edicts of Julian; and the Pagan magistrates, inflamed by zeal and revenge, abused the rigorous privilege of the Roman law, which substitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the person of the insolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, bishop of Arethusa,[99] had laboured in the conversion of his people with arms more effectual than those of persuasion.[100] The magistrates required the full value of a

[98] If we compare the gentle language of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 60, p. 286) with the passionate exclamations of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 86, 87), we may find it difficult to persuade ourselves that the two orators are really describing the same events.

[99] Restan, or Arethusa, at the equal distance of sixteen miles between Emesa (*Hems*) and Epiphania (*Hamath*), was founded, or at least named, by Seleucus Nicator. Its peculiar æra dates from the year of Rome 685 according to the medals of the city. In the decline of the Seleucides, Emesa and Arethusa were usurped by the Arab Sampsiceramus, whose posterity, the vassals of Rome, were not extinguished in the reign of Vespasian. See d'Anville's Maps and Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 134. Wesseling. Itineraria, p 188, and Noris. Epoch. Syro-Macedon. p. 80, 481, 482.

[100] Sozomen, l. v. c. 10. It is surprising that Gregory and Theodoret should suppress a circumstance which, in their eyes, must have enhanced the religious merit of the confessor.

nple which had been destroyed by his intolerant zeal: but, as ey were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his lexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. ey apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged [A.D. 362] n, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with ney, was suspended in a net between heaven and earth, and posed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun.[101] om this lofty station, Mark still persisted to glory in his me and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He s at length rescued from their hands, and dismissed to enjoy e honour of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the rtue of their pious confessor; the Catholics ambitiously claimed s alliance;[102] and the Pagans, who might be susceptible of ame or remorse, were deterred from the repetition of such availing cruelty.[103] Julian spared his life: but, if the bishop Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian,[104] posterity will ndemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency, of e emperor.

The temple and sacred grove of Daphne

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian ngs of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant aces of devotion in the Pagan world.[105] A magnificent temple se in honour of the god of light; and his colossal figure[106] almost ed the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold d gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The

[101] The sufferings and constancy of Mark, which Gregory has so tragically painted rat. iii. p. 88-91 [iv., c. 88 *sqq.*]), are confirmed by the unexceptionable and reluctant dence of Libanius. Μάρκος ἐκεῖνος κρεμάμενος, καὶ μαστιγούμενος, καὶ τοῦ πώγωνος ῷ τιλλομένου πάντα ἐνεγκὼν ἀνδρείως νῦν ἰσόθεός ἐστι ταῖς τιμαῖς, κἂν φανῇ που-μάχητος εὐθύς. Epist. 730, p. 350, 351, edit. Wolf. Amstel. 1738.

[102] Περμάχητος, certatim eum sibi (Christiani) vindicant. It is thus that La oze and Wolfius (ad loc.) have explained a Greek word whose true signification d been mistaken by former interpreters, and even by Le Clerc (Bibliothèque Anne et Moderne, tom. iii. p. 371). Yet Tillemont is strangely puzzled to understand (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 1309) *how* Gregory and Theodoret could mistake Semi-Arian bishop for a saint.

[103] See the probable advice of Sallust (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. 90, 91). banius intercedes for a similar offender, lest they should find many *Marks;* yet allows that, if Orion had secreted the consecrated wealth, he deserved to suffer e punishment of Marsyas: to be flayed alive (Epist. 730, p. 349-551).

[104] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 90 [iv., c. 91]) is satisfied that, by saving the apostate, ark had deserved still more than he had suffered.

[105] The grove and temple of Daphne are described by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1089, 90, edit. Amstel. 1707), Libanius (Nenia, p. 185, 188, Antiochic. Orat. xi. p. 5, 381), and Sozomen (l. v. c. 19). Wesseling (Itinerar. p. 581) and Casaubon (ad Hist. August. p. 64) illustrate this curious subject.

[106] Simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Jovis imitamenti æquiparans magnitudinem. mmian. xxii. 13. The Olympic Jupiter was sixty feet high, and his bulk was nsequently equal to that of a thousand men. See a curious *Mémoire* of the bbé Gedoyn (Académie des Inscriptions, tom. ix. p. 198).

deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Castalian* fountain of Daphne.[107] In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege,[108] which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expense of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures.[109] The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendour, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and cypresses, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the most sultry summers a cool and impenetrable shade. A thousand streams of the purest water, issuing from every hill, preserved the verdure of the earth and the temperature of the air; the senses were gratified with harmonious sounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was consecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth pursued, like Apollo, the object of his desires; and the blushing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to shun the folly of unseasonable coyness. The soldier and the philosopher wisely avoided the temptation of this sensual paradise;[110] where pleasure, assuming the character of religion,

[107] Hadrian read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in the Castalian stream; a trick which, according to the physician Vandale (De Oraculis, pp. 281, 282), might be easily performed by chemical preparations. The emperor stopped the source of such dangerous knowledge; which was again opened by the devout curiosity of Julian.

[108] It was purchased, A.D. 44, in the year 92 of the æra of Antioch (Noris. Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 139-174) for the term of ninety Olympiads. But the Olympic games of Antioch were not regularly celebrated till the reign of Commodus. [Rather, Caracalla, 212 A.D.; see Clinton, Fasti Rom.] See the curious details in the Chronicle of John Malala (tom. i. p. 293, 320, 372-381), a writer whose merit and authority are confined within the limits of his native city.

[109] Fifteen talents of gold, bequeathed by Sosibius, who died in the reign of Augustus. The theatrical merits of the Syrian cities, in the age of Constantine, are compared in the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 6 (Hudson, Geograph. Minor, tom. iii.).

[110] Avidio Cassio Syriacos legiones dedi luxuriâ diffluentes et *Daphnicis* moribus. These are the words of the emperor Marcus Antoninus in an original letter preserved by his biographer in Hist. August. p. 41 [vi. 6]. Cassius dismissed or punished every soldier who was seen at Daphne.

nperceptibly dissolved the firmness of manly virtue. But the oves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the venera- on of natives and strangers; the privileges of the holy ground ere enlarged by the munificence of succeeding emperors; and ery generation added new ornaments to the splendour of the mple.[111]

When Julian, on the day of the annual festival, hastened to lore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raised to the ghest pitch of eagerness and impatience. His lively imagina- on anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and incense; a long procession of youths and virgins, clothed in hite robes, the symbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous ncourse of an innumerable people. But the zeal of Antioch as diverted, since the reign of Christianity, into a different nannel. Instead of hecatombs of fat oxen sacrificed by the ibes of a wealthy city to their tutelar deity, the emperor mplains that he found only a single goose, provided at the xpense of a priest, the pale and solitary inhabitant of this ecayed temple.[112] The altar was deserted, the oracle had een reduced to silence, and the holy ground was profaned by he introduction of Christian and funereal rites. After Babylas[113]

Neglect and profanation of Daphne

[111] Aliquantum agrorum Daphnensibus dedit (*Pompey*), quo lucus ibi spatiosior eret; delectatus amœnitate loci et aquarum abundantiâ. Eutropius, vi. 14. extus Rufus, de Provinciis, c. 16.

[112] Julian (Misopogon, p. 361, 362) discovers his own character with that *nivete*, that unconscious simplicity, which always constitutes genuine humour.

[113] Babylas is named by Eusebius in the succession of the bishops of Antioch Hist. Eccles. l. vi. c. 29, 39). His triumph over two emperors (the first fabulous, he second historical) is diffusely celebrated by Chrysostom (tom. ii. p. 536-579, lit. Montfaucon). Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. t. iii. part ii. p. 287-302, 459-465) ecomes almost a sceptic. [The history of the remains of Babylas is told, ccurately for the most part, by Tillemont, and has been fully discussed by Bishop ightfoot (in Apostolic Fathers, part ii. vol i. p. 41 *sqq.*), who uncovers a nest of rrors in the account of Gibbon. (1) From Sozomen, v. 20, it is clear that ersecutions intervened between the procession and the outbreak of the fire. onsequently Tillemont and Gibbon are wrong in stating that the fire broke out during the night which terminated this indiscreet procession"—a false inference om Amm. xxii. 13 (Lightfoot p. 43, n. 5). (2) Gibbon seems to confound heodorus, a young man mentioned by Rufinus, x. 36 (to whom he was known) nd Socrates, 3, 19, with the presbyter and martyr Theodoret put to death by ulian's uncle, Count Julian (Soz. v. 8; Ruinart, Acta Mart. Sinc. p. 605 *sqq.*). 3) Ammian's expression *levissimus rumor* relates not to the charge against hristians, but to the story that the fire was accidentally caused by the philosopher sclepiades. Gibbon wrongly connected *hac ex causa* with the preceding sen- ence: Amm. 22, 13, 3. (4) Babylas, removed by Julian's orders, was placed in is former *martyrium* within the city (Chrysostom, ii. 564-5); soon afterwards a plendid church was built in his honour, outside the city on the other side of the rontes, and his bones were placed in it, during the bishopric of Meletius, who ied 381 A.D. (Chrys. de Hier. Bab. p. 535). Gibbon apparently confounds the martyrium in Daphne with this new church, when he says "A magnificent church

(a bishop of Antioch, who died in prison in the persecution of Decius) had rested near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæsar Gallus, was transported into the midst of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the sacred lands was usurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Christians of Antioch who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their bishop; and the priests of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As soon as another revolution seemed to restore the fortune of Paganism, the church of St. Babylas was demolished, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raised by the piety of Syrian kings. But the first and most serious care of Julian was to deliver his oppressed deity from the odious presence of the dead and living Christians who had so effectually suppressed the voice of fraud or enthusiasm.[114] The scene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the ministers of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modest behaviour which might have assuaged the jealousy of an hostile government was neglected on this occasion by the zeal of the Christians. The lofty car that transported the relics of Babylas was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Psalms of David the most expressive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the saint was a triumph; and the triumph was an insult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to dissemble his resentment. During the night which terminated this indiscreet procession, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the statue of Apollo was consumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Christians of Antioch asserted, with religious confidence, that the powerful intercession of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven against the devoted roof: but, as Julian was reduced to the alternative of believing either a crime or a miracle, he chose,

Removal of the dead bodies, and conflagration of the temple

[A.D. 362, 22nd Oct.]

was erected over his remains". (5) "The church of St. Babylas was subsequently demolished" is inconsistent with Chrysostom's statement (p. 565) that the martyrium in Daphne was left standing after the fire.]

[114] Ecclesiastical critics, particularly those who love relics, exult in the confession of Julian (Misopogon, p. 361) and Libanius (Nenia, p. 185), that Apollo was disturbed by the vicinity of *one* dead man. Yet Ammianus (xxii. 12) clears and purifies the whole ground, according to the rites which the Athenians formerly practised in the isle of Delos.

thout hesitation, without evidence, but with some colour of obability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the lilæans.[115] Their offence, had it been sufficiently proved, ght have justified the retaliation which was immediately ecuted by the order of Julian, of shutting the doors, and con-cating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To discover e criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or secreting the riches of the church, several ecclesiastics re tortured;[116] and a presbyter, of the name of Theodoret, s beheaded by the sentence of the Count of the East. But s hasty act was blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with l or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his ministers uld tarnish his reign with the disgrace of persecution.[117]

Julian shuts the cathedral of Antioch

The zeal of the ministers of Julian was instantly checked by e frown of their sovereign; but, when the father of his country clares himself the leader of a faction, the licence of popular y cannot easily be restrained nor consistently punished. lian, in a public composition, applauds the devotion and alty of the holy cities of Syria, whose pious inhabitants had stroyed, at the first signal, the sepulchres of the Galilæans; d faintly complains that they had revenged the injuries of e gods with less moderation than he should have recom-ended.[118] This imperfect and reluctant confession may appear confirm the ecclesiastical narratives: that in the cities of aza, Ascalon, Cæsarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abused, thout prudence or remorse, the moment of their prosperity; at the unhappy objects of their cruelty were released from rture only by death; that, as their mangled bodies were agged through the streets, they were pierced (such was the iversal rage) by the spits of cooks and the distaffs of enraged omen; and that the entrails of Christian priests and virgins, er they had been tasted by those bloody fanatics, were mixed th barley, and contemptuously thrown to the unclean animals

[115] Julian (in Misopogon, p. 361) rather insinuates than affirms their guilt. mianus (xxii. 13) treats the imputation as *levissimus rumor*, and relates the ry with extraordinary candour. [See above, p. 467, n. 113.]

[116] Quo non atroci casû repente consumpto, ad id usque imperatoris ira pro-it, ut quæstiones agitare juberet solito acriores (yet Julian blames the lenity of magistrates of Antioch), et majorem ecclesiam Antiochiæ claudi. This inter-tion was performed with some circumstances of indignity and profanation: and seasonable death of the principal actor, Julian's uncle, is related with much erstitious complacency by the Abbé de la Bléterie. Vie de Julien, p. 362-369.

[117] Besides the ecclesiastical historians, who are more or less to be suspected, may allege the passion of St. Theodore, in the Acta Sincera of Ruinart, p. 591. e complaint of Julian gives it an original and authentic air.

[118] Julian, Misopogon, p. 361.

of the city.[119] Such scenes of religious madness exhibit the most contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the massacre of Alexandria attracts still more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the splendour of the capital of Egypt.

George of Cappadocia

George,[120] from his parents or his education surnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's shop. From this obscure and servile origin he raised himself by the talents of a parasite: and the patrons, whom he assiduously flattered, procured for their worthless dependent a lucrative commission, or contract, to supply the army with bacon. His employment was mean; he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the basest arts of fraud and corruption; but his malversations were so notorious that George was compelled to escape from the pursuits of justice. After this disgrace, in which he appears to have saved his fortune at the expense of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profession of Arianism. From the love, or the ostentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of history, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology; [121] and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanasius. The entrance of the new archbishop was that of a Barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to

oppresses Alexandria and Egypt

exercise the office of persecution; but he oppressed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extensive diocese. The primate of Egypt assumed the pomp and insolence of his lofty station; but he still betrayed the vices of his base and

[119] See Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iii. p. 87 [iv. c. 86]. Sozomen (l. v. c. 9) may be considered as an original, though not impartial, witness. He was a native of Gaza, and had conversed with the confessor Zeno, who, as bishop of Maiuma, lived to the age of an hundred (l. vii. c. 28). Philostorgius (l. vii. c. 4, with Godefroy's Dissertations, p. 284) adds some tragic circumstances, of Christians who were *literally* sacrificed at the altars of the gods. &c.

[120] The life and death of George of Cappadocia are described by Ammianus (xxii. 11), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xxi. p. 382, 385, 389, 390 [c. 16 *sqq.*]), and Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxvi.). The invectives of the two saints might not deserve much credit, unless they were confirmed by the testimony of the cool and impartial infidel.

[121] After the massacre of George, the emperor Julian repeatedly sent orders to preserve the library for his own use, and to torture the slaves who might be suspected of secreting any books. He praises the merit of the collection, from whence he had borrowed and transcribed several manuscripts while he pursued his studies in Cappadocia. He could wish indeed that the works of the Galilæans might perish: but he requires an exact account even of those theological volumes, lest other treatises more valuable should be confounded in their loss. Julian. Epist. ix. xxxvi,

ervile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoverished by the unjust, and almost universal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, salt, paper, funerals, &c.; and the spiritual father of a great people condescended to practise the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget nor forgive the tax which he suggested on all the houses of the city; under an obsolete claim that the royal founder had conveyed to his successors, the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, the perpetual property of the soil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or insulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How long will these sepulchres be permitted to stand?" Under the reign of Constantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the justice, of the people; and it was not without a violent struggle that the civil and military powers of the state could restore his authority and gratify his revenge. The messenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the accession of Julian announced the downfall of the archbishop. George, with two of his obsequious ministers, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, master of the mint, were ignominiously dragged in chains to the public prison. At the end of twenty-four days, the prison was forced open by the rage of a superstitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel insults; the lifeless bodies of the archbishop and his associates were carried in triumph through the streets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanasian party [122] was esteemed a shining example of evangelical patience. The remains of these guilty wretches were thrown into the sea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their resolution to disappoint the devotion of the Christians, and to intercept the future honours of these *martyrs*, who had been punished, like their predecessors, by the enemies of their religion.[123] The fears of the Pagans were just, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbishop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanasius was dear

A.D. 361, November 30

He is massacred by the people

December 24

[122] Philostorgius, with cautious malice, insinuates their guilt, καὶ τοῦ Ἀθανασίου γνώμην στρατηγῆσαι τῆς πράξεως, l. vii. c. 2, Godefroy, p. 267.

[123] Cineres projecit in mare, id metuens, ut clamabat, ne, collectis supremis, ædes illis exstruerent [*leg.* extruerentur] ut reliquis, qui deviare a religione compulsi pertulere cruciabiles pœnas, ad usque gloriosam mortem intemeratâ fide progressi, et nunc MARTYRES appellantur. Ammian. xxii. 11. Epiphanius proves to the Arians that George was not a martyr.

and sacred to the Arians, and the seeming conversion of those sectaries introduced his worship into the bosom of the Catholic church.[124] The odious stranger, disguising every circumstance of time and place, assumed the mask of a martyr, a saint, and a Christian hero;[125] and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed[126] into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter.[127]

and worshipped as a saint and martyr

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians, and committed such disorders as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa,[128] by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galilæans. Their *admirable* law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the poor; and they will advance with more diligence in the paths of virtue and salvation, when they are relieved by my assistance from the load of temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and humanity. If these disorders continue, I will revenge on

[124] Some Donatists (Optatus Milev. p. 60, 303, edit. Dupin; and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vi. p. 713, in 4to) and Priscillianists (Tillemont, Mém Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 517, in 4to) have in like manner usurped the honours of Catholic saints and martyrs.

[125] The saints of Cappadocia, Basil and the Gregories, were ignorant of their holy companion. Pope Gelasius (A.D. 494), the first Catholic who acknowledges St. George, places him among the martyrs, "qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt". He rejects his Acts as the composition of heretics. Some, perhaps not the oldest, of the spurious Acts are still extant; and, through a cloud of fiction, we may yet distinguish the combat which St. George of Cappadocia sustained, in the presence of Queen *Alexandra*, against the *magician Athanasius*.

[126] This transformation is not given as absolutely certain, but as *extremely* probable. See the Longueruana, tom. i. p. 194. [Cp. Appendix 22. St. George was made patron saint of England by Edward III.]

[127] A curious history of the worship of St. George, from the sixth century (when he was already revered in Palestine, in Armenia, at Rome, and at Treves in Gaul), might be extracted from Dr. Heylin (History of [that most famous saynt and souldier of Christ Jesus] St. George, 2d edition, London, 1633, in 4to, pp. 429), and the Bollandists (Act. SS. Mens. April. tom. iii. p. 100-163). His fame and popularity in Europe, and especially in England, proceeded from the Crusades. [Add Dr. J. Milner's Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Existence and Character of St. George, London 1792, attempting to prove that St. George of England was orthodox.]

[128] Julian. Epist. xliii.

he magistrates the crimes of the people; and you will have eason to dread, not only confiscation and exile, but fire and the word." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more loody and dangerous nature: but a Christian bishop had fallen y the hands of the Pagans; and the public epistle of Julian fords a very lively proof of the partial spirit of his administra- on. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled ith expressions of esteem and tenderness; and he laments at on this occasion they should have departed from the gentle nd generous manners which attested their Grecian extraction. He gravely censures the offence which they had committed gainst the laws of justice and humanity; but he recapitulates, ith visible complacency, the intolerable provocations which hey had so long endured from the impious tyranny of George f Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle that a wise and igorous government should chastise the insolence of the people: et, in consideration of their founder Alexander and of Serapis heir tutelar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the uilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother.[129]

Restoration of Athanasius. A.D. 362, February 21

After the tumult of Alexandria had subsided, Athanasius, midst the public acclamations, seated himself on the throne rom whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated; nd, as the zeal of the archbishop was tempered with discretion, he exercise of his authority tended not to inflame, but to econcile, the minds of the people. His pastoral labours were ot confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The state of the Christian world was present to his active and capacious mind; nd the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanasius enabled im to assume, in a moment of danger, the office of Ecclesiastical Dictator.[130] Three years were not yet elapsed since the majority f the bishops of the West had ignorantly, or reluctantly, sub- cribed the Confession of Rimini. They repented, they believed, ut they dreaded the unseasonable rigour of their orthodox rethren, and, if their pride was stronger than their faith, hey might throw themselves into the arms of the Arians, to scape the indignity of a public penance, which must degrade hem to the condition of obscure laymen. At the same time, he domestic differences concerning the union and distinction

[129] Julian. Epist. x. He allowed his friends to assuage his anger. Ammian. xxii. 11.

[130] See Athanas. ad Rufin. tom. ii. p. 40, 41; and Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iii. [leg. xxi.] p. 395, 396, who justly states the temperate zeal of the primate as much more meritorious than his prayers, his fasts, his persecutions, &c.

of the divine persons were agitated with some heat among th Catholic doctors; and the progress of this metaphysical contr versy seemed to threaten a public and lasting division of th Greek and Latin churches. By the wisdom of a select synod to which the name and presence of Athanasius gave the autho ity of a general council, the bishops who had unwarily deviate into error were admitted to the communion of the church, on the easy condition of subscribing the Nicene Creed; witho any formal acknowledgment of their past fault or any minut definition of their scholastic opinions. The advice of the primat of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, c Italy and Greece, for the reception of this salutary measure and, notwithstanding the opposition of some ardent spirits,[131] the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmon of the Christians.[132]

He is persecuted and expelled by Julian. A.D. 362, Oct. 23

The skill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improve the season of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hostil edicts of the emperor.[133] Julian, who despised the Christians honoured Athanasius with his sincere and peculiar hatred. Fo his sake alone, he introduced an arbitrary distinction, repugnant at least, to the spirit of his former declarations. He maintaine that the Galilæans whom he had recalled from exile were no restored, by that general indulgence, to the possession of thei respective churches: and he expressed his astonishment tha a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgmen of the emperors, should dare to insult the majesty of the laws and insolently usurp the archiepiscopal throne of Alexandria without expecting the orders of his sovereign. As a punishmen for the imaginary offence, he again banished Athanasius from the city: and he was pleased to suppose that this act of justice would be highly agreeable to his pious subjects. The pressing

[A.D. 362, beginning of October]

[131] I have not leisure to follow the blind obstinacy of Lucifer of Cagliari. Se his adventures in Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 900-916); and observe how the colour of the narrative insensibly changes, as the confessor becomes a schismatic.

[132] Assensus est huic sententiæ Occidens, et, per tam necessarium concilium Satanæ faucibus mundus ereptus. The lively and artful Dialogue of Jeron against the Luciferians (tom. ii. p. 135-155) exhibits an original picture of th ecclesiastical policy of the times.

[133] Tillemont, who supposes that George was massacred in August, crowd the actions of Athanasius into a narrow space (Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 360) An original fragment, published by the Marquis Maffei, from the old Chapter library of Verona (Osservazioni Litterarie, tom. iii. p. 60-92) affords many importan dates, which are authenticated by the computation of Egyptian months.

citations of the people soon convinced him that the majority
ne Alexandrians were Christians ; and that the greatest part
he Christians were firmly attached to the cause of their
ressed primate. But the knowledge of their sentiments,
ead of persuading him to recall his decree, provoked him
extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanasius.
e zeal of the multitude rendered Julian still more inex-
ble : he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head
tumultuous city a daring and popular leader : and the lan-
ge of his resentment discovers the opinion which he enter-
ned of the courage and abilities of Athanasius. The execution
he sentence was still delayed, by the caution or negligence
Ecdicius, præfect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from
lethargy by a severe reprimand. "Though you neglect,"
s Julian, "to write to me on any other subject, at least it
our duty to inform me of your conduct towards Athanasius,
enemy of the gods. My intentions have been long since com-
nicated to you. I swear by the great Serapis that unless,
the calends of December, Athanasius has departed from
exandria, nay from Egypt, the officers of your government
ll pay a fine of one hundred pounds of gold. You know my
nper : I am slow to condemn, but I am still slower to forgive."
is epistle was enforced by a short postscript, written with
e emperor's own hand. "The contempt that is shewn for
the gods fills me with grief and indignation. There is nothing
at I should see, nothing that I should hear with more pleasure
an the expulsion of Athanasius from all Egypt. The abomin-
le wretch! Under my reign, the baptism of several Grecian
dies of the highest rank has been the effect of his persecu-
ns." [134] The death of Athanasius was not *expressly* commanded ;
t the præfect of Egypt understood that it was safer for him to
ceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The [A.D. 362, 23rd Oct.]
chbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert :
uded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy ; and
ed to triumph over the ashes of a prince who, in words of
rmidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom

[134] Τὸν μιαρὸν, ὃς ἐτόλμησεν Ἕλληνίδας, ἐπ' ἐμοῦ, γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπισήμων βαπτίσαι
όκεσθαι. I have preserved the ambiguous sense of the last word, the ambiguity
a tyrant who wished to find, or to create, guilt. [P. 485, ed. Hertl. With the
ading διώκεσθαι (to which Gibbon seems, by a curious blunder, to give an active
eaning) we should have to render "than that Athanasius should be expelled
om all Egypt, and persecuted, the abominable wretch, who dared to baptize Greek
dies". But read with best Ms,—βαπτίσαι. διωκέσθω : "let him be persecuted".]

of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person Athanasius.[135]

Zeal and imprudence of the Christians

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the artful syst by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurri the guilt, or reproach, of persecution. But, if the deadly sp of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a vir ous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the r sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness a resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples the gospel was the object of the applause rather than of t imitation of their successors. The Christians, who had n possessed about forty years the civil and ecclesiastical gover ment of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of pr sperity,[136] and the habit of believing that the saints alone we entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had be conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of t most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters an heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthod party.[137] The acts of violence, which were no longer counte anced by the magistrates, were still committed by the zeal the people. At Pessinus, the altar of Cybele was overturne almost in the presence of the emperor; and in the city Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the sole place worship which had been left to the Pagans, was destroyed by t rage of a popular tumult. On these occasions, a prince wh felt for the honour of the gods was not disposed to interrupt th course of justice; and his mind was still more deeply exasperate when he found that the fanatics, who had deserved and suffere the punishment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours martyrdom.[138] The Christian subjects of Julian were assured

[135] The three epistles of Julian which explain his intentions and conduct wi regard to Athanasius should be disposed in the following chronological order, xx x, vi. See likewise Greg. Nazianzen, xxi. p. 393; Sozomen, l. v. c. 15; Socrate l. iii. c. 14; Theodoret, l. iii. c. 9, and Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. viii. p. 36 368, who has used some materials prepared by the Bollandists. [Cp. Schwar de Vit. et Scr Julian. i. p. 20. He assigns Ep. 10 to end of Jan., Ep. 26 to end March, Ep. 6 to beginning of Oct., 362 A.D. Rode regards 6 and 26 as written the same time.]

[136] See the fair confession of Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 61, 62).

[137] Hear the furious and absurd complaint of Optatus (de Schismat. Donati l. ii. c. 16, 17).

[138] Greg. Nazianzen. Orat. iii. p. 91, iv. p. 133. He praises the rioters Cæsarea, τούτων δὲ τῶν μεγαλοφυῶν καὶ θερμῶν εἰς εὐσέβειαν. See Sozomen, l. v.

hostile designs of their sovereign; and, to their jealous rehension, every circumstance of his government might rd some grounds of discontent and suspicion. In the ordi- administration of the laws, the Christians, who formed so e a part of the people, must frequently be condemned: but r indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the se, presumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and uted the severity of their judge to the partial malice of gious persecution.[139] These present hardships, intolerable hey might appear, were represented as a slight prelude of impending calamities. The Christians considered Julian as ruel and crafty tyrant who suspended the execution of his enge, till he should return victorious from the Persian war. ey expected that, as soon as he had triumphed over the ign enemies of Rome, he would lay aside the irksome mask lissimulation; that the amphitheatres would stream with the od of hermits and bishops; and that the Christians, who persevered in the profession of the faith, would be deprived the common benefits of nature and society.[140] Every cal- hy[141] that could wound the reputation of the Apostate was dulously embraced by the fears and hatred of his adversaries; their indiscreet clamours provoked the temper of a sove- gn whom it was their duty to respect and their interest to ter. They still protested that prayers and tears were their y weapons against the impious tyrant, whose head they oted to the justice of offended Heaven. But they insinuated h sullen resolution, that their submission was no longer the ct of weakness; and that, in the imperfect state of human ue, the patience which is founded on principle may be austed by persecution. It is impossible to determine how

Tillemont (Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 649, 650) owns that their behaviour was dans l'ordre commun; but he is perfectly satisfied, as the great St. Basil ays celebrated the festival of these blessed martyrs.

[139] Julian determined a lawsuit against the new Christian city at Maiuma, the of Gaza; and his sentence, though it might be imputed to bigotry, was never rsed by his successors. Sozomen, l. v. c. 3. Reland, Palestine, tom. ii. p. 791.

[140] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 93, 94, 95 [iv. c. 93 *sqq.*]; Orat. iv. p. 114 [v., ad]) pretends to speak from the information of Julian's confidants, whom sius (vii. 30) could not have seen.

[141] Gregory (Orat. iii. p. 91) charges the Apostate with secret sacrifices of boys girls; and positively affirms that the dead bodies were thrown into the ntes. See Theodoret, l. iii. c. 26, 27; and the equivocal candour of the Abbé la Bléterie, Vie de Julien, p. 351, 352. Yet *contemporary* malice could not ute to Julian the troops of martyrs, more especially in the West, which onius so greedily swallows, and Tillemont so faintly rejects (Mém. Ecclés. tom. p. 1295-1315).

far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good se and humanity: but, if we seriously reflect on the strength spirit of the church, we shall be convinced that, before the peror could have extinguished the religion of Christ, he n have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war.[142]

[142] The resignation of Gregory is truly edifying (Orat. iv. p. 123, 124). when an officer of Julian attempted to seize the Church of Nazianzus, he w have lost his life, if he had not yielded to the zeal of the bishop and people (C xix. p. 308 [c. 32]). See the reflections of Chrysostom, as they are allege Tillemont (Mém Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 575).

CHAPTER XXIV

esidence of Julian at Antioch—His successful Expedition against the Persians—Passage of the Tigris—The Retreat and Death of Julian—Election of Jovian—He saves the Roman Army by a disgraceful Treaty

The Cæsars of Julian

HE philosophical fable which Julian composed under the name the CÆSARS [1] is one of the most agreeable and instructive pro- ictions of ancient wit.[2] During the freedom and equality of e days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feast for the ities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy associate, id for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial eople and the vanquished nations of the earth. The immortals ere placed in just order on their thrones of state, and the table f the Cæsars was spread below the Moon, in the upper region f the air. The tyrants, who would have disgraced the society f gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable emesis, into the Tartarean abyss. The rest of the Cæsars suc- essively advanced to their seats: and, as they passed, the vices, ie defects, the blemishes of their respective characters were aliciously noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moralist, who isguised the wisdom of a philosopher under the mask of a acchanal.[3] As soon as the feast was ended, the voice of Iercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celestial crown ould be the reward of superior merit. Julius Cæsar, Augustus rajan, and Marcus Antoninus were selected as the most illustrious

[1] See this fable or satire, p. 306-336 of the Leipzig edition of Julian's works. he French version of the learned Ezekiel Spanheim (Paris, 1683) is coarse, nguid, and incorrect; and his notes, proofs, illustrations, &c. are piled on each ther till they form a mass of 557 close-printed quarto pages. The Abbé de la léterie (Vie de Jovien, tom. i. p. 241-393) has more happily expressed the spirit, s well as the sense, of the original, which he illustrates with some concise and urious notes.

[2] Spanheim (in his preface) has most learnedly discussed the etymology, origin, esemblance, and disagreement of the Greek *satyrs*, a dramatic piece, which was cted after the tragedy; and the Latin *satires* (from *satura*), a *miscellaneous* com- osition, either in prose or verse. But the Cæsars of Julian are of such an original ast that the critic is perplexed to which class he should ascribe them.

[3] This mixed character of Silenus is finely painted in the sixth eclogue of Virgil.

candidates; the effeminate Constantine [4] was not excluded fro this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invite to dispute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each the candidates was allowed to display the merit of his own e ploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modest sileno of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate oratio of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful conte proceeded to examine the heart and to scrutinize the springs o action, the superiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared still mo decisive and conspicuous.[5] Alexander and Cæsar, Augustu Trajan, and Constantine, acknowledged with a blush that fam or power or pleasure had been the important object of *the* labours: but the gods themselves beheld, with reverence an love, a virtuous mortal, who had practised on the throne th lessons of philosophy; and who, in a state of human imperfectio had aspired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. Th value of this agreeable composition (the Cæsars of Julian) i enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineate with freedom the vices and virtues of his predecessors, subscribe in every line, the censure or approbation of his own conduct.

He resolves to march against the Persians. A.D. 362

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the usefu and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious spiri was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he solicited, wit equal ardour, the esteem of the wise and the applause of th multitude. In the season of life, when the powers of the min and body enjoy the most active vigour, the emperor, who was instructed by the experience, and animated by the success, o the German war, resolved to signalize his reign by some more splendid and memorable achievement. The ambassadors o the East, from the continent of India and the isle of Ceylon,[6]

[4] Every impartial reader must perceive and condemn the partiality of Julian against his uncle Constantine and the Christian religion. On this occasion, the interpreters are compelled, by a more sacred interest, to renounce their allegiance, and to desert the cause of their author.

[5] Julian was secretly inclined to prefer a Greek to a Roman. But, when he seriously compared a hero with a philosopher, he was sensible that mankind had much greater obligations to Socrates than to Alexander (Orat. ad Themistium, p. 264).

[6] Inde nationibus Indicis certatum cum donis optimates mittentibus . . . ab usque Divis et *Serendivis*. Ammian. xxii. 7. This island to which the names of Taprobana, Serendib, and Ceylon, have been successively applied manifests how imperfectly the seas and lands to the east of Cape Comorin were known to the Romans. 1. Under the reign of Claudius, a freedman, who farmed the customs of the Red Sea, was accidentally driven by the winds upon this strange and undiscovered coast: he conversed six months with the natives · and the king of Ceylon, who heard, for the first time, of the power and justice of Rome, was persuaded

ıd respectfully saluted the Roman purple.[7] The nations of the
ſest esteemed and dreaded the personal virtues of Julian, both
peace and war. He despised the trophies of a Gothic victory [8]
ıd was satisfied that the rapacious Barbarians of the Danube
ould be restrained from any future violation of the faith of
eaties by the terror of his name and the additional fortifications
ith which he strengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers.
he successor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom
deemed worthy of his arms; and he resolved, by the final
nquest of Persia, to chastise the haughty nation which had
long resisted and insulted the majesty of Rome.[9] As soon
the Persian monarch was informed that the throne of Constan-
ıs was filled by a prince of a very different character, he con-
scended to make some artful, or perhaps sincere, overtures
wards a negotiation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was
tonished by the firmness of Julian; who sternly declared
at he would never consent to hold a peaceful conference
nong the flames and ruins of the cities of Mesopotamia; and
ho added, with a smile of contempt, that it was needless to
eat by ambassadors, as he himself had determined to visit
eedily the court of Persia. The impatience of the emperor
ged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals
ere named; a formidable army was destined for this important
rvice; and Julian, marching from Constantinople through the
ovinces of Asia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months
ter the death of his predecessor. His ardent desire to march
to the heart of Persia was checked by the indispensable duty
regulating the state of the empire; by his zeal to revive the
orship of the gods; and by the advice of his wisest friends,
ho represented the necessity of allowing the salutary interval of
inter quarters, to restore the exhausted strength of the legions

Julian proceeds from Constantinople to Antioch, August [June-July]

send an embassy to the emperor (Plin. Hist. Nat. vi. 24). 2. The geographers
ıd even Ptolemy) have magnified, above fifteen times, the real size of this new
orld, which they extended as far as the equator and the neighbourhood of
ina.

7 These embassies had been sent to Constantius. Ammianus, who unwarily
viates into gross flattery, must have forgotten the length of the way, and the
ort duration of the reign of Julian.

8 Gothos sæpe fallaces et perfidos; hostes quærere se meliores aiebat: illis enim
fficere mercatores Galatas per quos ubique sine conditionis discrimine venun-
ntur [Amm. loc. cit.]. Within less than fifteen years, these Gothic slaves
reatened and subdued their masters.

9 Alexander reminds his rival Cæsar, who deprecated the fame and merit of
Asiatic victory, that Crassus and Antony had felt the Persian arrows; and that
e Romans, in a war of three hundred years, had not yet subdued the single
ovince of Mesopotamia or Assyria (Cæsares, p. 324 [p. 417, ed. Hertl.]).

of Gaul and the discipline and spirit of the Eastern troop
Julian was persuaded to fix, till the ensuing spring, his residen
at Antioch, among a people maliciously disposed to deride th
haste, and to censure the delays, of their sovereign.[10]

Licentious manners of the people of Antioch

If Julian had flattered himself that his personal connexio
with the capital of the East would be productive of mutu
satisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very fal
estimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch
The warmth of the climate disposed the natives to the most i
temperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lives
licentiousness of the Greeks was blended with the hereditar
softness of the Syrians. Fashion was the only law, pleasure th
only pursuit, and the splendour of dress and furniture was the on
distinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury we
honoured; the serious and manly virtues were the subject
ridicule; and the contempt for female modesty and reverent
age announced the universal corruption of the capital of the Eas
The love of spectacles was the taste, or rather passion, of th
Syrians: the most skilful artists were procured from the adjace
cities;[12] a considerable share of the revenue was devoted to th
public amusements; and the magnificence of the games of th
theatre and circus was considered as the happiness, and as th
glory, of Antioch. The rustic manners of a prince who disdaine
such glory, and was insensible of such happiness, soon disguste
the delicacy of his subjects; and the effeminate Orientals cou
neither imitate nor admire the severe simplicity which Julia
always maintained and sometimes affected. The days of festivit
consecrated by ancient custom to the honour of the gods, we
the only occasions in which Julian relaxed his philosoph
severity; and those festivals were the only days in which th
Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements of pleasur
The majority of the people supported the glory of the Christia

[10] The design of the Persian war is declared by Ammianus (xxii. 7, 12
Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 79, 80, p. 305, 306), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 158 [c. 11]), an
Socrates (l. iii. c. 19).

[11] The satire of Julian and the Homilies of St. Chrysostom exhibit the san
picture of Antioch. The miniature which the Abbé de la Bléterie has copied fro
thence (Vie de Julien, p. 332) is elegant, and correct. [The date of Julian's arriv
at Antioch has been contested. The first half of July seems most probable (c
Sievers, Das Leben des Libanius, p. 247, and Gwatkin, Arianism, p. 222). Müc
(Flavius Claudius Julianus, 2, 106) puts it in September.]

[11a] [*Sic* quarto; should be corrected to reverend.]

[12] Laodicea furnished charioteers; Tyre and Berytus, comedians; Cæsarea
pantomimes; Heliopolis, singers; Gaza, gladiators; Ascalon, wrestlers; an
Castabala, rope-dancers. See the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 6, in the third tom
of Hudson's Minor Geographers.

me, which had been first invented by their ancestors ;[13] they ntented themselves with disobeying the moral precepts, but ey were scrupulously attached to the speculative doctrines, their religion. The church of Antioch was distracted by resy and schism ; but the Arians and the Athanasians, the lowers of Meletius and those of Paulinus,[14] were actuated the same pious hatred of their common adversary.

The strongest prejudice was entertained against the character an apostate, the enemy and successor of a prince who had gaged the affections of a very numerous sect ; and the removal St. Babylas excited an implacable opposition to the person of lian. His subjects complained, with superstitious indignation, t famine had pursued the emperor's steps from Constantinople Antioch ; and the discontent of a hungry people was ex- perated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their distress. e inclemency of the season had affected the harvests of Syria ; l the price of bread,[15] in the markets of Antioch, had naturally en in proportion to the scarcity of corn. But the fair and sonable proportion was soon violated by the rapacious arts monopoly. In this unequal contest, in which the produce the land is claimed by one party as his exclusive property ; sed by another as a lucrative object of trade ; and is required a third for the daily and necessary support of life ; all the fits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head the defenceless consumers. The hardships of their situation re exaggerated and increased by their own impatience and iety ; and the apprehension of a scarcity gradually produced appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of tioch complained of the high price of poultry and fish, Julian

Their aversion to Julian

Scarcity of corn and public discontent

[13] Χριστὸν δὲ ἀγαπῶντες, ἔχετε πολιοῦχον ἀντι τοῦ Διός. The people of Antioch eniously professed their attachment to the *Chi* (Christ), and the *Kappa* nstantius). Julian. in Misopogon. p. 357 [460, ed. Hertl.].

[14] The schism of Antioch, which lasted eighty-five years (A.D. 330-415), was amed, while Julian resided in that city, by the indiscreet ordination of Paulinus. Tillemont, Mém. Ecclés. tom. vii. p. 803, of the quarto edition (Paris, 1701, [same page in earlier ed.]), which henceforward I shall quote.

[15] Julian states three different proportions of five, ten, or fifteen *modii* of wheat, one piece of gold, according to the degrees of plenty and scarcity (in Misoon. p. 369 [477]). From this fact, and from some collateral examples, I conclude under the successors of Constantine the moderate price of wheat was about ty-two shillings the English quarter, which is equal to the average price of the y-four first years of the present century. See Arbuthnot's Tables of Coins, ights, and Measures, p. 88, 89; Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 12; Mém. de adémie des Inscriptions, t. xxviii. p. 718-721 ; Smith's Inquiry into the Nature Causes of the Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 246. This last I am proud to te, as the work of a sage and a friend.

publicly declared that a frugal city ought to be satisfied w
a regular supply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledg
that it was the duty of a sovereign to provide for the subsisten
of his people. With this salutary view, the emperor ventur
on a very dangerous and doubtful step, of fixing, by le
authority, the value of corn. He enacted that, in a time
scarcity, it should be sold at a price which had seldom b
known in the most plentiful years; and, that his own exam
might strengthen his laws, he sent into the market four hund
and twenty-two thousand *modii*, or measures, which were dra
by his order from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis, a
even of Egypt. The consequences might have been forese
and were soon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchased by
rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withh
from the city the accustomed supply; and the small quanti
that appeared in the market were secretly sold at an advan
and illegal price. Julian still continued to applaud his o
policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain and
grateful murmur, and convinced Antioch that he had inheri
the obstinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallu
The remonstrances of the municipal senate served only to
asperate his inflexible mind. He was persuaded, perhaps w
truth, that the senators of Antioch who possessed lands, or w
concerned in trade, had themselves contributed to the calami
of their country; and he imputed the disrespectful boldn
which they assumed to the sense, not of public duty, but
private interest. The whole body, consisting of two hund
of the most noble and wealthy citizens, were sent under a gu
from the palace to the prison; and, though they were permitt
before the close of evening, to return to their respective house
the emperor himself could not obtain the forgiveness which
had so easily granted. The same grievances were still
subject of the same complaints, which were industriously cir
lated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During
licentious days of the Saturnalia, the streets of the city resounc

[16] Nunquam a proposito declinabat, Galli similis fratris, licet incruen
Ammian. xxii. 14. The ignorance of the most enlightened princes may cl
some excuse: but we cannot be satisfied with Julian's own defence (in Misopog
p. 368, 369 [p. 475-8, ed. H.]), or the elaborate apology of Libanius (Orat. Paren
c. xcvii. p. 321 [i. 587, ed. Reiske]).

[17] Their short and easy confinement is gently touched by Libanius, C
Parental. c. xcviii. p. 322, 323. [Schiller, Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit, ii. p. 325,
they were released on the following day. But Libanius, p. 322 (ap. Fabric.),
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νὺξ ἐπεγένετο τῷ βραχεῖ τούτῳ καὶ κούφῳ κ.τ.λ.]

insolent songs, which derided the laws, the religion, the nal conduct, and even the *beard*, of the emperor; and the of Antioch was manifested by the connivance of the magis- s and the applause of the multitude.[18] The disciple of ites was too deeply affected by these popular insults; but nonarch, endowed with quick sensibility, and possessed of ab- e power, refused his passions the gratification of revenge. A t might have proscribed, without distinction, the lives and nes of the citizens of Antioch; and the unwarlike Syrians have patiently submitted to the lust, the rapaciousness, and ruelty of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder sentence t have deprived the capital of the East of its honours and privi- ; and the courtiers, perhaps the subjects, of Julian would applauded an act of justice which asserted the dignity of the me magistrate of the republic.[19] But, instead of abusing, erting, the authority of the state to revenge his personal ies, Julian contented himself with an inoffensive mode of lation, which it would be in the power of few princes to oy. He had been insulted by satires and libels; in his he composed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an al confession of his own faults, and a severe satire of the ious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This Imperial was publicly exposed before the gates of the palace; and MISOPOGON[20] still remains a singular monument of the re- ent, the wit, the humanity, and the indiscretion, of Julian. gh he affected to laugh, he could not forgive.[21] His con- t was expressed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nation of a governor[22] worthy only of such subjects: and

Julian composes a satire against Antioch

ibanius (ad Antiochenos de Imperatoris irâ, c. 17, 18, 19, in Fabricius . Græc. tom. vii. p. 221-223), like a skilful advocate, severely censures the folly people, who suffered for the crime of a few obscure and drunken wretches.

ibanius (ad Antiochen. c. vii. p. 213) reminds Antioch of the recent chastise- f Cæsarea: and even Julian (in Misopogon. p. 355 [p. 459, ed. H.]) insinuates verely Tarentum had expiated the insult to the Roman ambassadors.

n the subject of the Misopogon, see Ammianus (xxii. 14), Libanius (Orat. alis, c. xcix. p. 323), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 133 [v., c. 41]), and the icle of Antioch, by John Malala (tom. ii. p. 15, 16 [p. 328, ed. Bonn]). I have al obligations to the translation and notes of the Abbé de la Bléterie (Vie de , tom. ii. p. 1-138).

mmianus very justly remarks, Coactus dissimulare prò tempore irâ sufflaba- ernâ. The elaborate irony of Julian at length bursts forth into serious and invective.

pse autem Antiochiam egressurus, Heliopoliten quendam Alexandrum æ jurisdictioni præfecit, turbulentum et sævum; dicebatque non illum se, sed Antiochensibus avaris et contumeliosis hujusmodi judicem convenire. an. xxiii. 2. Libanius (Epist. 722, p. 346, 347), who confesses to Julian f that he had shared the general discontent, pretends that Alexander was an though harsh, reformer of the manners and religion of Antioch.

the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaime his resolution to pass the ensuing winter at Tarsus in Cilicia.[23]

The sophist Libanius. A.D. 214-390

Yet Antioch possessed one citizen, whose genius and virtu might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly o his country. The sophist Libanius was born in the capital o the East; he publicly professed the arts of rhetoric and declam tion at Nice, Nicomedia, Constantinople, Athens, and, durin the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His school was assiduousl frequented by the Grecian youth; his disciples, who sometime exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparabl master; and the jealousy of his rivals, who persecuted him fro one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion whic Libanius ostentatiously displayed of his superior merit. Th preceptors of Julian had extorted a rash but solemn assuranc that he would never attend the lectures of their adversary: th curiosity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: h secretly procured the writings of this dangerous sophist, an gradually surpassed, in the perfect imitation of his style, th most laborious of his domestic pupils.[24] When Julian ascende the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and rewar the Syrian sophist, who had preserved, in a degenerate age, th Grecian purity of taste, of manners and of religion. The em peror's prepossession was increased and justified by the discree pride of his favourite. Instead of pressing, with the foremos of the crowd, into the palace of Constantinople, Libanius calml expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on th first symptoms of coldness and indifference; required a forma invitation for each visit; and taught his sovereign an importan lesson, that he might command the obedience of a subject, bu that he must deserve the attachment of a friend. The sophist of every age, despising, or affecting to despise, the accidenta distinctions of birth and fortune,[25] reserve their esteem for th superior qualities of the mind, with which they themselves ar so plentifully endowed. Julian might disdain the acclamation of a venal court, who adored the Imperial purple; but he wa deeply flattered by the praise, the admonition, the freedom, an

[23] Julian. in Misopogon. p. 364 [p. 470, ed. H.]. Ammian. xxiii. 2, an Valesius ad loc. Libanius, in a professed oration, invites him to return to h loyal and penitent city of Antioch.

[24] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. vii. p. 230, 231.

[25] Eunapius reports that Libanius refused the honorary rank of Prætoria præfect, as less illustrious than the title of Sophist (in Vit. Sophist. p. 135). Th critics have observed a similar sentiment in one of the epistles (xviii. edit. Wol of Libanius himself.

he envy of an independent philosopher, who refused his favours, oved his person, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius still exist: for the most art, they are the vain and idle compositions of an orator, who ultivated the science of words; the productions of a recluse tudent, whose mind, regardless of his contemporaries, was in- essantly fixed on the Trojan war and the Athenian common- vealth. Yet the sophist of Antioch sometimes descended from his imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate orrespondence;[26] he praised the virtues of his own times; he oldly arraigned the abuses of public and private life; and he loquently pleaded the cause of Antioch against the just resent- nent of Julian and Theodosius. It is the common calamity of ld age,[27] to lose whatever might have rendered it desirable; ut Libanius experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving he religion and the sciences to which he had consecrated his enius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the riumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the rospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any ively hopes of celestial glory and happiness.[28]

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field n the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt nd reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the em- peror beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days,[29] he halted on the third at Berœa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian; who

March of Julian to the Euphrates. A. D. 363, March 5

[26] Near two thousand of his letters, a mode of composition in which Libanius was thought to excel, are still extant, and already published. The critics may praise their subtle and elegant brevity; yet Dr. Bentley (Dissertation upon Phalaris, p. 487) might justly, though quaintly, observe that "you feel, by the emptiness and deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming pedant, with his elbow on his desk".

[27] His birth is assigned to the year 314. He mentions the seventy-sixth year of his age (A.D. 390), and seems to allude to some events of a still later date.

[28] Libanius has composed the vain, prolix, but curious, narrative of his own life (tom. ii. p. 1-84, edit. Morell.), of which Eunapius (p. 130-135) has left a concise and unfavourable account. Among the moderns, Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 571-576), Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 376-414) and Lardner (Heathen Testimonies, tom. iv. p. 127-163) have illustrated the character and writings of this famous sophist. [See Appendix IX]

[29] From Antioch to Litarbe, on the territory of Chalcis, the road, over hills and through morasses, was extremely bad; and the loose stones were cemented only with sand. Julian. epist. xxvii. It is singular enough that the Romans should have neglected the great communication between Antioch and the Euphrates. See Wesseling, Itinerar. p. 190; Bergier, Hist. des Grands Chemins, tom. ii. p. 100.

received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Berœa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the Imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature and the duty of a subject; and at length turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since you have lost a father," said he, "for my sake, it is incumbent on me to supply his place".[30] The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wishes at Batnæ,[31] a small town pleasantly seated in a grove of cypresses, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis The solemn rites of sacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who seemed attached to the worship of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the serious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applause; and he too clearly discerned that the smoke which arose from their altars was the incense of flattery rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had sanctified, for so many ages, the city of Hierapolis,[32] no longer subsisted; and the consecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred priests, might hasten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the satisfaction of embracing a philosopher and a friend, whose religious firmness had withstood the pressing and repeated solicitations of Constantius and Gallus, as often as those princes lodged at his house, in their passage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careless confidence of a familiar correspondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him still more attentive to

[8th March]

[9th March]

[30] Julian alludes to this incident (epist. xxvii), which is more distinctly related by Theodoret (l. iii. c. 22). The intolerant spirit of the father is applauded by Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 534), and even by La Bléterie (Vie de Julien, p. 413).

[31] [Not to be confounded with Batnæ beyond the Euphrates, which was also a halting place of Julian. See map.]

[32] See the curious treatise de Deâ Syriâ, inserted among the works of Lucian (tom. iii. p. 451-490, edit. Reitz). The singular appellation of *Ninus vetus* (Ammian. xiv. 8) might induce a suspicion that Hierapolis had been the royal seat of the Assyrians.

bserve and register the most trifling presages from which, according to the rules of divination, any knowledge of futurity ould be derived.[33] He informed Libanius of his progress as ar as Hierapolis, by an elegant epistle,[34] which displays the acility of his genius and his tender friendship for the sophist f Antioch.

His design of invading Persia

Hierapolis, situate almost on the banks of the Euphrates,[35] had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately passed the great river on a bridge of [13th March] boats, which was previously constructed.[36] If the inclinations f Julian had been similar to those of his predecessor, he might ave wasted the active and important season of the year in the ircus of Samosata, or in the churches of Edessa. But, as the varlike emperor, instead of Constantius, had chosen Alexander or his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ,[37] a very [c. 18th March] ncient city of Mesopotamia, at the distance of fourscore miles rom Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devoion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally emloyed in completing the immense preparations of the Persian war. The secret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his wn breast; but, as Carrhæ is the point of separation of the wo great roads, he could no longer conceal whether it was his lesign to attack the dominions of Sapor on the side of the Tigris or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army f thirty thousand men, under the command of his kinsman Procopius, and of Sebastian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards Nisibis, and o secure the frontier from the desultory incursions of the enemy, before they attempted the passage of the Tigris. Their subsequent operations were left to the discretion of the generals; but Julian expected that, after wasting with fire and sword the

[33] Julian (epistle xxviii [xxvii]) kept a regular account of all the fortunate omens; but he suppresses the inauspicious signs, which Ammianus (xxiii. 2) has carefully recorded.

[34] Julian, epistle xxvii. p. 399-402 [515-519].

[35] I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to M. d'Anville, for his recent geography of the Euphrates and Tigris (Paris, 1780, in 4to), which particularly illustrates the expedition of Julian. [Cp. App. 24.]

[36] There are three passages within a few miles of each other: 1. Zeugma, celebrated by the ancients; 2. Bir, frequented by the moderns; and, 3. the bridge of Menbigz, or Hierapolis, at the distance of four parasangs from the city. [Membij is Hierapolis, and the city is more than twenty miles from the river.]

[37] Haran, or Carrhæ, was the ancient residence of the Sabæans and of Abraham. See the Index Geographicus of Schultens (ad calcem Vit. Saladin.), a work from which I have obtained much *Oriental* knowledge concerning the ancient and modern geography of Syria and the adjacent countries.

fertile districts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Ctesiphon about the same time that he himself, advancing with equal steps along the banks of the Euphrates, should besiege the capital of the Persian monarchy. The success of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great measure, on the powerful and ready assistance of the king of Armenia, who, without exposing the safety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, to the assistance of the Romans.[38] But the feeble Arsaces Tiranus,[39] king of Armenia, had degenerated still more shamefully than his father Chosroes from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and, as the pusillanimous monarch was averse to any enterprise of danger and glory, he could disguise his timid indolence by the more decent excuses of religion and gratitude. He expressed a pious attachment to the memory of Constantius, from whose hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female who had been educated as the destined wife of the emperor Constans exalted the dignity of a Barbarian king.[40] Tiranus professed the Christian religion; he reigned over a nation of Christians; and he was restrained, by every principle of conscience and interest, from contributing to the victory, which would consummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exasperated by the indiscretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as *his* slave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening style of the Imperial mandates[41] awakened the secret indignation of a prince who, in the humiliating state of dependence, was still conscious of his royal descent from the Arsacides, the lords of the East and the rivals of the Roman power.

Disaffection of the king of Armenia

Military preparations [Julian leaves Carrhæ, 5th March]

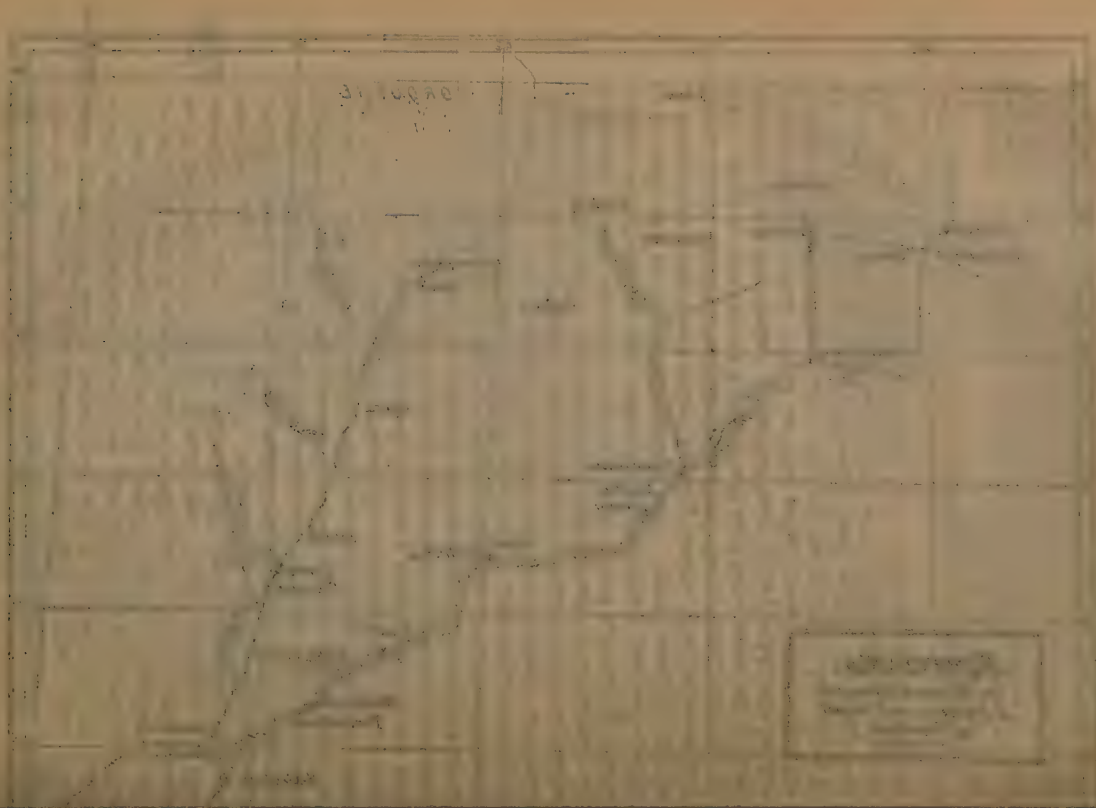
The military dispositions of Julian were skilfully contrived to deceive the spies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. The

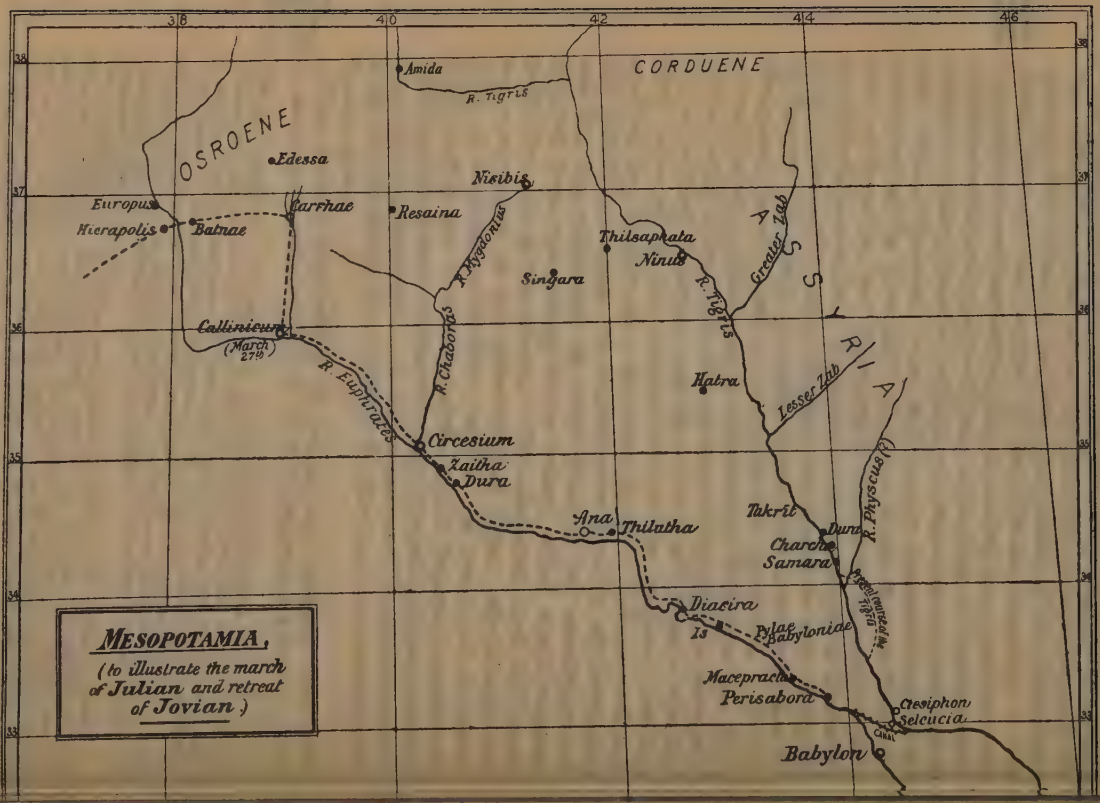
[38] See Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 189, edit. Hutchinson [c. 1, § 33, 34]. Artavasdes might have supplied Mark Antony with 16,000 horse, armed and disciplined after the Parthian manner (Plutarch, in M. Antonio, tom. v. p. 117 [c. 50]).

[39] Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armeniac. l. iii. c. 11, p. 242) fixes his accession (A.D. 357) to the seventeenth year of Constantius. [See Appendix 18.]

[40] Ammian. xx. 11. Athanasius (tom. i. p. 856) says, in general terms, that Constantius gave his brother's widow τοῖς βαρβάροις, an expression more suitable to a Roman than a Christian.

[41] Ammianus (xxiii. 2) uses a word much too soft for the occasion, *monuerat*. Muratori (Fabricius, Bibliothec. Græc. tom. vii. p. 86) has published an epistle from Julian to the satrap Arsaces; fierce, vulgar, and (though it might deceive Sozomen, l. vi. c. 5), most probably spurious. La Bléterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. ii. p. 339) translates and rejects it. [The text of this forgery will be found in Hertlein's ed. of Julian, p. 589.]

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CORDUENE
OSROENE
ASSYRIA
Amida
R. Tigris
Edessa
Nisibis
Europus
Hierapolis
Batnae
Carrhae
Resaina
R. Mygdonius
Thilsaphata
Ninus
Greater Zab
Singara
R. Tigris
Callinicum
(March 27th)
R. Chaboras
R. Euphrates
Hatra
Lesser Zab
Circesium
Zaitha
Dura
Ana
Thilatha
Takrit
Dura
R. Physcus (?)
Charcha
Samara
Diacira
Is
Pylae Babylonicae
Macepracta
Perisabora
Ctesiphon
Selucia
CANAL
Babylon
MESOPOTAMIA,
(to illustrate the march of Julian and retreat of Jovian.)

legions appeared to direct their march towards Nisibis and the Tigris. On a sudden they wheeled to the right; traversed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the strong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings.[42] From thence the emperor pursued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding stream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he discovered the towers of Circesium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the most numerous that any of the Cæsars had ever led against Persia, consisted of sixty-five thousand effective and well-disciplined soldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and Barbarians, had been selected from the different provinces; and a just pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and person of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been transported from another climate, and almost from another world, to invade a distant country, of whose name and situation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the Imperial standard several tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whose service Julian had commanded, while he sternly refused the payment of the accustomed subsidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates[43] was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ships, destined to attend the motions, and to satisfy the wants, of the Roman army. The military strength of the fleet was composed of fifty armed galleys; and these were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occasionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The rest of the ships, partly constructed of timber and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almost inexhaustible supply of arms and engines, of utensils and provisions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biscuit for the use of the soldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine; and rigorously stopped a long string of

[27th March]

[c. 2nd and 3rd April] [Karkisiyā]

42 [For a description of the locality (now Ar-Rakka) see Sachau, Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien, p. 241 *sqq.*]

43 Latissimum flumem Euphraten artabat. Ammian. xxiii. 3. Somewhat higher, at the fords of Thapsacus, the river is four stadia, or 800 yards, almost half an English mile broad (Xenophon, Anabasis, l. i. p. 41, edit. Hutchinson, with Foster's Observations, p. 29, &c. in the second volume of Spelman's translation). If the breadth of the Euphrates at Bir and Zeugma is no more than 130 yards (Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 335), the enormous difference must chiefly arise from the depth of the channel.

[5th and 6th April] [Khâbûr]

superfluous camels that attempted to follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circesium ;[44] and, as soon as the trumpet gave the signal of march, the Romans passed the little stream which separated two mighty and hostile empires. The custom of ancient discipline required a military oration ; and Julian embraced every opportunity of displaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their ancestors. He excited their resentment by a lively picture of the insolence of the Persians ; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm resolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation or to devote his life in the cause of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of silver to every soldier ; and the bridge of the Chaboras was instantly cut away, to convince the troops that they must place their hopes of safety in the success of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to secure a remote frontier, perpetually exposed to the inroads of the hostile Arabs. A detachment of four thousand men was left at Circesium, which completed, to the number of ten thousand, the regular garrison of that important fortress.[45]

Julian enters the Persian territories, April 7th

His march over the desert of Mesopotamia

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country,[46] the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was disposed in three columns.[47] The strength of the infantry, and consequently of the whole army, was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their master-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of several legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almost always in sight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormisdas and Arinthæus were ap-

[44] Monumentum tutissimum et fabre politum, cujus mœnia Abora (the Orientals aspire Chaboras or Chabour) et Euphrates ambiunt flumina, velut spatium insulare fingentes. Ammian. xxiii. 5.

[45] The enterprise and armament of Julian are described by himself (Epist. xxvii), Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 3, 4, 5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 108, 109, p. 332, 333), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 160, 161, 162 [c. 12]), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 1), and John Malala (tom. ii. p. 17 [p. 328, ed. Bonn]). [Tabari's account of the war of Julian has no value (Nöldeke, p. 59 *sqq.*). It is derived from the Syriac Romance of Julian and Jovian, for which see Nöldeke in Ztsch. d. Morg. Ges., 28, 263 *sqq.*, but also, in one point at least, from a second source which was also used by Malalas (p. 332, cp. Tabari, p. 61) ; see Büttner-Wobst, Philologus, 51, p. 576.]

[46] Before he enters Persia, Ammianus copiously describes (xxiii. 6, p. 396-419, edit. Gronov. in 4to) the eighteen great satrapies, or provinces (as far as the Seric, or Chinese, frontiers), which were subject to the Sassanides.

[47] Ammianus (xxiv. 1) and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 162, 163 [13]) have accurately expressed the order of march.

pointed generals of the horse; and the singular adventures of Hormisdas [48] are not undeserving of our notice. He was a Persian prince, of the royal race of the Sassanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had escaped from prison to the hospitable court of the great Constantine. Hormisdas at first excited the compassion, and at length acquired the esteem, of his new masters; his valour and fidelity raised him to the military honours of the Roman service; and, though a Christian, he might indulge the secret satisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country that an oppressed subject may prove the most dangerous enemy. Such was the disposition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed soldiers, whose active vigilance observed the most distant signs, and conveyed the earliest notice, of any hostile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Osrhoene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage, securely, proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of use or ostentation, were formed in such open order that the whole line of march extended almost ten miles. The ordinary post of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but, as he preferred the duties of a general to the state of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a small escort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his presence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traversed from the Chaboras to the cultivated lands of Assyria may be considered as a part of the desert of Arabia, a dry and barren waste, which could never be improved by the most powerful arts of human industry. Julian marched over the same ground which had been trod above seven hundred years before by the footsteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is described by one of the companions of his expedition, the sage and heroic Xenophon.[49] "The country was a plain throughout, as even as the sea, and full of wormwood; and, if any other kind of shrubs or reeds grew

[48] The adventures of Hormisdas are related with some mixture of fable (Zosimus, l. ii. p. 100-102 [c. 27]; Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 198). It is almost impossible that he should be the brother (frater germanus) of an *eldest* and *posthumous* child: nor do I recollect that Ammianus ever gives him that title. [Possibly an elder stepbrother, St. Martin suggests (on Lebeau, ii. 24).]

[49] See the first book of the Anabasis, p. 45, 46 [c. 5, § 1 *sqq.*]. This pleasing work is original and authentic. Yet Xenophon's memory, perhaps many years after the expedition, has sometimes betrayed him; and the distances which he marks are often larger than either a soldier or a geographer will allow.

there, they had all an aromatic smell; but no trees could be seen. Bustards and ostriches, antelopes and wild asses,[50] appeared to be the only inhabitants of the desert; and the fatigues of the march were alleviated by the amusements of the chace." The loose sand of the desert was frequently raised by the wind into clouds of dust: and a great number of the soldiers of Julian, with their tents, were suddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

His success

The sandy plains of Mesopotamia were abandoned to the antelopes and wild asses of the desert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleasantly situated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the islands which are occasionally formed by

[Āna]

that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho,[51] the actual residence of an Arabian Emir, is composed of two long streets, which inclose, within a natural fortification, a small island in the midst,

[April]

and two fruitful spots on either side of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho shewed a disposition to stop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from such fatal presumption by the mild exhortations of prince Hormisdas and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian, who transplanted the people to an advantageous settlement near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Pusæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his service and friendship. But the impregnable for-

[Anatelbus]

tress of Thilutha could scorn the menace of a siege; and the emperor was obliged to content himself with an insulting promise that, when he had subdued the interior provinces of Persia, Thilutha would no longer refuse to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to resist and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houses, filled with spoil and provisions, were occupied by the soldiers of Julian, who massacred, without remorse, and without punishment, some defenceless women. During the march, the Surenas, or Persian general, and Malek Rodosaces, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Gassan,[52] incessantly hovered round the army:

[50] Mr. Spelman, the English translator of the Anabasis (vol. i. p. 51), confounds the antelope with the roe-buck, and the wild ass with the zebra.

[51] See Voyages de Tavernier, part i. l. iii. p. 316, and more especially Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, tom. i. let. xvii. p. 671, &c. He was ignorant of the old name and condition of Annah. Our blind travellers *seldom* possess any previous knowledge of the countries which they visit. Shaw and Tournefort deserve an honourable exception.

[52] Famosi nominis latro, says Ammianus; an high encomium for an Arab. The tribe of Gassan had settled on the edge of Syria, and reigned some time in Damascus, under a dynasty of thirty-one kings, or emirs, from the time of Pompey

every straggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormisdas escaped with some difficulty from their hands. But the Barbarians were finally repulsed; the country became every day less favourable to the operations of cavalry; and, when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall which had been constructed by the ancient kings of Assyria to secure their dominions from the incursions of the Medes. These preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortress of Circesium to the wall of Macepracta.[53] [April]

Description of Assyria

The fertile province of Assyria,[54] which stretched beyond the Tigris as far as the mountains of Media,[55] extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Basra, where the united streams of the Euphrates and Tigris discharge themselves into the Persian Gulf.[56] The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Mesopotamia; as the two rivers which are never more distant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five, miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a soft and yielding soil, connected the rivers, and intersected the plain of Assyria. The uses of these artificial canals were various and important. They served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations. Subdividing

to that of the Khalif Omar. D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 360. Pocock, Specimen Hist. Arabicæ, p. 75-78. The name of Rodosaces does not appear in the list. [The identification of Ammian's *Assanitarum* with the tribe of Gassan has been questioned.]

[53] See Ammianus (xxiv. 1, 2), Libanius (Orat. Parental. c. 110, 111, p. 334), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 164-168).

[54] The description of Assyria is furnished by Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, &c.), who sometimes writes for children, and sometimes for philosophers; by Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1070-1082), and by Ammianus (l. xxiii. c. 6). The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226-258), Otter (tom. ii. p. 35-69, and 189-224), and Niebuhr (tom. ii. p. 172-288). Yet I much regret that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translated. [A translation by Reiske appeared in Büsching's *Magazin* for modern Hist. and Geogr. (iv. 121 *sqq.*, v. 299 *sqq.*) in Gibbon's lifetime.]

[55] Ammianus remarks that the primitive Assyria, which comprehended Ninus (Nineveh) and Arbela, had assumed the more recent and peculiar appellation of Adiabene: and he seems to fix Teredon, Vologesia, and Apollonia, as the *extreme* cities of the actual province of Assyria.

[56] The two rivers unite at Apamea, or Corna (one hundred miles from the Persian Gulf), into the broad stream of the Pasitigris, or Shat-ul-Arab. The Euphrates formerly reached the sea by a separate channel, which was obstructed and diverted by the citizens of Orchoe, about twenty miles to the south-east of modern Basra (d'Anville, in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. xxx. p. 170-191). [The lower courses of the Tigris and Euphrates underwent considerable changes since the middle ages; see App. 24.]

themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshe the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. The facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce; and, as th dams could be speedily broke down, they armed the despair the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge t the progress of an invading army. To the soil and climate Assyria nature had denied some of her choicest gifts, the vin the olive, and the fig-tree;[56a] but the food which supports the li of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced wit inexhaustible fertility; and the husbandman who committe his seed to the earth was frequently rewarded with an increas of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country wa interspersed with groves of innumerable palm-trees;[57] and th diligent natives celebrated, either in verse or prose, the thre hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, th leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were skilfully applied. Severa manufactures, especially those of leather and linen, employe the industry of a numerous people, and afforded valuabl materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to hav been conducted by the hands of strangers. Babylon had bee converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancien capital new cities had successively arisen, and the populousnes of the country was displayed in the multitude of towns an villages, which were built of bricks, dried in the sun, an strongly cemented with bitumen, the natural and peculiar pro duction of the Babylonian soil. While the successors of Cyru reigned over Asia, the province of Assyria alone maintained during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and household of the Great King. Four considerable village were assigned for the subsistence of his Indian dogs; eigh hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares were constantly kept at the expense of the country, for the royal stables; and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the satrap, amounted t one English bushel of silver, we may compute the annual revenue of Assyria at more than twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.[58]

[56a] [Milman has pointed out that this is not so at the present day.]

[57] The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted (Amœnitat. Exoticæ, Fascicul. iv. p. 660-764) the whole subject of palm-trees.

[58] Assyria yielded to the Persian satrap an *artaba* of silver each day. The well-known proportion of weights and measures (see Bishop Hooper's elaborate Inquiry), the specific gravity of water and silver, and the value of that metal, will afford, after a short process, the annual revenue which I have stated. Yet the Great King received no more than 1000 Euboic, or Tyrian, talents (252,000*l.*) from

The fields of Assyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities f war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people the cts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their aughty master in the Roman provinces. The trembling Assyrians summoned the rivers to their assistance; and com- leted, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The oads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was oured into the camp; and during several days the troops of ulian were obliged to contend with the most discouraging ardships. But every obstacle was surmounted by the per- everance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well s to danger, and who felt themselves animated by the spirit f their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the [May] vaters were restored to their proper channels; whole groves f palm-trees were cut down and placed along the broken parts f the road; and the army passed over the broad and deeper anals on bridges of floating rafts, which were supported by the elp of bladders. Two cities of Assyria presumed to resist the rms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the severe penalty f their rashness. At the distance of fifty miles from the royal esidence of Ctesiphon, Perisabor, or Anbar,[59] held the second ank in the province; a city, large, populous, and well fortified, urrounded with a double wall, almost encompassed by a branch of he Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garrison. The exhortations of Hormisdas were repulsed with contempt; nd the ears of the Persian prince were wounded by a just eproach that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an rmy of strangers against his king and country. The Assyrians aintained their loyalty by a skilful, as well as vigorous, defence; [May] ill, the lucky stroke of a battering-ram having opened a large reach by shattering one of the angles of the wall, they hastily etired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The soldiers f Julian rushed impetuously into the town, and, after the full ratification of every military appetite, Perisabor was reduced to shes; and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted n the ruins of the smoking houses. The contest was continued y an incessant and mutual discharge of missile weapons; and

Invasion of Assyria. A.D. 363, May

Siege of Perisabor

ssyria. The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (l. i. c. 192, l. iii. c. 89-96) eveals an important difference between the *gross*, and the *net*, revenue of Persia; ne sums paid by the province, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal easure. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand ounds, of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.

[59] [The foundation of this place (Anbār—Ἀμβαρα, Ἄβαρα = Pêrôz—Shâpûr) is oticed in the chronicle of Tabari (Nöldeke, p. 67). Al-Anbār means "the gran- ries," and is to be sought in the ruins of Sifeyra (acc. to Mr. Le Strange).]

the superiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their balistæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the side of the besieged. But as soon as an *Helepolis* had been constructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftiest ramparts, the tremendous aspect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of resistance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into an humble submission; and the place was surrendered only two days after Julian first appeared under the walls of Perisabor. Two thousand five hundred persons of both sexes, the feeble remnant of a flourishing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of splendid furniture were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service: the useless stores were destroyed by fire or thrown into the stream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Perisabor.

of Maogamalcha [Maozar malkē]

The city, or rather fortress, of Maogamalcha, which was defended by sixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two strong and solid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been constructed at the distance of eleven miles, as the safeguard of the capital of Persia. The emperor, apprehensive of leaving such an important fortress in his rear, immediately formed the siege [May] of Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was distributed, for that purpose, into three divisions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country as far as the banks of the Tigris and the suburbs of Ctesiphon. The conduct of the attack was assumed by Julian himself, who seemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected against the walls; while he secretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a considerable distance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was speedily filled with earth; and, by the incessant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and sustained, at sufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three chosen cohorts, advancing in a single file, silently explored the dark and dangerous passage; till their intrepid leader whispered back the intelligence that he was ready to issue from his confinement into the streets of the hostile city. Julian checked their ardour that he might ensure their success; and immediately diverted the attention of the garrison, by the tumult and clamour of a general assault. The

ersians, who from their walls contemptuously beheld the rogress of an impotent attack, celebrated, with songs of triumph, ne glory of Sapor; and ventured to assure the emperor that e might ascend the starry mansion of Ormusd, before he could ope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city as already taken. History has recorded the name of a private oldier, the first who ascended from the mine into a deserted ower. The passage was widened by his companions, who ressed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies ere already in the midst of the city. The astonished garrison andoned the walls, and their only hope of safety; the gates ere instantly burst open; and the revenge of the soldier, nless it were suspended by lust or avarice, was satiated by an ndistinguishing massacre. The governor, who had yielded on promise of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a harge of having uttered some disrespectful words against the onour of prince Hormisdas. The fortifications were razed o the ground; and not a vestige was left that the city of Maogamalcha had ever existed. The neighbourhood of the apital of Persia was adorned with three stately palaces, laboriusly enriched with every production that could gratify the uxury and pride of an Eastern monarch. The pleasant situation f the gardens along the banks of the Tigris was improved, ccording to the Persian taste, by the symmetry of flowers, ountains, and shady walks: and spacious parks were enclosed or the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were aintained at a considerable expense for the pleasure of the oyal chase. The park-walls were broke down, the savage ame was abandoned to the darts of the soldiers, and the palaces f Sapor were reduced to ashes, by the command of the Roman mperor. Julian, on this occasion, shewed himself ignorant, or areless, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of polished ages have established between hostile princes. et these wanton ravages need not excite in our breasts any ehement emotions of pity or resentment. A simple, naked tatue, finished by the hand of a Grecian artist, is of more enuine value, than all these rude and costly monuments of arbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the uin of a palace than by the conflagration of a cottage, our umanity must have formed a very erroneous estimate of the niseries of human life.[60]

[60] The operations of the Assyrian war are circumstantially related by Ammianus xiv. 2, 3, 4, 5), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 112-123, p. 335-347), Zosimus (l. iii. p.

Personal behaviour of Julian

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Persian and the painters of that nation represented the invader of th country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited fr his mouth a consuming fire.[61] To his friends and soldiers, t philosophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and I virtues were never more conspicuously displayed than in t last, and most active, period of his life. He practised, witho effort, and almost without merit, the habitual qualities temperance and sobriety. According to the dictates of th artificial wisdom which assumes an absolute dominion over t mind and body, he sternly refused himself the indulgence of t most natural appetites.[62] In the warm climate of Assyr which solicited a luxurious people to the gratification of eve sensual desire,[63] a youthful conqueror preserved his chastity pu and inviolate: nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a moti of curiosity, to visit his female captives of exquisite beauty who, instead of resisting his power, would have disputed wi each other the honour of his embraces. With the same firmn that he resisted the allurements of love, he sustained the har ships of war. When the Romans marched through the flat a flooded country, their sovereign, on foot, at the head of l legions, shared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. every useful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and strenu ous; and the Imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coa garment of the meanest soldier. The two sieges allowed h some remarkable opportunities of signalizing his personal valo which, in the improved state of the military art, can seldom exerted by a prudent general. The emperor stood before t citadel of Perisabor, insensible of his extreme danger, a encouraged his troops to burst open the gates of iron, till was almost overwhelmed under a cloud of missile weapons a

168-180), and Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 113, 144). The *military* criticis of the saint are devoutly copied by Tillemont, his faithful slave.

[61] Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. 13, p. 162.

[62] The famous examples of Cyrus, Alexander, and Scipio were acts of just Julian's chastity was voluntary, and, in his opinion, meritorious.

[63] Sallust (ap. Vet. Scholiast. Juvenal, Satir. i. 104) observes that nihil corrup moribus. The matrons and virgins of Babylon freely mingled with the men licentious banquets: and, as they felt the intoxication of wine and love, t gradually, and almost completely, threw aside the encumbrance of dress; ultimum ima corporum velamenta projiciunt. Q. Curtius, v. 1.

[64] Ex virginibus autem, quæ speciosæ sunt captæ, et in Perside, ubi fœminar pulchritudo excellit, nec contrectare aliquam voluit nec videre. Ammian. xxiv. The native race of Persians is small and ugly; but it has been improved by perpetual mixture of Circassian blood (Herodot. l. iii. c. 97. Buffon, H Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 420).

ge stones that were directed against his person. As he amined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two rsians, devoting themselves for their country, suddenly rushed on him with drawn scimitars: the emperor dexterously re- ved their blows on his uplifted shield; and, with a steady l well-aimed thrust, laid one of his adversaries dead at his t. The esteem of a prince who possesses the virtues which approves is the noblest recompense of a deserving subject; and e authority which Julian derived from his personal merit en- ed him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient discipline. punished with death, or ignominy, the misbehaviour of three ops of horse, who, in a skirmish with the Surenas, had lost ir honour, and one of their standards: and he distinguished h *obsidional*[65] crowns the valour of the foremost soldiers who l ascended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the siege of risabor, the firmness of the emperor was exercised by the in- ent avarice of the army, who loudly complained that their vices were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred ces of silver. His just indignation was expressed in the grave l manly language of a Roman. "Riches are the object of ur desires? those riches are in the hands of the Persians; and e spoils of this fruitful country are proposed as the prize of ur valour and discipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the man republic, which formerly possessed such immense asures, is now reduced to want and wretchedness; since our nces have been persuaded, by weak and interested ministers, purchase with gold the tranquillity of the Barbarians. The enue is exhausted; the cities are ruined; the provinces are peopled. For myself, the only inheritance that I have re- ved from my royal ancestors is a soul incapable of fear; and, long as I am convinced that every real advantage is seated in mind, I shall not blush to acknowledge an honourable verty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was considered as glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue, may be ur own, if you will listen to the voice of Heaven, and of your der. But, if you will rashly persist, if you are determined renew the shameful and mischievous examples of old seditions, ceed.—As it becomes an emperor who has filled the first k among men, I am prepared to die, standing; and to

[65] Obsidionalibus coronis donati. Ammian. xxiv. 4. Either Julian or his histo- were unskilful antiquaries. He should have given *mural* crowns. The *ob- onal* were the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city (Aulus lius, Noct. Attic. v. 6).

despise a precarious life, which, every hour, may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you (I speak it with pride and pleasure), there are many chiefs, whose merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the most important war. Such has been the temper of my reign that I can retire, without regret and without apprehension, to the obscurity of a private station."[66] The modest resolution of Julian was answered by the unanimous applause and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar asseverations (for such wishes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Persians under the yoke!" "Thus may I restore the strength and splendour of the republic!" The love of fame was the ardent passion of his soul; but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himself to say, "We have now provided some materials for the sophist of Antioch".[67]

He transports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris

The successful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obstacles that opposed his march to the gates of Ctesiphon. But the reduction, or even the siege, of the capital of Persia was still at a distance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and skilful operations.[68] Twenty miles to the south of Bagdad, and on the eastern bank of the Tigris, the curiosity of travellers has observed some ruins of the palaces of Ctesiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguished; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had resumed, with the Assyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was situate on the western side of the Tigris; but it was naturally considered as a suburb of Ctesiphon, with which we may suppose it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to

[66] I give this speech as original and genuine. Ammianus might hear, could transcribe, and was incapable of inventing, it. I have used some slight freedoms and conclude with the most forcible sentence.

[67] Ammian. xxiv. 3. Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 122, p. 346.

[68] M. d'Anville (Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 246-259) has ascertained the true position and distance of Babylon, Seleucia, Ctesiphon, Bagdad, &c. The Roman traveller, Pietro della Valle (tom. i. lett. xvii. p. 650-780), seems to be the most intelligent spectator of that famous province. He is a gentleman and a scholar, but intolerably vain and prolix.

m the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the ientals have bestowed on the winter residence of the ssanides; and the whole circumference of the Persian capital s strongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls, d by impracticable morasses. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the mp of Julian was fixed; and secured, by a ditch and rampart, ainst the sallies of the numerous and enterprising garrison of che. In this fruitful and pleasant country, the Romans were ntifully supplied with water and forage; and several forts ich might have embarrassed the motions of the army sub- tted, after some resistance, to the efforts of their valour. The et passed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of at river, which pours a copious and navigable stream into the gris, at a small distance *below* the great city. If they had lowed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha,[69] [Nahr-al-Malik] e intermediate situation of Coche would have separated the fleet d army of Julian; and the rash attempt of steering against e current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the dst of a hostile capital, must have been attended with the tal destruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the nperor foresaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he d minutely studied the operations of Trajan in the same untry, he soon recollected that his warlike predecessor had g a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the ht hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river gris, at some distance *above* the cities. From the information the peasants, Julian ascertained the vestiges of this ancient rk, which were almost obliterated by design or accident. By e indefatigable labour of the soldiers, a broad and deep channel s speedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A ong dyke was constructed to interrupt the ordinary current of e Nahar-Malcha: a flood of waters rushed impetuously into their w bed; and the Roman fleet, steering their triumphant course to the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which e Persians of Ctesiphon had erected to oppose their passage.

As it became necessary to transport the Roman army over the gris, another labour presented itself, of less toil, but of more nger, than the preceding expedition. The stream was broad d rapid; the ascent steep and difficult; and the intrench- Passage of the Tigris and victory of the Romans [May]

[69] The royal canal (*Nahar Malcha*) might be successively restored, altered, ided, &c. (Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 453); and these changes may ve to explain the seeming contradictions of antiquity. In the time of Julian, it st have fallen into the Euphrates [*leg.* Tigris] *below* Ctesiphon. [Ibn Serapion scribes it as falling into the Tigris three leagues below Al-Madāin. Cp. App. 24.]

ments, which had been formed on the ridge of the opposite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuirassiers, dexterous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the same ease, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans.[70] In the presence of such an enemy, the construction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who instantly seized the only possible expedient, concealed his design, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the Barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themselves. Under the specious pretence of examining the state of the magazines, four-score vessels were gradually unladen;[71] and a select detachment, apparently destined for some secret expedition, was ordered to stand to their arms on the first signal. Julian disguised the silent anxiety of his own mind with smiles of confidence and joy; and amused the hostile nations with the spectacle of military games, which he insultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was consecrated to pleasure; but, as soon as the hour of supper was past, the emperor summoned the generals to his tent; and acquainted them that he had fixed that night for the passage of the Tigris. They stood in silent and respectful astonishment; but, when the venerable Sallust assumed the privilege of his age and experience, the rest of the chiefs supported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonstrances.[72] Julian contented himself with observing that conquest and safety depended on the attempt; that, instead of diminishing, the number of their enemies would be increased, by successive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the stream nor level the height of the bank. The signal was instantly given, and obeyed: the most impatient of the legionaries leaped into five vessels that lay nearest to the bank; and, as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were lost, after a few moments, in the darkness of the night. A flame arose on the opposite side; and Julian, who too clearly understood that his foremost vessels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterously

[70] Καὶ μεγέθεσιν ἐλεφάντων, οἷς ἴσον ἔργον διὰ σταχύων ἐλθεῖν, καὶ φάλαγγος [Ἐπιτάφ. c. 125]. Rien n'est beau que le vrai; a maxim which should be inscribed on the desk of every rhetorician.

[71] [We are not told that eighty vessels were unladen, but that each unladen vessel was manned with eighty soldiers—octogenis armatis, Amm. xxiv. 6, 4.]

[72] Libanius alludes to the most powerful of the generals. I have ventured to name *Sallust*. Ammianus says, of all the leaders, quod acri metû territi duces concordi precatû fieri prohibere tentarent.

verted their extreme danger into a presage of victory. "Our ow-soldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are already masters of bank; see—they make the appointed signal: let us hasten emulate and assist their courage." The united and rapid ion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and y reached the eastern shore of the Tigris with sufficient speed extinguish the flames and rescue their adventurous com- ions. The difficulties of a steep and lofty ascent were in- ased by the weight of armour and the darkness of the night. hower of stones, darts, and fire was incessantly discharged the heads of the assailants; who, after an arduous struggle, nbed the bank, and stood victorious upon the ramparts. As n as they possessed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his t infantry, had led the attack,[73] darted through the ranks a ful and experienced eye: his bravest soldiers, according to precepts of Homer,[74] were distributed in the front and rear; all the trumpets of the imperial army sounded to battle. The nans, after sending up a military shout, advanced in measured ps to the animating notes of martial music; launched their midable javelins; and rushed forwards with drawn swords, leprive the Barbarians, by a closer onset, of the advantage of ir missile weapons. The whole engagement lasted above elve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Persians was nged into a disorderly flight, of which the shameful example s given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himself. ey were pursued to the gates of Ctesiphon; and the con- rors might have entered the dismayed city,[75] if their general, tor, who was dangerously wounded with an arrow, had not jured them to desist from a rash attempt, which must be al, if it were not successful. On *their* side, the Romans ac- owledged the loss of only seventy-five men; while they rmed that the Barbarians had left on the field of battle two usand five hundred, or even six thousand, of their bravest liers. The spoil was such as might be expected from the nes and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of silver

[73] Hinc Imperator . . . (says Ammianus) ipse cum levis armaturæ auxiliis per ia postremaque discurrens, &c. Yet Zosimus, his friend, does not allow him ass the river till two days after the battle.

[74] Secundum Homericam dispositionem. A similar disposition is ascribed to wise Nestor, in the fourth book of the Iliad; and Homer was never absent n the mind of Julian.

[75] Persas terrore subito miscuerunt, versisque agminibus totius gentis apertas siphontis portas victor miles intrâsset, ni major prædarum occasio fuisset, quam victoriæ (Sextus Rufus de Provinciis [= Festus, Breviarium], c. 28). Their rice might dispose them to hear the advice of Victor.

and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of massy silver. The victorious emperor distributed, as the rewards of valour, some honourable gifts, civic and mural and naval crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, esteemed more precious than the wealth of Asia. A solemn sacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the most inauspicious events; and Julian soon discovered, by less ambiguous signs, that he had now reached the term of his prosperity.[76]

Situation and obstinacy of Julian. A.D. 363, June

On the second day after the battle, the domestic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which composed near two-thirds of the whole army, were securely wafted over the Tigris.[77] While the Persians beheld from the walls of Ctesiphon the desolation of the adjacent country, Julian cast many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation that, as he himself had victoriously penetrated to the capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebastian and Procopius, would be executed with the same courage and diligence. His expectations were disappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and most probably directed, the desertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans;[78] and by the dissensions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public service. When the emperor had relinquished the hope of this important reinforcement, he condescended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the sentiment of those generals who dissuaded the siege of Ctesiphon as a fruitless and pernicious undertaking. It is not easy for us to conceive by what arts of fortification a city thrice besieged and taken by the predecessors of Julian could be rendered impregnable against an army of sixty thousand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly supplied with ships, provisions, batter-

[76] The labour of the canal, the passage of the Tigris, and the victory are described by Ammianus (xxiv. 5, 6), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 124-128, p. 347-353), Greg. Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 115), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 181-183 [c. 24 *sq.*]), and Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 28).

[77] The fleet and army were formed in three divisions, of which the first only had passed during the night (Ammian. xxiv. 6). The πᾶσα δορυφορια whom Zosimus transports on the third day (l. iii. p. 183), might consist of the protectors, among whom the historian Ammianus, and the future emperor Jovian, actually served, some *schools* of the *domestics*, and perhaps the Jovians and Herculians, who often did duty as guards.

[78] Moses of Chorene (Hist. Armen. l. iii. c. 15, p. 246) supplies us with a national tradition, and a spurious letter. I have borrowed only the leading circumstance, which is consistent with truth, probability, and Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 131, p. 355).

engines, and military stores. But we may rest assured, from love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the racter of Julian, that he was not discouraged by any trivial or ginary obstacles.[79] At the very time when he declined the e of Ctesiphon, he rejected, with obstinacy and disdain, most flattering offers of a negotiation of peace. Sapor, who been so long accustomed to the tardy ostentation of Con-ntius, was surprised by the intrepid diligence of his successor. far as the confines of India and Scythia, the satraps of the ant provinces were ordered to assemble their troops, and to ch, without delay, to the assistance of their monarch. But ir preparations were dilatory, their motions slow; and, before or could lead an army into the field, he received the melan-ly intelligence of the devastation of Assyria, the ruin of his aces, and the slaughter of his bravest troops, who defended passage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in dust; he took his repasts on the ground; and the disorder of hair expressed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps would not have refused to purchase, with one half of his king-n, the safety of the remainder: and he would have gladly sub-ibed himself, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent of the Roman conqueror. Under the pretence of private siness, a minister of rank and confidence was secretly dis-tched to embrace the knees of Hormisdas, and to request, in language of a suppliant, that he might be introduced into presence of the emperor. The Sassanian prince, whether he ened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he consulted sentiments of his birth or the duties of his situation, was equally lined to promote a salutary measure, which would terminate calamities of Persia, and secure the triumph of Rome. He s astonished by the inflexible firmness of a hero, who remem-red, most unfortunately for himself and for his country, that exander had uniformly rejected the propositions of Darius. t, as Julian was sensible that the hope of a safe and honour-le peace might cool the ardour of his troops, he earnestly re-ested that Hormisdas would privately dismiss the minister of por and conceal this dangerous temptation from the know-lge of the camp.[80]

[79] Civitas inexpugnabilis, facinus audax et importunum, Ammianus, xxiv. 7. s fellow-soldier, Eutropius, turns aside from the difficulty, Assyriamque popula-, castra apud Ctesiphontem stativa aliquandiu habuit: remeansque victor, &c. 16. Zosimus is artful or ignorant, and Socrates inaccurate.

[80] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 130, p. 354, c. 139, p. 361; Socrates, l. iii. c. 21. e ecclesiastical historian imputes the refusal of peace to the advice of Maximus.

He burns his fleet

The honour, as well as interest, of Julian forbade him to consume his time under the impregnable walls of Ctesiphon: and, as often as he defied the Barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied that, if he desired to exercise his valour, he might seek the army of the Great King. He felt the insult, and he accepted the advice. Instead of confining his servile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he resolved to imitate the adventurous spirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Asia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed by the arts of a noble Persian, who, in the cause of his country, had generously submitted to act a part full of danger, of falsehood, and of shame.[81] With a train of faithful followers, he deserted to the Imperial camp; exposed, in a specious tale, the injuries which he had sustained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the discontent of the people, and the weakness of the monarchy; and confidently offered himself as the hostage and guide of the Roman march. The most rational grounds of suspicion were urged, without effect, by the wisdom and experience of Hormisdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his bosom, was persuaded to issue an hasty order, which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his safety. He destroyed, in a single hour, the whole navy, which had been transported above five hundred miles, at so great expense of toil, of treasure, and of blood. Twelve, or, at the most, twenty-two, small vessels were saved, to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occasional bridges for the passage of the rivers. A supply of twenty days' provisions was reserved for the use of the soldiers; and the rest of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred vessels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the absolute command of the emperor. The Christian bishops, Gregory and Augustin, insult the madness of the apostate, who executed, with his own hands, the sentence of divine justice. Their authority, of less weight, perhaps, in a military question, is confirmed by the cool judg-

Such advice was unworthy of a philosopher; but the philosopher was likewise a magician, who flattered the hopes and passions of his master.

[81] The arts of this new Zopyrus (Greg. Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 115, 116 [v. c. 11]) may derive some credit from the testimony of two abbreviators (Sextus Rufus and Victor), and the casual hints of Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134, p. 357), and Ammianus (xxiv. 7). The course of genuine history is interrupted by a most unseasonable chasm in the text of Ammianus.

nent of an experienced soldier, who was himself spectator of the conflagration, and who could not disapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops.[82] Yet there are not wanting some specious and perhaps solid reasons, which might justify the resolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis.[83] The distance of the last-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very considerable; and Julian must soon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet against the stream of a rapid river,[84] which in several places was embarrassed by natural or artificial cataracts.[85] The power of sails or oars was insufficient; it became necessary to tow the ships against the current of the river; the strength of twenty thousand soldiers was exhausted in this tedious and servile labour; and, if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without achieving any enterprise worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was advisable to advance into the inland country, the destruction of the fleet and magazines was the only measure which could save that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might suddenly be poured from the gates of Ctesiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious, we should now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his soldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conquest.[86]

and marches against Sapor

The cumbersome train of artillery and waggons which retards the operations of a modern army were in a great measure unknown in the camps of the Romans.[87] Yet, in every age,

[82] See Ammianus (xxiv. 7), Libanius (Orat. Parentalis, c. 132, 133, p. 356, 357), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 183), Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiii. p. 26), Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 116 [c. 12]), Augustin (De Civitate Dei, l. iv. c. 29, l. v. c. 21). Of these, Libanius alone attempts a faint apology for his hero; who, according to Ammianus, pronounced his own condemnation, by a tardy and ineffectual attempt to extinguish the flames.

[83] Consult Herodotus (l. i. c. 194), Strabo (l. xvi. p. 1074), and Tavernier (p. i. l. ii. p. 152).

[84] A celeritate Tigris incipit vocari, ita appellant Medi sagittam. Plin. Hist. Natur. vi. 31.

[85] One of these dikes, which produces an artificial cascade or cataract, is described by Tavernier (part i. l. ii. p. 226), and Thévenot (part ii. l. i. p. 193). The Persians, or Assyrians, laboured to interrupt the navigation of the river (Strabo, l. xv. p. 1075. D'Anville, l'Euphrate et le Tigre p. 98, 99).

[86] Recollect the successful and applauded rashness of Agathocles and Cortez, who burnt their ships on the coasts of Africa and Mexico.

[87] See the judicious reflections of the author of the Essai sur la Tactique, tom. ii. p. 287-353, and the learned remarks of M. Guichardt (Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 351-382) on the baggage and subsistence of the Roman armies.

the subsistence of sixty thousand men must have been one of the most important cares of a prudent general; and that subsistence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been possible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preserve the conquered places of Assyria, a desolated province could not afford any large or regular supplies, in a season of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates,[88] and the unwholesome air was darkened with swarms of innumerable insects.[89] The appearance of the hostile country was far more inviting. The extensive region that lies between the rivers Tigris and the mountains of Media was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a very improved state of cultivation. Julian might expect that a conqueror who possessed the two forcible instruments of persuasion, steel and gold, would easily procure a plentiful subsistence from the fears or the avarice of the natives. But on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect was instantly blasted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the grass and ripe corn were consumed with fire; and, as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. This desperate but effectual method of defence can only be executed by the enthusiasm of a people who prefer their independence to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which consults the public safety without submitting to their inclinations the liberty or choice. On the present occasion, the zeal and obedience of the Persians seconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was soon reduced to the scanty stock of provisions, which continually wasted in his hands. Before they were entirely consumed, he might still have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana or Susa, by the effort of a well-directed march;[90] but he was deprived of this last resource by his igno-

[88] The Tigris rises to the south, the Euphrates to the north, of the Armenian mountains. The former overflows in March, the latter in July. These circumstances are well explained in the Geographical Dissertation of Foster, inserted in Spelman's Expedition of Cyrus, vol. ii. p. 26.

[89] Ammianus (xxiv. 8) describes, as he had felt, the inconveniency of the flood, the heat, and the insects. The lands of Assyria, oppressed by the Turks, and ravaged by the Curds, or Arabs, yield an increase of ten, fifteen, and twenty-fold, for the seed which is cast into the ground by the wretched and unskilful husbandmen. Voyages de Niebuhr, tom. ii. p. 279, 285.

[90] Isidore of Charax (Mansion. Parthic. p. 5, 6, in Hudson, Geograph. Minor.

ance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans vandered several days in the country to the eastward of Bagdad: he Persian deserter, who had artfully led them into the snare, scaped from their resentment; and his followers, as soon as hey were put to the torture, confessed the secret of the conpiracy. The visionary conquests of Hyrcania and India, which ad so long amused, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conscious that his own imprudence was the cause of the public listress, he anxiously balanced the hopes of safety or success, vithout obtaining a satisfactory answer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable measure, he embraced the esolution of directing his steps towards the banks of the Tigris, vith the design of saving the army by a hasty march to the onfines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which cknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. The desponding roops obeyed the signal of the retreat, only seventy days after June 16 hey had passed the Chaboras with the sanguine expectation of ubverting the throne of Persia.[91]

Retreat and distress of the Roman army

As long as the Romans seemed to advance into the country, heir march was observed and insulted from a distance by everal bodies of Persian cavalry; who, showing themselves ometimes in loose, and sometimes in closer, order, faintly skirmished with the advanced guards. These detachments were, however, supported by a much greater force; and the heads of the columns were no sooner pointed towards the Tigris than a cloud of dust arose on the plain. The Romans, who now aspired only to the permission of a safe and speedy retreat, endeavoured to persuade themselves that this formidable appearance was occasioned by a troop of wild asses, or perhaps by the approach of some friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, passed the whole night in continual alarms; and discovered, at the dawn of day, that they were surrounded by an army of Persians. This army, which might be considered only as the van of the Barbarians, was soon followed by the main body of cuirassiers, archers, and elephants, commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's sons, and many of the

tom. ii.) reckons 129 schœni from Seleucia, and Thévenot (part i. l. i. ii. p. 209-245) 128 hours of march from Bagdad, to Ecbatana, or Hamadam. These measures cannot exceed an ordinary parasang, or three Roman miles.

91 The march of Julian from Ctesiphon is circumstantially, but not clearly, described by Ammianus (xxiv. 7, 8), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 134, p. 357), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 183). The two last seem ignorant that their conqueror was retreating; and Libanius absurdly confines him to the banks of the Tigris.

principal satraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the strength of the remaining powers, which slowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor himself. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend, or divide according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Persians [22nd June] repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulsed with firmness; and the action at Maronga, which almost deserved the name of a battle, was marked by a considerable loss of satraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of the monarch. These splendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate slaughter on the side of the Romans: several officers of distinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himself, who, on all occasions of danger, inspired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expose his person and exert his abilities. The weight of offensive and defensive arms, which still constituted the strength and safety of the Romans, disabled them from making any long or effectual pursuit; and, as the horsemen of the East were trained to dart their javelins, and shoot their arrows, at full speed, and in every possible direction,[92] the cavalry of Persia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and disorderly flight. But the most certain and irreparable loss of the Romans was that of time. The hardy veterans, accustomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the sultry heat of an Assyrian summer: their vigour was exhausted by the incessant repetition of march and combat; and the progress of the army was suspended by the precautions of a slow and dangerous retreat in the presence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the supply diminished, the value and price of subsistence increased in the Roman camp.[93] Julian, who always contented himself with such food as a hungry soldier would have disdained, distributed for the use of his troops the provisions of the imperial household, and whatever could be spared from the sumpter-horses of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief served only to aggravate the sense of the public

[92] Chardin, the most judicious of modern travellers, describes (tom. iii. p. 57, 58, &c. edit. in 4to) the education and dexterity of the Persian horsemen. Brissonius (de Regno Persico, p. 650, 661, &c.) has collected the testimonies of antiquity.

[93] In Mark Antony's retreat, an attic chœnix sold for fifty drachmæ, or, in other words, a pound of flour for twelve or fourteen shillings: barley bread was sold for its weight in silver. It is impossible to peruse the interesting narrative of Plutarch (tom. v. p. 102-116 [c. 45]) without perceiving that Mark Antony and Julian were pursued by the same enemies and involved in the same distress.

stress; and the Romans began to entertain the most gloomy prehensions that, before they could reach the frontiers of the npire, they should all perish, either by famine or by the sword the Barbarians.[94]

Julian mortally wounded

While Julian struggled with the almost insuperable difficulties his situation, the silent hours of the night were still devoted study and contemplation. Whenever he closed his eyes in ort and interrupted slumbers, his mind was agitated with inful anxiety; nor can it be thought surprising that the enius of the empire should once more appear before him, vering with a funeral veil his head and his horn of abundance, id slowly retiring from the Imperial tent. The monarch arted from his couch, and stepping forth, to refresh his wearied irits with the coolness of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery eteor, which shot athwart the sky, and suddenly vanished. ulian was convinced that he had seen the menacing counteance of the god of war;[95] the council which he summoned, of uscan haruspices,[96] unanimously pronounced that he should bstain from action: but, on this occasion, necessity and reason ere more prevalent than superstition; and the trumpets ounded at the break of day. The army marched through a illy country; and the hills had been secretly occupied by the ersians. Julian led the van, with the skill and attention of a onsummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that is rear was suddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had empted him to lay aside his cuirass; but he snatched a shield om one of his attendants, and hastened, with a sufficient reinorcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A similar danger called the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and, s he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was ttacked, and almost overpowered, by a furious charge of the ersian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was soon deeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who imed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, against the

[94] Ammian. xxiv. 8, xxv. 1. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 184, 185, 186. Libanius, Orat. arent. c. 134, 135, p. 357, 358, 359. The sophist of Antioch appears ignorant hat the troops were hungry.

[95] Ammian. xxv. 2. Julian had sworn in a passion, nunquam se Marti sacra icturum (xxiv. 6). Such whimsical quarrels were not uncommon between the ods and their insolent votaries; and even the prudent Augustus, after his fleet ad been twice shipwrecked, excluded Neptune from the honours of public proessions. See Hume's Philosophical Reflections. Essays, vol. ii. p. 418.

[96] They still retained the monopoly of the vain, but lucrative, science which had een invented in Etruria; and professed to derive their knowledge of signs and mens from the ancient books of Tarquitius, a Tuscan sage.

backs of the horsemen and the legs of the elephants. The Barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremost in every danger, animated the pursuit with his voice and gestures. His trembling guards, scattered and oppressed by the disorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearless sovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of the impending ruin. As they exclaimed,[97] a cloud of darts and arrows was discharged from the flying squadrons; and a javelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his side; but his fingers were cut by the sharpness of the steel, and he fell senseless from his horse. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raised from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event passed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inspired them with invincible valour and the desire of revenge. The bloody and obstinate conflict was maintained by the two armies, till they were separated by the total darkness of the night. The Persians derived some honour from the advantage which they obtained against the left wing, where Anatolius, master of the offices, was slain, and the præfect Sallust very narrowly escaped. But the event of the day was adverse to the Barbarians. They abandoned the field, their two generals, Meranes and Nohordates,[98] fifty nobles or satraps, and a multitude of their bravest soldiers: and the success of the Romans, if Julian had survived, might have been improved into a decisive and useful victory.

[*leg.* Nohodares]

[97] Clamabant hinc .nde *candidati* (see the note of Valesius) quos disjecerat terror, ut fugientium molem tanquam ruinam male compositi culminis declinaret. Ammian. xxv. 3. [It was unknown who threw the javelin, according to Ammian (25, 3, 23, *incertum unde*) and Magnus of Carrhæ (abridged in Malalas, p. 328-330; see App. 1), who were present. Eutropius says *nostili manu;* on the other hand the tale was soon invented that the dart was from the hand of a Christian in Julian's army. The question is discussed by Büttner-Wobst in Philologus, 51, p. 561 *sqq.* (1892). Libanius (ii. 31, Reiske) adopted a rumour that the man whose dart dealt death to the Emperor was Ταιηνός τις, which was not understood until O. Crusius recently (Philologus, *ib.* p. 735 *sqq.*) pointed to a notice in Stephanus (p. 598) that the Taêni were an Arabic tribe to the south of the Saracens. Libanius' statement would thus prove not that a Taene killed Julian, but that there were Taenes in his army. Nöldeke (Philol. 52, p. 736) has confirmed Crusius, and showed that the name Taene first occurs in a Syriac book (c. 210 A.D.) and is rendered in the Praepar. Evangel. of Eusebius, vi. 10, 14 (Hein.), by Ταινοῖς.]

[98] Sapor himself declared to the Romans that it was his practice to comfort the families of his deceased satraps by sending them, as a present, the heads of the guards and officers who had not fallen by their master's side. Libaniu, de nece Julian. ulcis. c. xiii. p. 163.

The first words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit into which he had been thrown by loss of blood, were expressive of his martial spirit. He called for his horse and arms, and was impatient to rush into the battle. His remaining strength was exhausted by the painful effort; and the surgeons who examined his wound discovered the symptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a sage; the philosophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition compared the tent of Julian with the prison of Socrates; and the spectators, whom duty, or friendship, or curiosity, had assembled around his couch, listened with respectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor.[99] "Friends and fellow-soldiers, the seasonable period of my departure is now arrived, and I discharge, with the cheerfulness of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. I have learned from philosophy, how much the soul is more excellent than the body; and that the separation of the nobler substance should be the subject of joy, rather than of affliction. I have learned from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety;[100] and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character, which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude. I die without remorse, as I have lived without guilt. I am pleased to reflect on the innocence of my private life; and I can affirm, with confidence, that the supreme authority, that emanation of the Divine Power, has been preserved in my hands pure and immaculate. Detesting the corrupt and destructive maxims of despotism, I have considered the happiness of the people as the end of government. Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence, of justice, and of moderation, I have trusted the event to the care of Providence. Peace was the object of my counsels, as long as peace was consistent with the public welfare; but, when the imperious voice of my country summoned me to arms, I exposed my person to the dangers of war, with the clear foreknowledge (which I had acquired from the art of divination)

The death of Julian. A.D. 363, June 26

[99] The character and situation of Julian might countenance the suspicion that he had previously composed the elaborate oration which Ammianus heard and has transcribed. The version of the Abbé de la Bléterie is faithful and elegant. I have followed him in expressing the Platonic idea of emanations, which is darkly insinuated in the original.

[100] Herodotus (l. i. c. 31) has displayed that doctrine in an agreeable tale. Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave.

that I was destined to fall by the sword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude to the Eternal Being, who has not suffered me to perish by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the secret dagger of conspiracy, or by the slow tortures of lingering disease. He has given me, in the midst of an honourable career, a splendid and glorious departure from this world; and I hold it equally absurd and equally base, to solicit, or to decline, the stroke of fate.——Thus much I have attempted to say; but my strength fails me, and I feel the approach of death.—I shall cautiously refrain from any word that may tend to influence your suffrages in the election of an emperor. My choice might be imprudent, or injudicious; and, if it should not be ratified by the consent of the army, it might be fatal to the person whom I should recommend. I shall only, as a good citizen, express my hopes that the Romans may be blessed with the government of a virtuous sovereign." After this discourse, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he distributed, by a military testament,[101] the remains of his private fortune; and, making some inquiry why Anatolius was not present, he understood, from the answer of Sallust, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconsistency, the loss of his friend. At the same time he reproved the immoderate grief of the spectators; and conjured them not to disgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the stars.[102] The spectators were silent; and Julian entered into a metaphysical argument with the philosophers Priscus and Maximus, on the nature of the soul. The efforts which he made, of mind as well as body, most probably hastened his death. His wound began to bleed with fresh violence; his respiration was embarrassed by the swelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as soon as he had drunk it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months from the death of Constantius. In his last moments he displayed, perhaps with some ostentation, the love of

[101] The soldiers who made their verbal, or nuncupatory, testaments upon actual service (in procinctu) were exempted from the formalities of the Roman law. See Heineccius (Antiquit. Jur. Roman. tom. i. p. 504), and Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxvii.).

[102] This union of the human soul with the divine ætherial substance of the universe is the ancient doctrine of Pythagoras and Plato; but it seems to exclude any personal or conscious immortality. See Warburton's learned and rational observations, Divine Legation, vol. ii. p. 199-216.

rtue and of fame which had been the ruling passions of his
e.[103]

The triumph of Christianity, and the calamities of the empire, ay, in some measure, be ascribed to Julian himself, who had glected to secure the future execution of his designs by the nely and judicious nomination of an associate and successor. ut the royal race of Constantius Chlorus was reduced to his vn person; and, if he entertained any serious thoughts of in- sting with the purple the most worthy among the Romans, he as diverted from his resolution by the difficulty of the choice, e jealousy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural esumption of health, of youth, and of prosperity. His un- pected death left the empire without a master and without heir, in a state of perplexity and danger, which, in the space fourscore years, had never been experienced, since the ection of Diocletian. In a government which had almost for- tten the distinction of pure and noble blood, the superiority birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were cidental and precarious; and the candidates who might aspire ascend the vacant throne could be supported only by the nsciousness of personal merit, or by the hopes of popular vour. But the situation of a famished army, encompassed on sides by an host of Barbarians, shortened the moments of ief and deliberation. In this scene of terror and distress, the dy of the deceased prince, according to his own directions, as decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals nvened a military senate, at which the commanders of the gions and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were vited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not ssed away without some secret cabals; and, when the election an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to itate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the mains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian at- ched themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Ne- tta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended m the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character d interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in eir religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could one reconcile their divisions and unite their suffrages; and

Election of the emperor Jovian. A.D. 363, 27th June

[103] The whole relation of the death of Julian is given by Ammianus (xxv. 3), an elligent spectator. Libanius, who turns with horror from the scene, has supplied me circumstances (Orat. Parental. c. 136-140 p. 359-362). The calumnies of egory, and the legends of more recent saints, may now be *silently* despised.

the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, shewed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer,[104] that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was now more than *first* [105] of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards who surrounded the tent, and passed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, astonished with his own fortune, was hastily invested with the Imperial ornaments and received an oath of fidelity from the generals whose favour and protection he so lately solicited. The strongest recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long services. In the obscure freedom of a private station, the son indulged his taste for wine and women; yet he supported, with credit, the character of a Christian [106] and a soldier. Without being conspicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely person of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow-soldiers; and the generals of both parties acquiesced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the just apprehension that the same day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The pressing voice of necessity

[104] Honoratior aliquis miles; perhaps Ammianus himself. The modest and judicious historian describes the scene of the election, at which he was undoubtedly present (xxv. 5).

[105] The *primus*, or *primicerius*, enjoyed the dignity of a senator; and, though only a tribune, he ranked with the military dukes. Cod. Theodosian. l. vi. tit. xxiv. These privileges are perhaps more recent than the time of Jovian.

[106] The ecclesiastical historians, Socrates (l. iii. c. 22), Sozomen (l. vi. c. 3), and Theodoret (l. iv. c. 1), ascribe to Jovian the merit of a confessor under the preceding reign; and piously suppose that he refused the purple, till the whole army unanimously exclaimed that they were Christians. Ammianus, calmly pursuing his narrative, overthrows the legend by a single sentence. Hostiis pro Joviano extisque inspectis pronuntiatum est, &c. xxv. 6.

as obeyed without delay; and the first orders issued by Jovian, few hours after his predecessor had expired, were to prosecute march which could alone extricate the Romans from their tual distress.[107]

The esteem of an enemy is most sincerely expressed by his ars; and the degree of fear may be accurately measured by e joy with which he celebrates his deliverance. The welcome ews of the death of Julian, which a deserter revealed to the mp of Sapor, inspired the desponding monarch with a sudden nfidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal valry, perhaps the ten thousand *Immortals*,[108] to second and pport the pursuit; and discharged the whole weight of his ited forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard as thrown into disorder; the renowned legions, which derived eir titles from Diocletian and his warlike colleague, were oke and trampled down by the elephants; and three ibunes lost their lives in attempting to stop the flight of their ldiers. The battle was at length restored by the persevering lour of the Romans; the Persians were repulsed with a eat slaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after arching and fighting a long summer's day, arrived, in the ening, at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hun- red miles above Ctesiphon.[109] On the ensuing day, the Bar- arians, instead of harassing the march, attacked the camp, of ovian which had been seated in a deep and sequestered valley. rom the hills, the archers of Persia insulted and annoyed the earied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had pene- ated with desperate courage through the Prætorian gate, was it in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the Imperial tent. n the succeeding night, the camp of Carche was protected by ne lofty dykes of the river; and the Roman army, though in- essantly exposed to the vexatious pursuit of the Saracens,

Danger and difficulty of the retreat 27th June to 1st July

[Samarrā]

[107] Ammianus (xxv. 10) has drawn from the life an impartial portrait of Jovian: which the younger Victor has added some remarkable strokes. The Abbé de Bléterie (Histoire de Jovien, tom. i. p. 1-238) has composed an elaborate story of his short reign; a work remarkably distinguished by elegance of style, itical disquisition, and religious prejudice.

[108] Regius equitatus. It appears from Procopius that the Immortals, so famous nder Cyrus and his successors, were revived, if we may use that improper word, the Sassanides. Brisson de Regno Persico, p. 268, &c.

[109] The obscure villages of the inland country are irrecoverably lost; nor can e name the field of battle where Julian fell: but M. d'Anville has demonstrated ne precise situation of Sumere, Carche, and Dura, along the banks of the Tigris Géographie Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 248. L'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 95, 97). In ne ninth century, Sumere, or Samara, became, with a slight change of name, the oyal residence of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. [Among the palaces at Samarrā was that of Al-Hārūnī, built by Caliph Al-Wāthik.]

[Dūr] pitched their tents near the city of Dura,[110] four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was still on their left; their hopes and provisions were almost consumed; and the impatient soldiers, who had fondly persuaded themselves that the frontiers of the empire were not far distant, requested their new sovereign that they might be permitted to hazard the passage of the river. With the assistance of his wisest officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their rashness; by representing that, if they possessed sufficient skill and vigour to stem the torrent of a deep and rapid stream, they would only deliver themselves naked and defenceless to the Barbarians, who had occupied the opposite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he consented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accustomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, should attempt the bold adventure; which might serve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the rest of the army. In the silence of the night, they swam the Tigris, surprised an unguarded post of the enemy, and displayed at the dawn of day the signal of their resolution and fortune. The success of this trial disposed the emperor to listen to the promises of his architects, who proposed to construct a floating bridge of the inflated skins of sheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and fascines.[111] Two important days were spent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already endured the miseries of famine, cast a look of despair on the Tigris, and upon the Barbarians; whose numbers and obstinacy increased with the distress of the Imperial army.[112]

Negotiation and treaty of peace. July

In this hopeless situation, the fainting spirits of the Romans were revived by the sound of peace. The transient presumption of Sapor had vanished: he observed, with serious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had lost his most faithful and intrepid nobles, his bravest troops, and the greatest part of his train of elephants: and the experienced

[110] Dura was a fortified place in the wars of Antiochus against the rebels of Media and Persia (Polybius, l. v. c. 48, 52, p. 548, 552, edit. Casaubon, in 8vo).

[111] A similar expedient was proposed to the leaders of the ten thousand, and wisely rejected. Xenophon, Anabasis, l. iii. p. 255, 256, 257. It appears from our modern travellers that rafts floating on bladders performed the trade and navigation of the Tigris. [On the course of the Tigris here cp. App. 24.]

[112] The first military acts of the reign of Jovian are related by Ammianus (xxv. 6), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 146, p. 364), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 189, 190, 191, [c. 30]). Though we may distrust the fairness of Libanius, the ocular testimony of Eutropius (uno a Persis atque altero prœlio victus, x. 17) must incline us to suspect that Ammianus has been too jealous of the honour of the Roman arms.

monarch feared to provoke the resistance of despair, the vicissitudes of fortune, and the unexhausted powers of the Roman empire; which might soon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the successor of Julian. The Surenas himself, accompanied by another satrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian;[113] and declared that the clemency of his sovereign was not averse to signify the conditions on which he would consent to spare and to dismiss the Cæsar with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of safety subdued the firmness of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council and the cries of the soldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the præfect Sallust was immediately sent, with the general Arinthæus, to understand the pleasure of the Great King. The crafty Persian delayed, under various pretences, the conclusion of the agreement; started difficulties, required explanations, suggested expedients, receded from his concessions, increased his demands, and wasted four days in the arts of negotiation, till he had consumed the stock of provisions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent measure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progress of the treaty would have suspended the attacks of the Barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have safely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the distance only of one hundred miles.[114] The irresolute emperor, instead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient resignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuse. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were restored to the Persian monarchy. He acquired, by a single article, the impregnable city of Nisibis; which had sustained, in three successive sieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the castle of the Moors, one of the strongest places of Mesopotamia, were likewise dismembered from the empire. It was considered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of those fortresses were permitted to retire with their effects;

[113] Sextus Rufus (de Provinciis, c. 29) embraces a poor subterfuge of national vanity. Tanta reverentia nominis Romani fuit, ut a Persis *primus* de pace sermo haberetur.

[114] It is presumptuous to controvert the opinion of Ammianus, a soldier and a spectator. Yet it is difficult to understand *how* the mountains of Corduene could extend over the plain of Assyria, as low as the conflux of the Tigris and the great Zab; or *how* an army of sixty thousand men could march one hundred miles in four days.

but the conqueror rigorously insisted that the Romans should for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years was stipulated between the hostile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by solemn oaths, and religious ceremonies; and hostages of distinguished rank were reciprocally delivered to secure the performance of the conditions.[115]

The weakness and disgrace of Jovian

The sophist of Antioch, who saw with indignation the sceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Christian successor, professes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himself with so small a portion of the Roman empire. If he had stretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been secure, says Libanius, of not meeting with a refusal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Persia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Bosphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch that his remaining provinces would still afford the most ample gratifications of power and luxury.[116] Without adopting in its full force this malicious insinuation, we must acknowledge that the conclusion of so ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obscure domestic, exalted to the throne by fortune rather than by merit, was impatient to escape from the hands of the Persians; that he might prevent the designs of Procopius, who commanded the army of Mesopotamia, and establish his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were still ignorant of the hasty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris.[117] In the neighbourhood of the same river, at no very considerable distance from the fatal station of Dura,[118]

[115] The treaty of Dura is recorded with grief or indignation by Ammianus (xxv. 7), Libanius (Orat. Parent. c. 142, p. 364), Zosimus (l. iii. p. 190, 191, [c. 31]), Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. iv. p. 117, 118 [v., c. 15], who imputes the distress to Julian, the deliverance to Jovian), and Eutropius (x. 17). The last-mentioned writer, who was present in a military station, styles this peace necessariam quidem sed ignobilem.

[116] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 143, p. 364, 365.

[117] Conditionibus . . . dispendiosis Romanæ reipublicæ impositis . . . quibus cupidior regni quam gloriæ Jovianus imperio rudis adquievit. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. La Blétérie has expressed, in a long direct oration, these specious considerations of public and private interest. Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 39, &c.

[118] The generals were murdered on the banks of the Zabatus (Anabasis, l. ii. p. 156, l. iii. p. 226), or great Zab, a river of Assyria, 400 feet broad, which falls into the Tigris [at Al-Haditha] fourteen hours below Mosul. The error of the Greeks bestowed on the great and lesser Zab the names of the *Wolf* (Lycus), and the *Goat* (Capros). They created these animals to attend the *Tiger* of the East. [Another tributary of the Tigris, the Arzan Sū, is called Nahr-adh-Dhib or Wolf-river.]

ne ten thousand Greeks, without generals, or guides, or pro-sions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their ative country, to the resentment of a victorious monarch. he difference of *their* conduct and success depended much ore on their character than on their situation. Instead of mely resigning themselves to the secret deliberations and rivate views of a single person, the united councils of the reeks were inspired by the generous enthusiasm of a popular ssembly; where the mind of each citizen is filled with the ve of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. onscious of their superiority over the Barbarians in arms and iscipline, they disdained to yield, they refused to capitulate; very obstacle was surmounted by their patience, courage, and ilitary skill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thousand xposed and insulted the weakness of the Persian monarchy.[119]

He continues his retreat to Nisibis

As the price of his disgraceful concessions, the emperor might erhaps have stipulated that the camp of the hungry Romans hould be plentifully supplied;[120] and that they should be ermitted to pass the Tigris on the bridge which was con-tructed by the hands of the Persians. But, if Jovian presumed o solicit those equitable terms, they were sternly refused by he haughty tyrant of the East; whose clemency had pardoned he invaders of his country. The Saracens sometimes inter-epted the stragglers of the march; but the generals and roops of Sapor respected the cessation of arms; and Jovian vas suffered to explore the most convenient place for the assage of the river. The small vessels, which had been aved from the conflagration of the fleet, performed the nost essential service. They first conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards transported, in many successive oyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was nxious for his personal safety, and apprehensive of being eft on the hostile shore, the soldiers, who were too im-patient to wait the slow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themselves on light hurdles, or inflated skins; and, drawing after them their horses, attempted, with various success, to swim across the river. Many of these daring adventurers were swallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried

119 The *Cyropædia* is vague and languid: the *Anabasis* circumstantial and animated. Such is the eternal difference between fiction and truth.

120 According to Rufinus, an immediate supply of provisions was stipulated by the treaty; and Theodoret affirms that the obligation was faithfully discharged by the Persians. Such a fact is probable, but undoubtedly false. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 702.

along by the violence of the stream, fell an easy prey to th avarice, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs: and the loss which th army sustained in the passage of the Tigris was not inferi to the carnage of a day of battle. As soon as the Roma had landed on the western bank, they were delivered from th hostile pursuit of the Barbarians; but, in a laborious march two hundred miles over the plains of Mesopotamia, they en dured the last extremities of thirst and hunger. They we obliged to traverse a sandy desert, which, in the extent seventy miles, did not afford a single blade of sweet gras nor a single spring of fresh water; and the rest of the inhospi able waste was untrod by the footsteps either of friends enemies. Whenever a small measure of flour could be di covered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedil purchased with ten pieces of gold:[121] the beasts of burde were slaughtered and devoured; and the desert was strewe with the arms and baggage of the Roman soldiers, whos tattered garments and meagre countenances displayed the past sufferings and actual misery. A small convoy of pro visions advanced to meet the army as far as the castle of Ur and the supply was the more grateful, since it declared th fidelity of Sebastian and Procopius. At Thilsaphata,[122] th emperor most graciously received the generals of Mesopota mia, and the remains of a once flourishing army at length re posed themselves under the walls of Nisibis. The messenger of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language o flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the most effectual measures to secure th allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of those officers who, from motives of interest or inclination, would firmly support the cause of their benefactor.[123]

[121] We may recollect some lines of Lucan (Pharsal. iv. 95), who describes a similar distress of Cæsar's army in Spain:

> Sæva fames aderat————
> Miles eget: toto censû non prodigus emit
> Exiguam Cererem. Proh lucri pallida tabes!
> Non deest prolato jejunus venditor auro.

See Guichardt (Nouveaux Mémoires Militaires, tom. i. p. 379-382). His Analysi of the two Campaigns in Spain and Africa is the noblest monument that has eve been raised to the fame of Cæsar.

[122] M. d'Anville (see his Maps, and l'Euphrate et le Tigre, p. 92, 93) traces thei march, and assigns the true position of Hatra [Al-Ḥaḍr], Ur, and Thilsaphata which Ammianus has mentioned. He does not complain of the Samiel, th deadly hot wind, which Thévenot (Voyages, part ii. li. p. 192) so much dreaded.

[123] The retreat of Jovian is described by Ammianus (xxv. 9), Libanius (Orat Parent. c. 143, p. 365), and Zosimus (l. iii. p. 194 [c. 33]).

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the success of his expedition. They entertained a fond persuasion that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the spoils of the East; that Persia would be reduced to the humble state of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magistrates of Rome; that the Barbarians would adopt the dress, and manners, and language, of their conquerors; and that the youth of Ecbatana and Susa would study the art of rhetoric under Grecian masters.[124] The progress of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he passed the Tigris, his affectionate subjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of the incied triumphs was disturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they persisted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event.[125] The messengers of Jovian promulgated the specious tale of a prudent and necessary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more sincere, revealed the disgrace of the emperor and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with astonishment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed that the unworthy successor of Julian relinquished the five provinces which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he shamefully surrendered to the Barbarians the important city of Nisibis, the firmest bulwark of the provinces of the East.[126] The deep and dangerous question, how far the public faith should be observed, when it becomes incompatible with the public safety, was freely agitated in popular conversation; and some hopes were entertained that the emperor would redeem his pusillanimous behaviour by a splendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible spirit of the Roman senate had always disclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the distress of their captive armies; and, if it were necessary to satisfy the national honour by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the Barbarians, the greatest part of the subjects of Jovian

Universal clamour against the treaty of peace

[124] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 366. Such were the natural hopes and wishes of a rhetorician.

[125] The people of Carrhæ, a city devoted to Paganism, buried the inauspicious messenger under a pile of stones. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196 [c. 34]. Libanius, when he received the fatal intelligence, cast his eye on his sword; but he recollected that Plato had condemned suicide, and that he must live to compose the panegyric of Julian (Libanius de Vitâ suâ, tom. ii. p. 45, 46).

[126] Ammianus and Eutropius may be admitted as fair and credible witnesses of the public language and opinions. The people of Antioch reviled an ignominious peace, which exposed them to the Persians on a naked and defenceless frontier. (Excerpt. Valesiana, p. 845, ex Johanne Antiocheno.)

would have cheerfully acquiesced in the precedent of ancie times.[127]

Jovian evacuates Nisibis, and restores the five provinces to the Persians. August

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his co stitutional authority, was the absolute master of the laws a arms of the state; and the same motives which had forced h to subscribe, now pressed him to execute, the treaty of pea He was impatient to secure an empire at the expense of a f provinces; and the respectable names of religion and honc concealed the personal fears and the ambition of Jovian. N withstanding the dutiful solicitations of the inhabitants, decen as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the pala of Nisibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineses, t ambassador of Persia, entered the place, displayed from t citadel the standard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in l name, the cruel alternative of exile or servitude. The princi citizens of Nisibis, who, till that fatal moment, had confided the protection of their sovereign, threw themselves at his fe They conjured him not to abandon, or, at least, not to deliv a faithful colony to the rage of a barbarian tyrant, exasperat by the three successive defeats which he had experienc under the walls of Nisibis. They still possessed arms a courage to repel the invaders of their country; they request only the permission of using them in their own defence; a as soon as they had asserted their independence, they shou implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of l subjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears, we ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with some confusion, the sanct of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted t present of a crown of gold convinced the citizens of their hop less condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclai "O Emperor! may you thus be crowned by all the cities your dominions!" Jovian, who, in a few weeks, had assum the habits of a prince,[128] was displeased with freedom, a offended with truth: and, as he reasonably supposed that t discontent of the people might incline them to submit to t

[127] The Abbé de la Blêterie (Hist. de Jovien, tom. i. p. 212-227), though a sev casuist, has pronounced that Jovian was not bound to execute his promise; sin he *could not* dismember the empire, nor alienate, without their consent, allegiance of his people. I have never found much delight or instruction in su political metaphysics.

[128] At Nisibis he performed a *royal* act. A brave officer, his name-sake, w had been thought worthy of the purple, was dragged from supper, thrown int well, and stoned to death, without any form of trial or evidence of guilt. Ammia xxv. 8.

Persian government, he published an edict, under pain of death, that they should leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the scene of universal despair, which he seems to have viewed with an eye of compassion.[129] The martial youth deserted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had so gloriously defended: the disconsolate mourner dropt a last tear over the tomb of a son or husband, which must soon be profaned by the rude hand of a barbarian master; and the aged citizen kissed the threshold, and clung to the doors, of the house where he had passed the cheerful and careless hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude: the distinctions of rank, and sex, and age, were lost in the general calamity. Every one strove to bear away some fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and, as they could not command the immediate service of an adequate number of horses or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greatest part of their valuable effects. The savage insensibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardships of these unhappy fugitives. They were seated, however, in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that rising city, with the reinforcement of a very considerable colony, soon recovered its former splendour, and became the capital of Mesopotamia.[130] Similar orders were dispatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the castle of the Moors; and for the restitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has justly been considered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predecessors of Jovian had sometimes relinquished the dominion of distant and unprofitable provinces; but, since the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the sword of a victorious enemy.[131]

Reflections on the death

After Jovian had performed those engagements which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he hastened away from the scene of his disgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch.[132] With-

[129] See xxv. 9, and Zosimus, l. iii. p. 194, 195 [c. 33].

[130] Chron. Paschal. p. 300 [vol. i. p. 554, ed. Bonn]. The ecclesiastical Notitiæ may be consulted.

[131] Zosimus, l. iii. p. 192, 193 [c. 32]. Sextus Rufus de Provinciis, c. 29. Augustin. de Civitat. Dei, l. iv. c. 29. This general position must be applied and interpreted with some caution.

[132] Ammianus, xxv. 9. Zosimus, l. iii. p. 196 [c. 34]. He might be edax, et

out consulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to bestow the last honours on the remains of his deceased sovereign;[133] and Procopius, who sincerely bewailed the loss of his kinsman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpse of Julian was transported from Nisibis to Tarsus, in a slow march of fifteen days; and, as it passed through the cities of the East, was saluted by the hostile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous insults. The Pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of those gods whose worship he had restored; while the invectives of the Christians pursued the soul of the apostate to hell, and his body to the grave.[134] One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Christians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous strains, the stroke of divine vengeance, which had been so long suspended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged[134a] that the death of the tyrant, at the instant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the saints of Egypt, Syria and Cappadocia;[135] and instead of suffering him to fall by the Persian darts, their indiscretion ascribed the heroic deed to the obscure hand of some mortal or immortal champion of the faith.[136] Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adversaries;[137] who darkly insinuated, or confidently

vino Venerique indulgens. But I agree with La Bléterie (tom. i. p. 148-154) in rejecting the foolish report of a Bacchanalian riot (ap. Suidam) celebrated at Antioch, by the emperor, his *wife*, and a troop of concubines.

133 The Abbé de la Bléterie (tom. i. p. 156, 209) handsomely exposes the brutal bigotry of Baronius, who would have thrown Julian to the dogs, ne cespititiâ quidem sepulturâ dignus.

134 Compare the sophist and the saint (Libanius, Monod. tom. ii. p. 251 and Orat. Parent. c. 145, p. 367, c. 156, p. 377, with Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. iv. p. 125; 132 [v., c. 36-38]). The Christian orator faintly mutters some exhortations to modesty and forgiveness: but he is well satisfied that the real sufferings of Julian will far exceed the fabulous torments of Ixion or Tantalus.

134a [A necessary correction of *acknowledge*, which appears in the quarto ed.]

135 Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. iv. p. 549) has collected these visions. Some saint or angel was observed to be absent in the night on a secret expedition, &c.

136 Sozomen (l. vi. 2) applauds the Greek doctrine of *tyrannicide;* but the whole passage, which a Jesuit might have translated, is prudently suppressed by the president Cousin.

137 Immediately after the death of Julian, an uncertain rumour was scattered, telo cecidisse Romano. It was carried, by some deserters, to the Persian camp; and the Romans were reproached as the assassins of the emperor by Sapor and his subjects (Ammian. xxv. 6. Libanius de ulciscendâ Juliani nece, c. xiii. p. 162, 163). It was urged, as a decisive proof, that no Persian had appeared to claim the promised reward (Liban. Orat. Parent. c. 141, p. 363). But the flying horseman, who darted the fatal javelin, might be ignorant of its effect; or he might be slain in the same action. Ammianus neither feels nor inspires a suspicion.

serted, that the governors of the church had instigated and rected the fanaticism of a domestic assassin.[138] Above sixteen ars after the death of Julian, the charge was solemnly and hemently urged, in a public oration, addressed by Libanius to e emperor Theodosius. His suspicions are unsupported by ct or argument; and we can only esteem the generous zeal of e sophist of Antioch for the cold and neglected ashes of his end.[139]

It was an ancient custom in the funerals, as well as in the iumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praise should be cor- cted by that of satire and ridicule; and that, in the midst of e splendid pageants, which displayed the glory of the living of the dead, their imperfections should not be concealed from e eyes of the world.[140] This custom was practised in the neral of Julian. The comedians, who resented his contempt id aversion for the theatre, exhibited, with the applause of a hristian audience, the lively and exaggerated representation of ie faults and follies of the deceased emperor. His various haracter and singular manners afforded an ample scope for easantry and ridicule.[141] In the exercise of his uncommon lents, he often descended below the majesty of his rank. lexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philosopher was egraded into a priest. The purity of his virtue was sullied by xcessive vanity: his superstition disturbed the peace, and en- angered the safety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular sallies ere the less entitled to indulgence, as they appear to be the borious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of ulian were interred at Tarsus in Cilicia; but his stately tomb hich arose in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid ydnus,[142] was displeasing to the faithful friends, who loved and

and funeral of Julian

138 Ὅστις ἐντολὴν πληρῶν τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἄρχοντι. This dark and ambiguous xpression may point to Athanasius, the first, without a rival, of the Christian ergy (Libanius de ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 5, p. 149. La Bléterie, Hist. de Jovien, t. i. 179).

139 The Orator (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vii. p. 145-179) scatters suspicions, emands an inquiry, and insinuates that proofs might still be obtained. He scribes the success of the Huns to the criminal neglect of revenging Julian's death.

140 At the funeral of Vespasian, the comedian who personated that frugal mperor anxiously inquired, how much it cost?—Fourscore thousand pounds entics).—Give me the tenth part of the sum, and throw my body into the Tiber. ueton. in Vespasian. c. 19, with the notes of Casaubon and Gronovius.

141 Gregory (Orat. iv. p. 119, 120 [v., c. 16]) compares this supposed ignominy nd ridicule to the funeral honours of Constantius, whose body was chaunted over iount Taurus by a choir of angels.

142 Quintus Curtius, i. iii. c. 4. The luxuriancy of his descriptions has been ften censured. Yet it was almost the duty of the historian to describe a river, hose waters had nearly proved fatal to Alexander.

revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philosopher expressed a very reasonable wish that the disciple of Plato might have reposed amidst the groves of the academy:[143] while the soldiers exclaimed in bolder accents that the ashes of Julian should have been mingled with those of Cæsar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue.[144] The history of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a similar competition.

[143] Libanius, Orat. Parent. c. 156. p. 377. Yet he acknowledges with gratitude the liberality of the two royal brothers in decorating the tomb of Julian (de ulcis. Jul. nece, c. 7, p. 152).

[144] Cujus suprema et cineres, si qui tunc juste consuleret, non Cydnus videre deberet, quamvis gratissimus amnis et liquidus: sed ad perpetuandam gloriam recte factorum praeterlambere Tiberis, intersecans urbem aeternam divorumque veterum monumenta praestringens. Ammian. xxv. 10.

APPENDIX

ADDITIONAL NOTES BY THE EDITOR

1. AUTHORITIES

By an inadvertency it was not mentioned in vol. i. p. 443, that C. de Boor has shown it to be highly probable (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, i. p. 13 *sqq.*) that the anonymous Continuer of Dion is identical with Peter the Patrician (who lived in the sixth century under Justinian).—It should also be added to the notice of Rufus Festus, on p. 448, that this writer should be simply called Festus (as C. Wagener observes in his Jahresbericht on Eutropius, in Philologus, 42, p. 521), the addition "Rufus" appears only in inferior Mss. It is highly unsafe to speak, as some writers do, of "Rufius Festus," on the strength of a guess of Mommsen (Hermes, 16, p. 605) that the author of the Breviarium is identical with the Rufius Festus Avienus of C. I. L., 6, 103.—I am also bound to state that E. Rohde (Byz. Ztsch., 5, p. 1 *sqq.*) and C. Neumann (in the same number of the same journal) agree in ascribing to the tenth cent. the *Philopatris*, which, with Crampe, I assigned to the seventh in vol. i. p. 340; and they urge weighty arguments against Crampe's view.]

The De Mortibus Persecutorum, which was briefly noticed in vol i., Appendix 1, calls for some further observations here. It always seemed clear that it was ascribed to Lactantius before the end of the fourth century, and possible that L. Cæcilius (the name of the author in the unique Ms. found at Moissac, and now in the Bibl. Nationale) might be a mistake for L. Cælius, the name of Firmianus Lactantius; accordingly, fortified by the judgments of Teuffel and Ebert, I am inclined (with Schiller, Burckhardt, and others) to accept the identification, and suppose that the difference of style (justly noticed by Gibbon, ch. xx. n. 40) may be explained by difference of subject. Yet a study of the exhaustive investigation of Brandt might go far to convince one that Lactantius was not the author of the Mortes, and that Gibbon's hesitation was thoroughly justified. The arguments of Ebert, the chief champion of the Lactantian authorship (Ueber den Verfasser des Buches de M. P., Ber. der Sächs. Ges. der Wissensch., phil.-hist. Cl. 1870), have been assailed with force by Brandt, the greatest living authority on Lactantius, in his essay Ueber die Entstehungsverhältnisse der Prosaschr. des Lact. und des Buches de M. P. (Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., vol. cxxv., Abh. vi. 1892).

(1) There is a serious chronological argument, which in itself (if the facts were correct) would be almost conclusive (first urged by P. Meyer in Quæst. Lactant. Particula prima, 1878). The author of the Mortes was an eye-witness of the persecutions at Nicomedia, where he wrote after the middle of 313 A.D. (cp. xii. 1; xiii. 1; xxxv. 4; xlviii. 1; and xlviii. 13; xlix.; lii. 4). But the Divine Institutions, which was finished before 310 (Brandt has shown, p. 12 *sqq.*, that it was almost certainly completed in 307-8), though begun at Nicomedia, was finished at Trier, whither Lactantius must have gone before 310. Therefore, the writer who describes as an eye-witness the persecutions after 310 cannot have been Lactantius.

(2) There are peculiarities in style in the Mortes which cannot be explained by the nature of the subject; *e.g.*, "more or less strong vulgarisms, Græcisms,

&c., where Lactantius writes correctly" (p. 58, *e.g.*, *misereri* with dat., *idolum* &c.).

(3) Advocates of the Lactantian authorship appeal to numerous passages which are verbally identical with, or echoes of, passages of Lactantius. But Brandt urges that these must be the work of an inferior imitator, and are in fact a strong argument against the Lactantian authorship. Especially instructive is a comparison of Mort. xxxviii. 1 (which Ebert is forced to regard as an interpolation) with Div. Inst. vi. 23, § 10-12.

(4) Brandt also insists that the author of the Mortes (whose want of *bona fides* is glaringly exhibited in his exaggerated descriptions of Maximin's lust, *e.g.*, of the cruelty of Galerius; xxxviii. 4; xxi. 5) stands on a lower ethical level than the Lactantius whom we know from his undoubted writings.

(5) The weak argument which rests on the fact that the Mortes is dedicated to "Donatus confessor," and that Lactantius inscribed his De Ira Dei to Donatus, is turned by Brandt into an argument on the other side. While the mere identity of a most common name proves nothing, what we know of the two Donati forbids the identification. The Donatus of the Mort. was imprisoned in 305 (cf. 16; 35), and underwent the stress of the persecution; but the only thing that Lactantius has to say to his Donatus is to warn him against trusting the authority of philosophers. There is not a hint in the De Ira Dei that the person addressed was undergoing imprisonment, which, whether the De Ira Dei was prior to 311 (as Brandt has tried to show) or subsequent (as Ebert held), is an argument against the identification of the two Donati.

On the other hand the Mortes was ascribed to Lactantius in the course of the fourth century, for Jerome had a copy in 393 A.D., on which doubtless the name of Lactantius was inscribed; De Vir. Ill. c. 80, *habemus* (I possess) *eius—de persecutione librum unum.* And Brandt has corroborated this view of Jerome's statement by showing that the person who (c. 370 or not many years later) interpolated the Divine Institutions with the addresses to the Emperors (see Brandt's die Kaiseranreden, Sitzungsber. der W. Ak. 119, 1889), made use of the Mortes supposing it to be Lactantian. This false ascription of the treatise, the work perhaps of a pupil of Lactantius, to Lactantius himself is accounted for by Brandt by the hypothesis that it was published anonymously, and the public, anxious to discover the authorship, were led by the Lactantianisms and the Nicomedian origin to fix on the well-known writer of the Divine Institutions. *L. Cæcilius* would be, on this hypothesis, probably a mistake for L. Cælii (*i.e.* Lactantii), and not the name of the true author.

As for the date (discussed by Görres in Philologus, xxxvi. p. 597 *sqq.*, 1877), Brandt narrows it down to a short period between the end of 314 A.D. and the middle of 315 (p. 111). The Epitome of the Divine Institutions (its Lactantian authorship has been vindicated, p. 2-10) was used in the Mortes, and was written between the middle of 313 A.D. and the conclusion of the Mortes. Seeck (who accepts from Idatius 316 as date of Diocletian's death) makes the limits 317 and 321.

On Brandt's arguments I would observe that all except (1) have little cogency. (4) is especially weak; we have a much more glaring example of such inconsistency in the case of Procopius the historian. In regard to (1), Seeck urges (Gesch. des Unterg. der ant. Welt, p. 428) Jerome's statement that L. taught Crispus as Cæsar, *i.e.* after 317 A.D.; Constantine would not before his conversion (312, at earliest) have chosen a Christian preceptor for his son; in 308 Crispus was not more than two years old. There seems indeed to be no reason for supposing that L. went to Trier much before 317; therefore he could be in Nicomedia in 313; and the chief argument against the Lactantian authorship of the Mortes breaks down. It may be added that no argument, except one favourable to the identification, can be based on the difference between the names in the Mss.—Cælius and Cæcilius,—in view of the fact that *L. Cæcilius Firmianus* is found in a Numidian inscription (C. I. L. 8, 7241); and Lactantius belonged to the African Diocese (Seeck, *ib.* 426).

On the life of Lactantius see Brandt, Ueber das Leben des L., Sitzungsber. der

W. Akad., cxx., 1890; and on the interpolations in the Divine Inst. (see above chap. xx. n. 2) his two papers, Die dualistischen Zusätze, *ib.* cxviii., 1889, and Die Kaiseranreden, *ib.* cxix., 1889.

To understand the historical work of Eusebius of Cæsarea, we must glance at the "Chronographies" of Sextus Julius Africanus, who flourished in the early part of the third century and wrote his chronographical work between 212 and 221 A.D. All that is known about him and his work will be found in the invaluable study of H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie (1880). He is the founder of Byzantine chronography. His system is determined by the Jewish idea of a world-epoch of 6000 years; and he divides this into two parts at the death of Phalek. He is concerned to prove that the Incarnation took place in the year 5500 (=2 B.C.); after which there are 500 years of waiting till the end of the world and the beginning of the millennium or the World-Sabbath. The date of Moses was fixed at 1020 years before the first olympiad by Justus of Tiberias, and this view, to which the apologist Justin gave currency, is maintained by Africanus, who puts Moses in 3707-8 and the first olympiad=first year of Ahaz in 4727-8. A contemporary of Africanus, Hippolytus of Rome, also wrote a chronicle of the world, which Gelzer (ii. 23) designates as a very feeble performance, in erudition far inferior to that of Africanus.

The chronicle of Eusebius, translated into Latin by Jerome, threw that of Africanus into the background. Gelzer (ii. 42 *sqq.*) gives him the credit which he deserves for his excellent critical discussion of the number of years between the Exodus and the building of Solomon's temple. Here we have a contradiction between St. Paul and the Book of Judges on one hand, and the Books of Kings on the other. Eusebius does not hesitate to criticize the inspired numbers with masterly ability, just as if they occurred in profane documents, and rejects the statement of the apostle Paul. "In later patristic literature we find nothing similar. The Greek Church was perfectly speechless at the boldness which treated the chronological sketch of the apostle like that of a profane author" (Gelzer, ii. 47).

Again the historical instinct of Eusebius is shown in the choice of his era. While Africanus began with Adam, this instinct taught Eusebius that all Hebrew events before Abraham were "prehistoric," and so he dated events by the years of Abraham, whom he places in 2017 B.C., whereas the date of Africanus was 2300. But this was little compared with his boldness in rejecting the received date of Moses, whom he placed in 1512 B.C. instead of 1795 B.C.

In the Ecclesiastical History, the Panegyric on Constantine, and the Life of Constantine (a *Denkschrift* rather than a regular biography; Ranke), the guiding idea of Eusebius is the establishment of a Christian empire, for which Constantine was the chosen instrument. See Ranke's short suggestive essay in Weltgeschichte, ii. 2, 249 *sqq.*; one of his points is that we must not press some deviations in the Life, written after Constantine's death, from the earlier works. But we must agree with the remark of O. Seeck: "Nichts hat dem Andenken des grossen Kaisers mehr geschadet als das Lügenbuch des Eusebios". Seeck declines to make any use of the documents contained in it. P. Meyer, de Vita Const. Eusebiana, 1883; V. Schultze, Quellen-untersuchungen zur Vita Const. des Eus., in Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., xiv. p. 503 *sqq.*, 1894; Amedeo Crivellucci, Della fede storica di Eusebio nella vita di Constantino, 1888 (Livorno); Görres, Z. f. wiss. Theol., xx. 215 *sqq.*; xxi. 35 *sqq.*; xxxiii. 124 *sqq.*

Two historical fragments, one covering A.D. 293-337, the other A.D. 474-526, first printed by H. Valois at the end of his edition of Ammian (from a Ms. belonging to J. Sirmond, which afterwards passed into the Phillipps collection, and was translated in 1887 from Cheltenham to Berlin), are generally described under the name Anonymus Valesii. This title is misleading, by its suggestion that the two fragments belong to the same work, whereas they have nothing to do with each other; but it is still convenient to refer to them under the old title. Though they have nothing to do with Ammianus, Gardthausen, following the example of Valois, printed them at the end of his edition. The authoritative edition is now Mommsen's in the Chronica Minora (M. G. H.); the first which concerns

us here, being printed under the title Origo Constantini imperatoris in vol. p. 7-11 (1891).

The unknown author of this fragment wrote in the fourth century, an Mommsen designates him as "optimi et Ammiano neque aetate neque auctoritat inferioris" and adds that he probably wrote "ante tempora absolute Christiana" Several passages (*e.g.*, 20, 33, 34), which are redolent of the Christian clerica style, are shown to be interpolations derived from Orosius (Mommsen, pref. 6; cp. W. Ohnesorge, Der Anonymus Valesii de Constantino, p. 88 *sqq.*, 188 who has some good remarks on the author's geographical knowledge, and th probability that he wrote in Italy).

[The Anonymi Monodia (first published by Morelli in 1691) was supposed t be (in accordance with its title in the Palatine Ms.) a funeral oration on Cor stantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great; and on this supposition Gibbo made important use of it (p. 212, n. 26; cp. p. 232, n. 71). But it is onl necessary to read it carefully to see that the inscription is false, and that i cannot refer to the younger Constantine. This was proved by Wesseling, wh made it probable that the subject of the oration was Theodore Palæologus. A the argument of Gibbon as to Fausta's survival was recently repeated by such capable scholar as Victor Schultze, with an appeal to the Monodia (Brieger Zeitschr. f. Kirchengeschichte, viii. p. 541, apparently he had not read th document), it may be worth while to state briefly the chief decisive points. cite from the most recent edition: Anon. Græci oratio funebris, by C. F Frotscher, 1856.) (1) The very first words are quite impossible in an orator o the fourth century: Ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ποτὲ λείψανα δυστυχῆ (2) The subject of the laudation died of a plague (p. 14); Constantine accordin to our authorities was killed by violence. (3) ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς ἡμᾶ πάλιν ἀνήγον (p. 16) does not apply to Constantine, nor yet (4) the statement (p. 2 that he sent ambassadors to Iberia (whether Spanish or Caucasian) to get him wife.]

It is much to be regretted that the history of Constantine the Great, in tw books, written by a young Athenian named Praxagoras at the age of twenty two, is only known to us by a brief quotation in Photius, cod. 62, p. 20, ed. Bekk (=F. H. G. iv. p. 2). Photius does not give his date. Müller says he wrote at end of Constantine's reign, or under Constantius, *ut videtur*, but does not giv reasons. In accepting this date as probably right I am guided by the following consideration. Praxagoras (Photius tells us) was a pagan (Ἕλλην τὴν θρησκείαν) and yet he praised Constantine very highly, setting him above all his prede cessors who held the Imperial dignity. It is extremely improbable that a pagan living in the second half of the fourth century—a contemporary of Julian an Eunapius—or in the fifth, would have adopted this attitude. Hostility t Constantine's memory is a note of Julian and all the pagans who came after him It seems to me, therefore, that the first half of the fourth century is the only epoch which suits our data respecting Praxagoras.

Julian has been treated so fully in the text that only bibliographical point need be noted here. My references throughout are to the critical text o Hertlein (Gibbon used that of Spanheim, 1696), which includes the extant works except (1) the treatise contra Christianos, which has been ingeniously reconstitute from the citations of Cyril and edited by C. J. Neumann, 1880; and (2) six letters which A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus discovered in a Ms. at the μονὴ τῆς Θεοτόκου in the island of Chalce near Constantinople. These are published in the Rheinisches Museum, 42 (1887), p. 15 *sqq.*, in the Maurogordateios Bibliotheke and elsewhere [number 1, to his uncle Julian, 2, to the priestess Theodora (cp Hertl. Ep. 5), 3, to Theodorus, high priest, 4, to Priscus, 5, to Maximin, 6 probably to a priestess]. Three of these [1, 2, 3] are considered of doubtfu authenticity by Schwarz in his valuable Julianstudien, Philol. li. p. 623 *sqq.* (1892), where he tries to discriminate in the extant correspondence of Julian what is genuine, spurious, and doubtful. He condemns letters 8, 18, 19, 24, 25, 34, 40, 41, 53, 54, 60, 61, 66, 67, 72, 73, 75. Doubts are attached to 28, 32, 57, 68. Letter 27 is mainly genuine, but is tainted by an interpolation, § 9-21.

(Schwarz also disproves Cumont's conjecture that a number of the letters are the work of Julian the Sophist, p. 626 *sqq.*) Julian wrote a special work in his Alamannic campaign, not extant now, which was used by Ammianus and Libanius (see below under Ammianus). The Cohortatio ad Græcos, which had been falsely ascribed to Justin, has been shown by J. Asmus to be a contemporary polemical tract against Julian (acc. to J. Dräscke, Apollinarios von Laodicea, 1891, p. 85 *sqq.*, identical with the treatise of Apollinaris on Truth, mentioned by Sozomen, v. 18). It was used by Gregory Naz., in his Invectives. See Zeitsch. für wissensch. Theologie, xxxviii. 115 *sqq.*, 1895. The *Therapeutic* of Theodoret seems to have been directed against Julian's "Rhetor-edict" and his work against the Galilæans; see J. Asmus, Byz. Zeitsch. 3, p. 116 *sqq.* [Modern works: J. F. Mücke, Flavius Cl. Julianus, 1866-8. Rendall, The Emperor Julian, 1878. Naville, Julien l'Apostat et sa philosophie du polythéisme, 1877. Miss Gardner, Julian the Philosopher, 1895. Sievers (in his Studien), Julians Perserkrieg. Rode, Geschichte der Reaction Kaiser J. gegen die christliche Kirche, 1877. Schwarz, de vita et scriptis Juliani imperatoris, 1888. F. Cumont, Sur l'authenticité de quelques lettres de Julian, 1889. Wiegand, Die Alamannenschlacht von Strassburg (in Heft 3 of Beitr. zur Landes und Volkeskunde von Elsass-Lothr., 1887). Koch, Leyden Dissertation on Julian's Gallic campaigns, 1890. Reinhardt, Der Tod des Kaisers Julian, 1891, and Der Perserkrieg des K. J., 1892. Klimek, Zur Würdigung der Handschriften und zur Textkritik Julians, 1888. See also G. Boissier's La fin du paganisme; Petit de Julleville's L'Ecole d'Athènes au ive siècle après Jésus Christ. Others have been mentioned in the notes.]

Of the life and works of Libanius (314—c. 395 A.D.) a full account will be found in the standard monograph of Sievers, Das Leben des Libanius (1868), which is full of valuable research for the general history of the time. Reiske's edition of the Orations and Declamations appeared too late (1784-1797, 4 volumes) for Gibbon to use. A new edition both of Speeches and Letters (ed. Wolf, 1738) is much needed. 1607 letters are preserved, of which Sievers gives a full dated index (p. 297 *sqq.*). Four hundred letters professing to be Latin translations from originals of Libanius have been proved by R. Förster to be forgeries (F. Zambeccari und die Briefe des Libanius, 1876; cp. Sievers, *ib.* Beil. T.T.). The dates of the Speeches of Libanius, which concern us in the present volume, are, according to Sievers (p. 203), as follows:—

(1) Βασιλικός (lx.)=c. 348 A.D. (349 A.D., Tillemont).
(2) Μονῳδία ἐπὶ Νικομηδείᾳ (lxii.)=c. 358 A.D. (after 24th August).
(3) Ἀντιοχικός (xi.)=360 A.D.
(4) Προσφωνητικὸς Ἰουλιανῷ (xiii.)=July 362 A.D.
(5) ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοφάνους (xiv.)=362 A.D. (intercession for a friend who had been exiled).
(6) Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῷ ἐν Δάφνῃ νεῷ (lxi.)=362 A.D. (after 23rd October).
(7) εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν ὕπατον (xii.)=1st January 363 A.D.
(8) πρεσβευτικὸς πρὸς Ἰουλιανόν (xv.) } =after March 363 A.D.
(9) πρὸς Ἀντ. περὶ τῆς βασ. ὀργῆς (xvi.) }
(10) Μονῳδία ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ (xvii.)=end July 363 A.D.
(11) Ἐπιτάφιος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανῷ (xviii.)=368 or 369 A.D.
(12) ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰουλιανοῦ τιμωρίας (xxiii.)=after 378 A.D.

Of the orations of Themistius (a younger contemporary and friend of Libanius) those which concern this volume are the Panegyrics of Constantius: i. A.D. 347; ii. A.D. 355; iii. (Πρεσβευτικός) and iv., delivered in the senate at Constantinople A.D. 357. The subject of i. is φιλανθρωπία, which Christ (Gr. Litteratur, p. 672) designates as the Schlagwort of Themistius,—a pagan whose tolerance stands out in contrast with the temper of men like Libanius and Eunapius. (Ed. Dindorf, 1832; E. Baret, de Them. sophista et apud imperatores oratore, Paris, 1853.)

The Latin panegyric of Nazarius on Constantine (see above, p. 304) and the speech of thanksgiving of Claudius Mamertinus to Julian are printed in Baehrens' xii. Panegyr. Lat., as x. and xi.

Ammianus Marcellinus, born c. 330, belonged to a good Antiochene famil (Amm. xix. 8, 6), and was thus a *Græcus* (xxxi. 16), though he wrote his histor in Latin, which had become a second mother-tongue. His good birth and co nexions gained him admission to the corps of the *domestici* (see below, App. 13 His military service probably lasted somewhat more than ten years. We fin him at Nisibis in 353 under Ursicinus (xiv. 9, 1). Next year he is in the west we catch him on the way to Milan (*ib.* 11, 5); and he goes with other *protectores domestici* and *tribuni* (*scholarum ?*) on a mission to Köln (xv. 5, 2, and xviii. 8 11). But in 357 he returns to the east, to the scene of the Persian war (xvi. 1 21), and Gibbon notices his escape from Amida. He went through Julian campaign and probably retired from military service soon after the conclusion o the war by Jovian's treaty (cp. Büdinger, Ammianus Marcellinus und die Eigenar seines Geschichtswerkes, 1895).

His Res Gestæ in thirty-one books was intended as a continuation of Tacitus and began with Nerva (xxxi. 16). "The first thirteen books, a superficial epitom of 257 years, are now lost; the last eighteen, which contain no more than twenty five years, still preserve the copious and authentic history of his own times (Gibbon, ch. xxvi. n. 113). Book xiv. begins with the acts of the Cæsar Gallu in 353 A.D., and book xxxi. ends with the battle of Hadrianople in 378 A.D. The work seems to have been finished early in the last decade of the century, and he won by it a considerable reputation at Rome (cp. Libanius, Epp. ed. Wolf, Ep to Amm. Marc. pp. 132 *sqq.*). Characteristic are his imitations of Tacitus and Sallust, and his contempt for the scandal-mongering popular history of Mariu Maximus. The impartiality of Ammianus is appreciated by Gibbon, and gener ally recognized. For the Persian wars his account is not only that of a contem porary but of an eye-witness. As to his sources for Julian's German wars, see below. He was a pagan, but was not unjust to Christianity, of which he speaks with respect, and, though an admirer of Julian, shows by a very strong expressio his disapprobation of that Emperor's measure which prohibited Christians from teaching (xxii. 10, 7). For his view of Christianity cp. xxi. 16, 18 (quoted by Gibbon) and xxii. 11, 5 (nihil nisi iustum suadet et lene). His remarkable phrases about the founder of Christianity was unknown until A. von Gutschmid brilliantly restored a corrupt passage, xxii. 16, 22:—

Ex his fontibus [sc. Egyptian sources] per sublimia gradiens sermonum amplitudine Iouis æmulus non uisa Aegypto militauit sapientia gloriosa.

The name of the wise man, thus described, has disappeared from the Mss., and Valesius proposed to substitute *Platon* for *non*. But Gutschmid saw that the reference is to Jesus, and that the abbreviated name *ihs* had fallen out accidentally after *his*. Thus *ex his Iesus fontibus* now appears in Gardthausen's text. (*Non u. Aegypto* is not verbally true, according to the account of Matthew, but it is in any case true in spirit.) Ammianus was doubtless thinking of the doctrine of the Logos in the fourth Gospel.

In connexion with this passage I would hazard a conjecture. I think that when Ammianus went out of his way to connect Jesus with Egypt, he had in mind a letter of Julian to the Alexandrians (Ep. li.), where the Emperor reproaches them for the prevalence of the Galilean superstition in their cities. The general theme of the letter is: What is Alexandria to Jesus or Jesus to Alexandria? The Ptolemies, he says (p. 557, l. 7, ed. Hertl.), οὔτι τοῖς' Ιησοῦ λογοις ηὔξησαν αὐτὴν οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν ἐχθίστων Γαλιλαίων διδασκαλίᾳ τὴν οἰκονομίαν αὐτῇ ταύτην ὑφ' ἧς νῦν ἐστιν εὐδαίμων ἐξειργάσαντο. Again (p. 558, l. 7), ὃν δὲ οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἑωράκασιν Ἰησοῦν οἴεσθε χρῆναι θεὸν λόγον ὑπάρχειν. I suggest that Ammian's words are a criticism on Julian's argument, and that *non uisa Aegypto* was suggested by the sentence last quoted.

The attitude of Ammianus to internal ecclesiastical history has been well brought out by Büdinger (*op. cit.* p. 15 *sqq.*). He declines to enter into the details of Christian controversies; his idea is that the Christians fight among themselves like wild beasts.—His ideas of morality are high and strict; he believes in progress and the enlightenment of his own age, cp. xviii. 7, 7. He has

high ideal of the imperial authority. He shows towards the Germans a certain tterness which is never apparent in his treatment of the oriental nations. That e was in a certain measure superstitious, notwithstanding his enlightenment, as been brought out by Büdinger. A proneness to exaggerate signs and portents ay partly account for the extraordinary mistake in xx. 3, 1, where it is stated iat in the east of the Empire there was an eclipse of the sun visible from dawn noon, in 360 A.D. (the month is not given),—a total eclipse, for the stars were sible. In that year there was a total eclipse, but only visible in Australia; and iere was also an eclipse in the afternoon of 28th August, (1) visible in Asia but irther east than the east boundary of the Empire, and (2) partial, so that *intericabant iugiter stellæ* could not apply to it. (Query: Did Ammianus, by a pse of memory, set down under a wrong year the total eclipse of 4th June, 54?)

One sharp criticism of Gibbon on Ammianus (see p. 398, n. 6) is due, as Mr. odgkin has pointed out to me, to a misunderstanding. Ammianus means in the assage in question that the troops were not to reach Persia, but to muster in aly, at the beginning of spring.

A reference must be made to the friendship of Ammian with his fellow-citizen nd fellow-pagan Libanius. Their correspondence seems to have begun (not very ordially perhaps) about 359; Libanius, ep. 141, ed. Wolf; and a very interesting tter (cited above) is extant (date 390-1) in which the rhetor admonishes Ammianus go on with his historical work. In ep. 232 he refers to ὁ καλὸς Ἀμμιανός. In ther letters addressed to Ammianus or Marcellinus there is nothing to identify ne writer's correspondent.

For contemporary history Ammianus made use of the writings of Julian, the istory of Eutropius and other sources. Much has been written on the subject of is *fontes:* Gardthausen, Die geographischen Quellen Ammians, 1873 (and onjectanea Ammianea, 1869); Hertz, Aulus Gellius und Ammianus Marcellinus Hermes 8, 1874); Sudhaus, de ratione quæ intercedat inter Zosimi et Ammiani le bello a Jul. imp. cum Pers. gesto relationes, 1870; Hugo Michael, de A. M. tudiis Ciceronianis, 1874, die verlorenen Bücher des Ammianus M., 1880. In Hermes 25, 1889, E. von Borries, Die Quellen zu den Feldzügen Julians des Abtrünnigen gegen die Germanen (p. 173 *sqq.*), elaborately and ingeniously disusses the question of the relations between the sources for Julian's German ampaigns (*viz.*, Ammian, Libanius' Epitaphios, and Zosimus). His results re:—

(1) Libanius used all Julian's writings including a lost work on the battle of Strassburg. Borries thinks the Ἐπιτάφιος was composed as early as end of 363.

(2) (Zosimus drew from) Eunapius (who) used a memoir of the physician Oribasius, and various writings (including lost letters) of Julian, but not the work on the campaign against the Alamanni.

(3) A lost source, x., used all the writings of Julian and the Memoir of Oribasius.

(4) Ammianus used two sources (as is shown by a number of contradictions and repetitions, and the fact that he sometimes agrees with Libanius, sometimes with Eunapius (Zosimus)). These sources were Julian's monograph on the Alamannic campaign, and x.

Borries shows that there were no "Commentaries" of Julian such as Hecker assumes in "Zur Geschichte des Kaisers Julian," 1876 (cp. Die Alamannenschlacht bei Strassburg, in Jahrbb. für class. Philol., 1879, p. 59-80).

Gardthausen's edition of Ammianus (1874) is the best.

On Ammian's geographical knowledge see Mommsen, Hermes 16, 1881.

Eunapius of Sardis was born about 347, and survived 414 A.D. For the facts which are known about his life see Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc. iv. p. 7-8. He wrote (1) a continuation of the Chronicle of Dexippus, which ended in 270 A.D. and brought it down to the death of Theodosius I., in 395 A.D. Then (2) he composed (c. 405 A.D.) his Lives of [23] Philosophers and Sophists, a work which is preserved (ed. Boissonade, in Didot series, 1849), and is valuable as a history of

the fourth century renascence of sophistic. (3) About ten years later, he to up his history again and continued it to 404 A.D.,—probably intending to ma the death of Arcadius (408) his terminus. Of the history we have only fr ments (edited by Müller, F. H. G. iv.); but we have further knowledge of through the fact that it was the main source of Zosimus. It was characteriz by all the weaknesses of contemporary rhetoric. For the history of events fr Diocletian forward Eunapius' narrative and the Epitome of Victor seem have been drawn from a common source, but I agree with Mendelssohn deciding, in opposition to Opitz and Jeep, that this source was not Ammian For the campaigns of Julian, Eunapius used the Memoirs of Oribasius. L Libanius, he was a firm adherent of the old religion, and an enthusiastic a mirer of Julian.

For Magnus of Carrhæ and Eutychianus who wrote accounts of the Persi campaign of Julian, see Müller, F. H. G. iv. 4-6, and Mendelssohn's Preface Zosimus, p. xxxix. *sqq.*

Zosimus, count and ex-advocatus fisci, wrote his history, as L. Mendelsso (who has recently published an excellent critical edition, 1887) showed, between t years 450 and 501 A.D. He is not to be identified with either of his two co temporary namesakes, the grammarian of Ascalon or the sophist of Gaza. Th he lived part of his life at Constantinople has been inferred from his accura description of the city, ii. c. 30 *sqq.* Like Eunapius he was devoted to paganis and hostile to the Christian Emperors.

Introducing his work by expressing his belief in a guiding providence history, and appealing to the work of Polybius in which the wonderful career Rome was unfolded, Zosimus proceeds to give a rapid sketch of Imperial histo up to the death of Claudius (i. 1-46), and then begins, with the accession Aurelian, a fuller narrative, coming down to the siege of Rome by Alaric 410. The author clearly intended to continue his work to a later date; if th sixth book, of which there are only thirteen chapters, had reached the averag length of the first five, it would probably have ended with the death of Honoriu Between books i. and ii. there is a great gap, corresponding to the reigns Carus, Carinus and Diocletian. We may conjecture that book ii. began wit the accession of Diocletian.

The important question of the sources of Zosimus has been acutely investigate by Mendelssohn (see Preface and Notes to his edition). His results are briefly (1) For chaps 1-46, Zosimus used a lost source, in which the account of th Gothic invasions was drawn from the Scythica of Dexippus, but the Chronica o that writer was not consulted. The hypothesis of an indirect use of the sam source will explain the remarkable agreements between Zonaras and Zosimus and the identification of the source is bound up with the perplexed question o the *fontes* of Zonaras. (2) For the main body of the work Zosimus has chiefl relied on Eunapius, as can be shown from the Eunapian fragments. Beside oracles, and one or two passages of small importance, which he has taken from other sources, Mendelssohn makes it probable that the digression on the secula games at beginning of book ii. was derived from Phlegon's treatise on Roma Feasts; and explains the agreements between Zosimus and Ammianus in the account of Julian's Persian expedition by a common use of Magnus of Carrha (cp. Zosimus' own words, iii. 2, 4, where he promises to tell of Julian μάλιστα ὅσ τοῖς ἄλλοις παραλελεῖφθαι δοκεῖ—doubtless an allusion to Eunapius). (3) For th last years, 407-410 A.D., he uses Olympiodorus, whom he mentions. It is im portant here to consult Sozomen, who used the same source.

There is an elaborate and admirable "characteristic" of Zosimus as a historian in the Analekten to the fourth part of Ranke's Weltgeschichte (Abth. 2, p 264 *sqq.*).

The Consular Fasti of Idatius or, correctly, Hydatius, the Spaniard, consis of three parts: (1) from the first consuls to the foundation of Constantinople, 330 A.D. (2) from A.D. 330 to 395, (3) from A.D. 395 to 468. Parts i. and ii. are an epitom

a chronicle which has been more fully preserved in a Greek form in the CHRONICON ASCHALE. (Mommsen has printed the two versions side by side in Chron. inora, i. p. 208 *sqq.*). The second part was written at Constantinople "quae am in chronicis urbanis hereditatem quodammodo Romae veteris sibi vindicavit". e must suppose that a copy reached Spain towards the end of the fourth ntury, and was continued by Idatius concurrently with his continuation of the ronicle of Jerome, along with which it has come down (see Mommsen, l. c. 201. Also C. Frick, in Byz. Zeitschrift, vol. i.). In the second part, Idatius ems to have added some notices from the CHRONICLE of Jerome (composed c. 0 A.D.).

Of the four Greek ecclesiastical historians who wrote in the first half of the th century, the earliest, PHILOSTORGIUS (born before 365 (?); flor. c. 380-412 A.D.), the most interesting, as an Arian. Unluckily his "Ecclesiastical History" hich beginning with Constantine ended in 425 A.D.) is only known by the itome of it made by Photius in the ninth century; it can be proved that at e beginning of the fourteenth century Nicephorus Xanthopulos had only this itome and not the complete work before him. (For the problem as to how far e epitome differs from the original, the study of J. R. Asmus, in Byz. Zeitsch. 30 *sqq.*, 1895, is suggestive.) The sources of Philostorgius, Socrates and ozomen have been elaborately studied by L. Jeep in Quæstiones Fridericianæ, 81, and Quellenuntersuchungen zu den griechischen Kirchenhistorikern, 1884. e concludes that Philostorgius made use of Eunapius, and, for the late years of s work, Olympiodorus (see below, vol. iii. Appendix 1).

Some fragments of another Arian historian (name unknown) are preserved (as r. Gwatkin showed in his Studies of Arianism) in the Chronicon Paschale. Batiffol has tried to show that this writer was a source of Philostorgius and heodoret (Röm. Quartalschrift, 9, p. 57 *sqq.*, 1895).

SOCRATES (orthodox; native of Constantinople) brought down his History to 439 D. (cp. vii. 48), in which year (or 440) he can be shown to have completed his work. is sources (referred to by himself) are: Eusebius; Rufinus (cp ii. 1); Athanasius; ree Collections of Letters, of (*a*) Arius, (*b*) Constantine against Arius, (*c*) lexander of Alexandria (cp. i. 6); Sabinus (Bishop of Thracian Heraclea, and lherent of the heresy of Macedonius), who compiled a Collection of the Acts of e Synods, beginning with Nicæa (*συναγωγὴ τῶν συνοδικῶν*), doubtless filling in e historical connexion, and adding comments from his own point of view. esides these, Socrates certainly made use of the Constantinopolitan Chronicle (see bove); and Jeep has tried to show that he used Philostorgius and Olympiodorus. or the relations of Socrates and Rufinus see Gwatkin, Studies of Arianism, p. 3 *sqq.*

SOZOMEN, a contemporary of Socrates and likewise orthodox (probably native f Palestine), proposed to trace the history of the Church from A.D. 324 to 439 where Socrates ended; see Soz.'s dedication); but the work as we have it ends 425, the last books apparently having been lost (cp. Jeep, Quellenuntersuch. 140). He used Socrates, but also went to the sources of Socrates; in the last ook he abandons Socrates for Olympiodorus. Cp. Sarrazin, de Theodoro ectore (in Gelzer u. Götz, Diss. Jenenses).

THEODORET (orthodox) wrote his work (which comes down to 429 A.D.) between 41 and 449 A.D. It has very little value, adding almost nothing to Socrates and Sozomen. The sources have been fully investigated by A. Güldenpenning, Die Kirchengeschichte des Theodoret von Kyrrhos, 1889. Besides Athanasius, Arius, Eustathius of Antioch, he used (according to Güldenpenning) Socrates and Sozomen, and perhaps Philostorgius; also Ephraem Syrus and the Gregories of Nazianzus and Nyssa. The most elaborate work on Theodoret is in Russian, by N. Glubokovski, 1890.

Besides these, two other Ecclesiastical Histories in Greek were composed about

the same time, which are now lost and never attained the same popularity, thr
of (1) Philip Sidetes; cp. Socr. vii. 26-7; and Harnack, Texte u. Untersuch. I.
179 *sqq.*; and (2) Hesychius of Jerusalem, cp. Fabricius, Bib. Gr. vii. 548 *s*
All six began their histories about the same place,—where Eusebius ended.
Harnack's Sokrates u. Sozomenos, in Encycl. of Herzog u. Plitt; he c
attention to the differences between western and eastern Ecclesiastical historian
motive, aim and scope.

Modern Works (compare vol. i. Appendix 1). Burckhardt, Die Zeit C
stantins des Grossen, 1880 (edition 2). Ranke, Weltgeschichte, iv. O. See
Geschichte des Unterangs der antiken Welt, vol. i. 1895 (which, I reg
appeared too late to be used in the preparation of vol. i. of this editi
Especially noteworthy is the brilliant chapter on early German society).
early Christian art, F. X. Kraus, Geschichte der christlichen Kunst, vol. i. par
1895, where full bibliographical references will be found, and V. Schult
Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst, 1895 (cp. below, Appendix 7).
ecclesiastical matters the reader may profitably consult (besides good ecclesiasti
histories, which are numerous, *e.g.*, Neander, Schrockh, Hefele, Milman) artic
in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, and in the theological encyclopæ
of Herzog and Plitt.

2. ORIGIN OF GNOSTICISM—(P. 11)

Hilgenfeld has developed his view as to the rise of Gnosticism in his highl
important work on early heresies, Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthu
His position is that Gnosticism was founded (as Irenæus said) by the Samarita
Simon the Magian, at the beginning of the Apostolic epoch, and thus ar
strictly outside Christianity, but yet within its atmosphere. Then it beca
in a way Christian, and deeply affected Christianity, both by breaking do
Jewish Christianity, and by calling forth a combined opposition which l
to the formation of a united Catholic Church. Hilgenfeld repeats and defe
his theory in his Zeitsch. fur wissenschaftliche Theologie, vol. xxxiii. 1890, p. 1 *sq*
against the different view put forward in Harnack's Lehrbuch der Dogmeng
schichte, vol. i., 1st edition, p. 178 *sqq*. Harnack holds that Gnosticism arose fr
pre-Christian syncretistic religious theories (a "Religionsmischung") whi
existed in Syria and especially Samaria, and aimed at a universal religion. T
Gnostics he describes as "the theologians of the first century" (p. 163); th
took up Christianity at once as a universal religion and opposed it sharply
Judaism and other religions. In Gnosticism, he says (following Overbeck),
represented "die acute Verweltlichung" (Hellenisation) of Christianity,—a resu
which was only obtained by a gradual process in Catholic Christianity.

Harnack points out well (p. 172) that Gnosticism was accompanied by a numb
of other sects, only partially related, which on one hand shade off into Hellenis
on the other to ordinary Christianity; *e.g.* Carpocratians and Encratites respe
tively. He deals at length with the peculiar position of Marcion, p. 197 *sq*
[Cp. articles on Gnosticism and Marcion, in Dict. of Christian Biography.]

Harnack has since made a valuable contribution to the study of Gnosticism
his work "Ueber das gnostische Buch Pistis Sophia" (1891). He shows th
this treatise (for which see above, p. 14, n. 33), of which he gives an elabora
exegesis, was earlier than A.D. 302, and fixes it to the second half of the thi
century (p. 94 *sqq.*). He shows that it was written in Egypt, but does not repr
sent Valentinian doctrines (as had been supposed) but rather Ophite, if w
use this elastic word to connote a whole group of Syrian gnostic heresies (Ophite
Nicolaites, Sethites, Kainites, &c.). He goes on to develop an attractive theo
that the Pistis Sophia is identical with a treatise mentioned by Epiphanius (L
Hær. xxvi.) under the title of the Small Questions of Mary, as a work that issue
from this Gnostic group, and he even tries to establish that it represents in pa
ticular the views of the Sethites.

A long and important study on Gnostic works preserved in Coptic (the Book

Jeû: Coptic text and German translation) by C. Schmidt, in Gebhardt u. rnack, Texte u. Unters., viii. 1 and 2, deserves special mention.

3. WORLD-ERAS—(P. 24)

The system of Africanus (see above, note 1) which established 5500 years ween the creation of the world and the incarnation (σαρκωσις: not the nativity, θρωπησις) of Christ was adopted by many subsequent chroniclers: *e.g.* by polytus, by Sulpicius Severus, by Eutychius. It was also accepted by Euse-s, but in his chronicle (see above, n. 1) he reckoned events from Abraham, 7 A.D. On this system A.M. 5500 was concurrent with our 2 B.C.

The other most important eras were:—

(1) The "Byzantine" or "Roman" era (adopted in the Chronicon Paschale)= . 5507 (incarnation, 21st March). As this year was identified with 1 B.C. we st, in order to reduce a date A.M. to a date A.D., subtract 5508. Thus A.M. 8 (−5508)=A.D. 450.

(2) The "Antiochene" era (used by John Malalas)=A.M. 5967; but concurrent h 3-2 B.C. The rule for reducing to a date A.D. is: subtract 5970. Thus A.M. 0 (−5970)=A.D. 400-1. Cp. Gelzer, Sex. Julius Africanus, ii. 132.

(3) The "Ecclesiastical" era of Annianus (adopted by George Syncellus and eophanes) was A.M. 5501. (The year 5500 ended on 24th March, 5501 began h March, day of the immaculate conception. The same day of the month (1st san) was the day of the Creation and the Crucifixion.) This year was con-rrent with 9 A.D. Therefore to reduce A.M. in Theophanes to A.D. we must btract (5501−9=) 5492. Thus A.M. 6000 (−5492)=A.D. 508.

Annianus (finished his work 412) owed much to his elder contemporary nodorus (c. 395-408)—as has been shown by Unger, cp. Gelzer. *op. cit.* ii. 191—d both were the main foundations of the chronicle of Syncellus. Panodorus vented a different era which found little favour. He placed Christ's birth in M. 5493. Unger has shown that he miscalculated the length of the Ptolemaic nasty by a year; his era should be 5494. The eras of Annianus and Panodorus e sometimes known as the Alexandrine.

4. EARLY CHURCH INSTITUTIONS—(P. 41)

There is a considerable German literature on early Christian insti-tions, from Baur's Der Ursprung des Episkopats, 1838, to the present day (of cent works, E. Löning's Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums, 1889, serves special mention). Important contributions have been made to the bject in England by Bishop Lightfoot and by Dr. Hatch; the latter in ie Organization of the Early Christian Churches (translated into German and lited by Harnack), 1880, doing good service by pointing out resemblances with e organization of religious communities in the contemporary pagan world. he large literature relating to the Ignatian Letters is also directly concerned ith the origin of episcopacy. The subject has been treated from a wider point view by M. Réville in his Les origines de l'épiscopat, vol. i., 1894, a work hich throws light on many points. A very brief summary of his results (though ey are by no means incontestable) in regard to the episcopate will be appropriate.

He throws aside the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of many of his predecessors, "le funeste réjugé de l'unité du christianisme primitif," the idea that in the early church e institutions found in one community existed in all the others. Thus for aul's time the evidence of the Pauline epistles proves that there were episcopi Philippi, but does not give the slightest reason to assume such in Galatia. The iscopal functions were originally administrative and financial [and liturgical]; nd were distinct from the presbyteral functions, though often exercised by resbyters; the deacons were assistants of the episcopi. Thus the current view hat bishop and presbyter were originally synonymous terms is, according to éville, erroneous; it is only true in so far as the duties of instruction came to evolve on the bishops as well as the presbyters. (1) In the earliest documents

we find a plurality of bishops (and this is still the case at Corinth, when t
Epistle of Clement was written); (2) in the last years of the first century a sing
bishop is becoming the rule in the churches of Asia Minor (cp. Pastoral Epistles
(3) the third stage is the monarchical bishop, the ideal which Ignatius extolled
his Letters (which are certainly genuine) as the true remedy for the disorde
and divisions of the Eastern Churches, but which (the monarchical, as distinguish
from the "uninominal") was not yet (in the second decade of the second century
as his letters prove, a reality. For the organization of the Christian communi
in Palestine, consult the articles of Hilgenfeld in his Zeitschrift, vol. 33, 189
p. 98 *sqq.*, and 223 *sqq.*

It may still be maintained that neither M. Réville nor any one else h
satisfactorily explained how *bishop* and *presbyter* came to be used interchangeab
at any time, as in Acts xx. 28, and the 1st chap. of Titus.

5. NUMBER OF CHRISTIANS IN THE EMPIRE UNDER DIOCLETIA AND CONSTANTINE—(P. 61, 65)

Gibbon considers the number of Christians at Rome to have been not mo
than one-twentieth of the population about the middle of the third century, an
he adopts the same proportion for the whole Empire. (This conclusion agrees wit
that of Friedländer, Sittengeschichte, iii. 531.) On the other hand, much highe
proportions have been computed by more recent writers; Stäudlin, one-half
Matter, one-fifth; La Bastie, one-twelfth; while Chastel gives one-fifteent
for the West, and one-tenth for the East. See Burckhardt, Die Zeit Constantin
des Grossen, edition 2, p. 137. H. Richter (whose judgment in such a matte
deserves particular consideration) reckons the Christians at one-ninth of th
total population (Weströmisches Reich, 85, 86). But we have not sufficient dat
to fix such accurate ratios; we may say that from Decius to Constantine th
proportion probably varied from about one-twentieth to one-ninth. Burckhardt
putting aside the question of numbers, finds the main strength of the Christian
in their belief in immortality (p. 140).

6. THE RESCRIPT OF ANTONINUS CONCERNING THE CHRISTIANS —(P. 94)

The authenticity of this edict has not yet been finally determined. It ha
come down to us in three forms: (1) in Eusebius, H. E. iv. 13, (2) in Rufinus
H. E. iv. 13, which is merely a free rendering of the Greek text in Eusebius, an
does not rest on a Latin original, (3) in a fourteenth century Ms. of Justin
Harnack, who has thoroughly discussed the whole question (in his Texte u
Untersuch. xiii. 4), has shown satisfactorily that the version in Justin is not in
dependent, but is taken from Eusebius with certain "tendenziös" changes. Th
most striking difference between the Justin version and the Eusebian (Rufinus
is in the title; in the former the edict is attributed to Titus, in the latter t
Marcus. But the context in Eusebius shows that he regarded the edict a
issuing from Titus; and so it would seem, as Harnack suggests, that he found
the incorrect title in his source and did not venture to omit or alter it, while
he assumed it to be wrong. But in any case, the title is a clumsy forgery, for
Marcus is described as Ἀρμένιος (he did not possess the true title Ἀρμενιακός s
early as 161), and the name of Lucius Verus his colleague does not appear.
In regard to the authenticity of the rescript as Eusebius gives it, Harnack point
out that he had a Greek, not a Latin (as in other cases, iv. 9; vii. 13; viii. 17)
copy before him, and that this cannot have been the original. The com
parison between the behaviour of Christians and pagans to the advantage of th
former is clearly a Christian interpolation. Harnack attempts to restore th
original Greek form of the rescript, in whose authenticity he believes (though h
owns that certainty cannot be attained). The rescript was an answer to
petition of the κοινόν of Asia, and Harnack thinks that the copy used by Eusebiu
was preserved (and interpolated) in Christian circles.

The difference between the rescripts of Hadrian and Antoninus was that the ner protected the Christians against calumnious accusation ; the latter against accusation of atheism in general.

EXILE OF MARCELLUS AND EUSEBIUS, BISHOPS OF ROME—(P. 131)

Most interesting traces of the early Bishops of Rome have been found in the acombs. We owe them to the activity of Bishop Damasus in subterranean ne. The subject can be studied in English, in the "Roma Sotteranea" Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow (2 vols.), an excellent compilation from the earches of the Cavaliere di Rossi, the greatest authority of this century Christian Rome.

Marcellus and Marcellinus *were* "different persons". Marcellinus is men- ned in the inscription of the Deacon Severus found in the Catacomb of St. lixtus (*op. cit.* i. 350). Both Marcellus and Marcellinus were buried not in s cemetery but in that of St. Priscilla (*ib.* 304).

Eusebius, the successor of Marcellus, was like him severe to the "Lapsed," l like him banished. This is shown by the following inscription, found in the acomb of St. Callixtus,—the fellow of that relating to Marcellus quoted in bon's note (p. 131).

> Heraclius vetuit lapsos peccata dolere ;
> Eusebius miseros docuit sua crimina flere.
> scinditur in partes populus gliscente furore ;
> seditio caedes bellum discordia lites ;
> extemplo pariter pulsi feritate tyranni,
> integra cum rector servaret foedera pacis,
> pertulit exilium domino sub iudice laetus,
> litore Trinacrio mundum vitamque reliquit.

e author of these epitaphs had a limited vocabulary. But they throw light the divisions in the Roman Church at the time, and on the interference of xentius, in the interests of order,—which won for him in later times the name a persecutor.

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS IN THE FIRST AND SECOND CENTURIES, A.D.—(C. XVI.)

A considerable literature has sprung up in recent years regarding attitude of the Roman government to Christianity from Nero to Marcus relius (Th. Keim, Rom und das Christenthum, ed. Ziegler, 1881; K. J. umann, der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche, vol. i. 1890; Th. mmsen, der Religionsfrevel nach römischem Recht, in Sybel's Hist. Zeit- rift, 1890; Professor Ramsay's The Church in the Roman Empire, 1893; may mentioned). A thorough and instructive discussion of the whole question will found in Mr. E. G. Hardy's Christianity and the Roman Government, 1894. summary of some of his results will illustrate the sixteenth chapter of Gibbon. From a review of the practical policy of the Roman state towards foreign cults . Hardy concludes that they were tolerated in so far as they did not (1) ure the national religion, (2) encourage gross immoralties, (3) seem likely to d to political disaffection (p. 35-6). Various considerations led to the eration of Judaism, and Mr. Hardy points out that its toleration would by means logically lead to that of Christianity, a religion "claiming to over- p all limits of nationality" (p. 37). The contact between the state and the ristians at Rome in 64 A.D., on the occasion of the conflagration, was cidental. The charge of incendiarism broke down at the trials, but it was nverted into a charge of *odium generis humani* (a brief summary of the anti- cialism and other characteristics of Christianity). It was for this that they

were punished; and Suetonius does not bring their punishment into connexio with the fire, which was the occasion, not the ground, of their condemnatio (Ner. 16: adflicti suppliciis Christiani genus hominum superstitionis nouæ maleficæ). Mr. Hardy seems to have quite made out his point that in th Neronian persecution the Christians were condemned as Christians, not on an special charge.

This charge *odium generis humani*, for the use of which the Neronian episod set a precedent, did not come under *maiestas* or the formula of any regul *quæstio*. According to Mommsen, whose view in this respect Mr. Hardy accept it was a matter for police regulation, to be dealt with by virtue of the *coercit* vested in magistrates. In Rome, such cases would come under the jurisdictio of the prefect of the city (Tac. Ann. vi. 11); and the provincial governor wa empowered to deal with them by his instructions to maintain the peace an tranquillity of his province, "which he will find no difficulty in effecting, if he b careful *ut malis hominibus provincia careat eosque conquirat*" (*e.g.*, *sacrileg latrones*, &c.). Mr. Ramsay holds that a new principle was introduced into th State policy towards Christians between 65 and 95 A.D., namely that whereas under Nero they were attacked by charges of special and definite crime (incendiarism), under the Flavians Christianity itself became a punishabl offence. But if Mr. Hardy is right as to the Neronian persecution, this chang in attitude would disappear. "As soon as the Christians were once con victed of an *odium generis humani*, they were potentially outlaws and brigand and could be treated by the police administration as such, whether in Rom or the provinces" (p. 82). That the distinction between Judaism an Christianity had been clearly recognized in the East as early as 70 A.D., is prove by the speech of Titus in Sulpicius Severus, ii. 30 (taken from a lost book o Tacitus, as we may with some confidence assume); one of the advantages of th destruction of Jerusalem will be, that prince is reported to say, the extirpation of the Jewish and the Christian religion. We need not infer, as Mr. Hardy points out, that Titus had special designs against the Christians: "the perse cution of the Christians was a standing one like that of brigands" (Mommsen).

"With Roman citizens," however, "of standing and importance a more defin ite charge was necessary, and this we find from Dio Cassius was primarily ἀθεοτης *i.e.*, not so much *sacrilegium* as a refusal to worship the national gods of the state" (p. 88). This was applied in the case of Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian, who was executed, and his wife Domitilla, who was banished, 95 A.D. The reign of Domitian introduced no new principle, but a very convenient test— *e.g.*, the observance of the imperial cult—for discovering whether a person suspected of the crime of Christianity (a crime, that is, in the eyes of the police administration, not of the law) was justly suspected.

Nor does the Bithynian persecution introduce (according to Mr. Hardy) any new principle. The letter of Trajan to Pliny is described (p. 117) as "the decision of a practical statesman who declined on the one hand to be led into severe repressive measures against a body which was only remotely and theoretically dangerous to the state, while he, on the other, refused to give up on humanitarian grounds the claim of the state to absolute obedience on the part of all its subjects". It is in no sense an edict of proscription or of toleration, but it is "an index of the imperial policy" (p. 122).[1] As to Hadrian's rescript to Minucius Fundanus (whose genuineness is by no means above suspicion), Mr. Hardy considers (143) that it "was intended, as indeed it naturally would be, for the special circumstances of Asia: it does not in any way, as I interpret it, rescind the decision of Trajan that the *nomen* was a crime, but to avoid any miscarriage of justice . . . it lays down more stringent conditions for the proof of punishable crime". Under M. Antoninus and his successor things remained theoretically the same. In the reign of the former there were some persecutions, —Ptolemæus and Lucius were executed at Rome (Justin Apol. ii. 2) and (ac-

[1] It is to be observed that the condemnation of Christians in Bithynia had nothing to do with the general laws or special regulations against collegia.

ling to M. Waddington's date) Polycarp at Smyrna. The remarkable point he persecutions of Aurelius is that they take place in the western as well as eastern provinces, and not so much their extent or the number of victims (p.). In general tenor these conclusions agree with the view of Mommsen and nsay that there were no *laws* against the Christians. I cannot see that has been made out, for the second century at least, though it may be true he Flavian period. It does not appear that the explicit statement of Sulpicius erus in ii. 29, *post etiam datis legibus religio vetabatur* (referring to the whole iod after Nero) is definitely disproved. Some of Mr. W. T. Arnold's criticisms g. Hist. Review, 1895, p. 546 *sqq.*) are very much to the point.

Gibbon's general view of the slight extent of the early persecutions, resting as oes on the strong testimony of Origen (c. Cels. 3, 8), is commonly admitted. mpare Hardy, p. 131: "There seems good reason to suppose that this state of ngs—a general indulgence and toleration on the part of the emperors, occasion- y interrupted by violent manifestations of popular feeling, which provincial ernors had either not the will or not the strength to resist—continued through- the second century: that the Christians were still punished for the name, but t the initiative in the way of searching them out was not taken by the rnors, while accusers had to come forward in their own name; and finally, t the number of victims was on the whole a comparatively small one". It st at the same time be remembered that it was the policy of the Apologists whose evidence our knowledge is largely based) "to accentuate and in a asure to exaggerate the indulgent attitude of the government, especially in the iod preceding their own, or at any rate to omit anything unfavourable to their n cause" (p. 132).

Two important documents give a notion of the proceedings adopted in the als of Christians in the second century: (1) the Acts of Martyrs of Scili in midia, in 181 A.D. (ed. Usener, 1881, and Robinson in Texts and Studies, vol. and (2) the Acts of Apollonius, tried at Rome in the first years of Commodus rmenian version of a lost Greek original, discovered by Mr. Conybeare, who s given a translation in his Acts and Monuments of Early Christianity). The dit of these documents as trustworthy rests chiefly on the circumstance that racles are conspicuously absent. Mr. Hardy gives an account of them in an pendix. Cp. Mommsen, Der Process des Christen Apollonios, in the Sit- ngsberichte of the Berlin Academy, xxvii. 1894.

B. Aubé has written several books dealing with the subject of the persecutions the Christians: Les persecutions de l'église jusqu' á la fin des Antonins; Les rétiens dans l'empire romain; L'église et l'état dans le 2me moitié du 3me cle.

On Nero's persecution also see C. F. Arnold, Die neronische Christenverfolg- g, and an article by Hilgenfeld in his Zeitschrift, vol. xxxiii. p. 216 *sqq.*

On church and state from Decius to Diocletian: Görres, Jahrb. für protest. heologie, xvi. 1890, p. 454 *sqq.*

On Diocletian's persecution: Mason's The Persecution of D., 1876; Hunziker, ir Reg. u. Christenverfolgung des K. Diokletian und s. Nachfolger, in Büd- ger's Untersuch. zur römischen Kaisergeschichte; papers of F. Görres in ilgenfeld's Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theol., xxxiii. p. 314 *sqq.* (cp. 469 *sqq.*). I. Belser, ir Diokl. Christenverfolgung, 1891. Cp. also Schwarze, Unters. über die äussere twicklung der afrik. Kirche, 1892.

On church and state in fourth century: A. de Broglie, L'église et l'empire romain quatrième siècle. Some other works have been mentioned in the footnotes.

An important memoir has been published as a supplement to the Acta Sincera Ruinart by E. Le Blant: Les actes des martyrs, in Mém. of the National stitute of France (Acad. d. Belles lettres, t. xxx., 1883, p. 57-347). Le Blant is o anxious to rescue apocryphal lives, and overdoes his criticism of technical rms of Roman procedure. But he has done good work here (as well as in his say, Sur les bases juridiques des poursuites dirigées contre les martyrs, in omptes rendus of Académie des Inscriptions, N.S., ii. 1866), and any one studying artyrological Acta will do ill to neglect this memoir.

9. AUGUSTEUM AND FORUM OF CONSTANTINE—(P. 152, 153)[1]

The chief thoroughfare in the new city of Constantine led from the Gold Gate (in the wall of Constantine, not to be confused with the later Golden G in the wall of Theodosius II.) eastward (passing through the Forum Bovis, t Forum Amastrianorum, and the Forum Tauri) to the Golden Milestone in t Augusteum. Before it reached the Augusteum it passed through the Forum Constantine in which stood the Pillar of Constantine (and the Churches of Constantine and S. Mary of the Forum). In the Augusteum (which we mig translate Place Impériale) it came to an end, in front of the Senate hou (Σενάτον) and west wall of the Palace. The Augusteum was bounded on t north by St. Sophia; on the east, by Senate house and palace buildings; on t south, by the Palace (the great entrance gate, known as the Chalkê, was he and the north side of the Hippodrome, beside which were the Baths Zeuxippus. There was no public way between the east side of the Hippodrom and the Palace. According to Labarte, the Augusteum was enclosed by a wa with gates, on the west side, running from south-west of St. Sophia to the po between Palace and Hippodrome; so that the entrance to the Hippodrome a the Zeuxippus would have been outside the Augusteum. The street connecti the Augusteum with the Forum of Constantine was called Middle St.,—Mé The Chalkoprateia, and the Church of the Theotokos (Mother of God) Chalkoprateia, were not in the Augusteum where Labarte places them, b west of St. Sophia, to the right of the Mese (as Mordtmann has shown, Esquis Top. § 6, p. 4, and also Bieliaiev, cp. Byz. Zeitsch. ii. p. 138; but probably clo to the Mese, cp. Krasnoseljcev, in the Annual Hist.-Phil. Publication of t Odessa University, iv. (Byz. section, 2) p. 309 *sqq.*). A plan of the Augusteu and adjoining buildings will appear in vol. 4, to illustrate the Nika riots und Justinian.

The chief guides to the topography of Constantinople used by Gibbon we Ducange's folio, Constantinopolis Christiana, and the little 32mo of Petrus Gylliu de Constantinopoleos topographia, libri iv., 1632; both still of great value. T prolix work in 2 vols. of Skarlatos D. Byzantios (ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις, Athen 1851) is unscientific and must be used with great caution. The reconstruction the Imperial Palace, involving a theory of the topography of the Augusteu and adjacent buildings, was undertaken by Jules Labarte (Le Palais impérial Constantinople et ses abords, 1861), whose scholarly book marked a new d parture and is of permanent value. The diligent Greek antiquarian A. Paspatês succeeded in establishing several valuable identifications in h Βυζαντιναὶ Μελέται (Constantinople, 1877), but his τὰ Βυζαντινὰ ἀνάκτορα (1885; English: The Great Palace of Constantinople, translated by Mr. Metcalfe, 189 is a retrogression compared with Labarte (see above, vol. i. Introd, p. lxii. The problems of the Palace have been critically and thoroughly dealt with H D. Th. Bieliaiev in his Obzor glavnych chastei bolshago dvortsa Vizantiiskic tsarei (Part 1 of Byzantina), 1891, where it is shown that we must retain th main line of Labarte's reconstruction, but that in most of the details we mu be content for the present to confess our ignorance.

In 1892 Dr. Mordtmann's Esquisse topographique de Constantinople appeare It is not well arranged, but it is an important contribution to the subject; and h map has been an indispensable guide in the preparation of the plan in thi volume. He clearly recognizes the true position of the Hebdomon on th Propontis; and I may observe that I had already pointed out (in 1889) that th received view which placed it near Blachernae must be wrong (Later Roma Empire, vol. ii. p. 556). The most recent work on Constantinople is: Co stantinople, 2 vols., by E. A. Grosvenor, Professor of History at Robert Colleg Constantinople.

It is impossible to notice all the smaller contributions to the subject, but must specially refer to some valuable articles of the late G. S. Destunis in th Zhurnal Min. Narodnago Prosvieschenija in 1882 1883.

[1] A new work on the topography of Constantinople, by A. van Millingen (Byzantin Constantinople, the walls of the city and adjoining historical sites, 1899) has reached me i time to be mentioned here. It supersedes all previous works on the walls and gates.

10. THE NEW MONARCHY—(C. XVII.)

All the main points in the new absolute monarchy, founded by Diocletian d organized by Constantine, have been brought out in the brilliant description Gibbon (ch. xvii.): the new organization of the provinces; the hierarchical iministration; the separation of civil from military functions; the abolition of e distinction between Italy and the Provinces; the loss of her unique position Rome, which is closely connected with the clearly pronounced tendency of e Empire to part into an eastern and a western half. Anticipations of some of ese results we have seen in the history of the third century. The formal igarchy of Emperor and Senate, in which the Senate had been gradually be-ming more and more a silent partner, formally ceases; the distinction between natorial and imperial provinces vanishes, there are no senatorial provinces; nd the *aerarium*, which had many years before lost its importance, is no nger a state treasury but merely a municipal chest. Externally the change om the Principate to undisguised monarchy is indicated by the assumption of iental state by the emperor (here Aurelian had pointed the way). The orough-going reformation of the military system, which was not fully under-ood till Mommsen's recent investigation, demands a note to itself; and the w division of provinces another. To distinguish between the work of ioclétian and that of Constantine is in many cases impossible, and Gibbon did ot attempt it; it will be seen however in the two following appendices that me distinctions can be established. To Diocletian was due the separation f the civil and military authority (Lactant., de Mort. P., 7; Euseb., de Mart. al., 13). The dioceses and prefectures are an instructive, and I think we may ay, typical instance of the relation between the work of the two great emperors. Ve know beyond question that the dioceses were instituted by Diocletian (Lact.,).), but it has been disputed whether the prefectures were due to him or (so Zosi-us) to Constantine. The latter view seems the more probable; but the quadruple ivision of the Empire between Diocletian, Maximian and the two Cæsars mplying four prefects; there is distinct evidence that the Cæsar Constantius ad a prefect) was the suggestion and anticipation of the three (some-imes four; after 395 A.D. four) prefectures. Constantine abandoned the rtificial, adoptive system of Diocletian for a dynastic principle, but he etained the geographical side of that system and stereotyped it in the refectures.

A few words may be said here on (*a*) the new ceremonial, (*b*) the imperial itles, and (*c*) the consistorium.

(*a*) For the adoration see Godefroy on Cod. Theod., vol. ii. p. 83. Those who pproached the Emperor bent the knee, and drew the edge of his purple robe to heir lips. The Emperor wore a robe of silk, embroidered with gold, and adorned vith gems (introduced by Aurelian); or the purple cloak of the military com-nander (first worn in *Rome* by Septimius Severus, and since then an imperial *nsigne*). He also wore the diadem (perhaps first worn by Aurelian, see Victor, Epit. 35, 5; but the novelty is also ascribed to Diocletian, and to Constantine). Constantine introduced the gold band round the head, which vas called *nimbus* (cp. Eckhel, Doct. Num., 8, 79). The emperor is officially alled *deus*, and the cult of the imperial majesty, which at an early time had nade its way in the camp, is further developed; and, when a new Emperor is proclaimed, his bust crowned with laurel is carried round in procession in the provinces. See Schiller, ii. p. 33, 34.

(*b*) The style of imperial titles which was usual in the latter part of the Principate was maintained until the time of Gratian. It was Imperator Cæsar pius (felix or) invictus Augustus pontifex Maximus—icus [Sarmaticus, &c.] maximus trib. pot. [ii. &c.] consul [ii. &c.] imperator [ii. &c.] pater patriae proconsul. [The order of imperator and consul is variable. The only change made was the substitution of maximus victor ac triumphator for invictus. Gratian dropped the title pontifex maximus, and the other titles were at the same time abandoned in favour of a shorter formula,

Dominus noster { pius felix semper Augustus / invictissimus princeps, &c.

The chief reminiscence of the republican constitution of the principate, carefully contrived by Augustus, was the practice of numbering the years of reign by the formula *trib. pot.*, which appears as late as Theodosius ii. (on coin Eckhel, 8, 182). Dominus, which (like deus) Aurelian had only used in the dati case, is from Constantine forward the ordinary official title of the Emper (equivalent of "His Majesty"). Schiller, ii. 31-33.

(*c*) The consilium, which had been organized by Hadrian, is superseded in t new monarchy by a council called *consistorium* (the name first occurs in inscription of 353 A.D., C. I. L. 6, 1739), which assembled at fixed times in t Emperor's presence. The chief of the Hadrianic consilium was the prætori prefect; but, as that officer has been diverted to new administrative functio and as the provincial administration and palace offices are kept carefully apar his position in the council is inherited by the quæstor sacri pal. who presides ov the consistorium. It is however unlikely that the quæstor had this position first under Diocletian and Constantine; for he does not belong to the class illustres till after Valentinian I. It has been conjectured (by Mommsen) th the president of the council was at first entitled *præpositus* and afterwards d veloped into the quæstor, and that he had a deputy, the *vicarius a sacris consili* who developed into the *magister officiorum* (Schiller, ii. 66). The members of t council (entitled at first *a consiliis sacris*, afterwards *comites consistoriani*) we divided into two classes with a difference of stipend: *ducenarii* (200,000 sesterce *sexagenarii* (60,000 sesterces), and mainly consisted of jurists. The functions the council were properly confined to judicature, but they also assisted t Emperor in legislation. The two finance ministers belonged to the council, an in later times prætorian prefects and masters of soldiers were sometimes invite by the Emperor, but did not belong to the consistory ex officio. See on th subject E. Cuq, Le conseil des empereurs d'Auguste à Dioclétian.

11. DIOCESES AND PROVINCES—(P. 169 *sqq.*)

Diocletian made considerable modifications in the provincial divisions of th Empire, and distributed all the provinces under twelve large Dioceses. Thre changes in his diocesan arrangement were made in the course of the fourt century, and by 400 A.D. we find thirteen Dioceses. (*a*) Egypt, which was a first part of the Diocese of the East, was promoted to be a separate Diocese towards the end of the fourth century. (*b*) Diœcesis Moesiarum was broken u into Diœcesis Daciae and Diœcesis Macedoniae. (*c*) On the other hand, Diœcesi Galliarum and Diœcesis Viennensis were combined to form a single Diocese o Gaul. In the case of this change we find an interesting example of the survival of nomenclatures which had ceased to be appropriate. The south of Gaul wa at first divided into five provinces (Novempopuli, Aquitanica, Narbonensis Viennensis, Alpes Maritimiae). But when these became seven by the sub division of Aquitanica and Narbonensis the Diocese (Viennensis) still continue to be known as Quinque Provinciae as well as by the amended title Septem Pro vinciae. But this was not all. When Northern Gaul, the original Diœcesi Galliarum, was added to the sphere of the governor of the Diœcesis Viennensis the whole united Diocese was known not only as the Diocese of the Gauls but a the Septem Provinciae; while the old name Quinque Provinciae was appropriate to the seven southern provinces, which, though they were no longer a separat Diocese, preserved a fragment of their former integrity by having financia officers (*rationales*) to themselves.

(1) A record of the new organization as it existed in 297 A.D. has been preserve in the List of Verona (Laterculus Veronensis), published with a valuable com mentary by Mommsen in the Abhandl. of the Berlin Acad., 1862, p. 489 *sqq.*, an reprinted by Seeck in his edition of the Notitia Dignitatum.[1] (2) Our next list i

[1] First published by S. Maffei in 1742.

complete) in the Breviarium of Festus (above, vol. i. App. 1), dating from 369 ɔ. just before the foundation of the new Britannic province Valentia. (3) This fective list is supplemented by another, dating from much the same time, of e *eastern* provinces of the Empire (dioceses of Illyricum, Thrace, Pontus, Asia, st, Egypt), which is preserved in the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius, drawn up 449 A.D. The list of Polemius with a complete critical apparatus is edited by ɔmmsen in Chron. Minora, i. p. 511-551 (also printed in Seeck's Notit. Dign.). ɔmmsen has shown that Polemius is up to date in regard to the western ɔvinces, but that for the eastern he practically reproduces a list dating ɔm about the middle of the fourth century, with one or two blunders, and ly adding the new provinces of Arcadia and Honorias, which bearing e names of the sons of Theodosius were more likely than other new pro- ıces to be known of in the west. (4) A list of the Gallic provinces in nmianus (writing between 383 and 390 A.D.), xv. 11, 7 *sqq.*, who clearly ed an official *laterculus*. Mommsen, Chron. Min. i. p. 552 *sqq.* Ammianus o enumerates the provinces of Egypt, xxii. 16, 1. (5) Notitia Galliarum, tween 390 and 413 A.D., edited by Mommsen, *ib.*, 552-612; printed in Seeck, *cit.*; the provinces are the same as in the Not. Dign. (6) Notitia Dignitatum: st years of the fifth century. Panciroli's commentary, used by Gibbon, has en completely superseded by that of Böcking (2 vols., 1839-53), which is abso- ely indispensable to the student; but Böcking's text has been superseded by at of O. Seeck, 1876. For a good account of work and history of the Codex, th its curious pictures, see Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, i. 594 *sqq.* For te cp. above, p. 158, n. 73. From the fact that the twentieth legion does not pear in the Not., it has been argued that the date is A.D. 402—at the moment ıen this legion was recalled from Britain and had not yet been enrolled among e Italian forces (Hodgkin, *ib.* p. 717). (7) The Laterculus of Polemius Silvius; the *western* provinces, A.D. 449, see above. I have arranged the data of ese successive documents in parallel columns.

(Literature: L. Czwalina, Ueber das Verzeichniss der röm. Prov. v. Jahr. 297, 81; L. Jullian, De la réforme provinciale attribuée à Diocl., Revue Hist., 19, 1 *sqq.*; Schiller, Röm. Gesch. ii. 45-50; W. Ohnesorge, Die römische Pro- ızliste von 297, Teil. i., 1889. Cp. also Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, vol. i.)

	List of Verona.	*List in "Polemius".*	*Ammianus.*	*Notitia Dignitatum.*
Diocese of the East (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Egypt (L. Polem., Notit.).	Libya superior	Libya Pentapolis	Pentapolis	Libya superior
	Libya inferior	Libya Sicca	Libya	Libya inferior
	Thebais	Thebais	Thebais	Thebais
	Ægyptus Jovia [1]	Ægyptus	Ægyptus	Ægyptus
	Ægyptus Herculea [1]	Augustamnis [2]	Augustamnica	Augustamnica
	——	——[3]	——	Arcadia [4]

	List of Verona.	*List in "Polemius".*	*Notitia Dignitatum.*
Diocese of the East continued (L. Ver.) = Diocese of the East (L. Pol., Not.).	Arabia	——	Palæstina Salutaris [6]
	Arabia Augusta Libanensis	——	Arabia
	Palæstina	Syria Palæstina	Palæstina
	Phœnice	Syria Phœnice	Phœnice
	Syria Cœle	Syria Cœle	Syria
	Augusta Euphratensis	Euphratesia	Euphratensis
	Cilicia	Cilicia	Cilicia
	Isauria	Isauria	Isauria
	Cyprus	Cyprus	Cyprus
	Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia
	Osroena	Osroene	Osroena
	——	Sophanene [5]	——
	——	——	Palæstina secunda
	——	——	Phœnice Libani
	——	——	Syria Salutaris
	——	——	Cilicia secunda

[1] These names were clearly given in honour of Diocletian and Maximian.
[2] This name first occurs in an edict of 342 A.D. C. Theod. xii. 1, 34.
[3] Arcadia is added by Polemius; it cannot have stood in the old laterculus which he used, which was prior to 384 A.D.
[4] Arcadia (and Honorias) formed after 384; Mommsen thinks perhaps as late as 393, when Arcadius became Augustus.
[5] Not a regular province; governed by a satrap.
[6] See Nöldeke, Hermes, x. 163 *sqq.* Ohnesorge (Die röm. Provinzliste, v. 297, p. 33 *sqq.*) has shown that the northern province (chief city, Bostra) was Arabia (the addition "Ang. Jth." was dropped early in the fourth century) and the southern (Di[illegible]

	List of Verona.	*List in "Polemius".*	*Notitia.*
Diocese of Pontus.	Bithynia Cappadocia Galatia Paphlagonia [7] Diospontus Pontus Polemiacus Armenia Minor [8] — — — — —	Bithynia Cappadocia Galatia [9] Paphlagonia Pontus Amasia Pontus Polemiacus Armenia Minor Armenia Maior. Honorias — — —	Bithynia Cappadocia prima Galatia Paphlagonia Helenopontus Pontus Polemoniacus Armenia prima — Honorias Cappadocia secunda [10] Galatia Salutaris [10] Armenia secunda [10]
Diocese of Asia	Pamphylia [11] Phrygia prima Phrygia secunda Asia Lydia Caria Insulae Pisidia Hellespontus — —	Pamphylia Phrygia prima Phrygia Salutaris Asia Lydia Caria Cyclades Pisidia Hellespontus Lycia Lycaonia [12]	Pamphylia Phrygia Pacatiana Phrygia Salutaris Asia Lydia Caria Insulae Pisidia Hellespontus Lycia Lycaonia

7 There is a later false adscript *nunc in duas divisa.*

8 Another note (from the hand of the same interpolator) *et nunc maior addita* recordsthe conquest of Diocletian.

9 Polemius places it in the Diocese of Asia, probably by an oversight.

10 Cappadocia II. is mentioned in an edict of 386, Cod. Theod. xiii. 11, 2 (wrong reference in Mommsen, Chron. Min. i. p. 533). Armenia I. was the northern, Armenia II. the southern, half of Little Armenia. Galatia Salutaris also existed already in 386, Cod. Theod., *ib.*

11 *I.e.*, Lycia et Pamphylia. We find Lycia and Pamphylia as one province in 313 A.D., C. Th. xiii. 10, 2, but separate in the subscriptions (not always reliable) in the Acts of the Council of Nice, 325 A.D.

12 Lycaonia became a separate province in 373. See Tillemont, v. 99.

	List of Verona.	*Festus.*	*List in "Polemius".*	*Notitia.*
Diocese of Thrace.	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemus mons Scythia Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemimontus Scythia Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia [prima] Haemimontus [13] Scythia [13] Moesia inferior	Europa Rhodope Thracia Haemimontus Scythia Moesia secunda
Diocese of the Moesias (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Dacia (Not.).	Dacia Moesia superior Margensis Dardania Praevalitana	Dacia Moesia Dacia [14] Praevalis	Dacia Moesia superior Dardania Praevalis	Dacia ripensis Moesia prima Dardania Praevalitana Dacia mediterranea [14]
Diocese of the Moesias continued (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Macedonia (Not.).	Macedonia Thessalia [Achaia] [15] Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus Epirus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta	Macedonia Thessalia Achaia Epirus nova Epirus vetus Creta Macedonia Salutaris
Diocese of the Pannonias (L. Ver.) = Diocese of Illyricum (Not.).	Pannonia inferior Savensis Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia superior Noricus ripariensis Noricus mediterranea	Pannonia Savia Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia Noricum Noricum	Pannonia secunda Savia Dalmatia Valeria Pannonia prima Noricus ripensis Noricus mediterranea	Pannonia secunda Savia Dalmatia Pannonia prima Noricum ripense Noricum mediterraneum

[13] Polemius has put the right names Haemimontus and Scythia under the wrong diocese, Illyricum; in this place he substitutes Thracia Secunda and Scythia inferior. The list used by Polemius seems to have included the dioceses of Dacia, Macedonia and Illyricum under the head Illyricum.

[14] Dacia medit. and Dardania were at this time names of the same province. Between the composition of the List of Polemius and 386 A.D. (see C. Theod. i. 29. 5) the provinces were divided [illegible] the composition of the

	List of Verona.	*Festus.*	*Ammianus.*	*Notitia.*	*Polemius Silvius.*
Diocese of the Britains	Prima Secunda Maxima Cæsariensis [16] Flavia Cæsariensis [16] —	Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Cæsariensis Flavia —		Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Cæsariensis Flavia Cæsariensis Valentia [17]	Britannia prima Britannia secunda Maxima Flavia Valentiniana
Diocese of the Gauls (L. Ver.) = Diocese of the Gauls (Not., Pol.).	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Sequania Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Graiæ et Pœninæ — —	Belgica Belgica Germania Germania Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis Lugdunensis Alpes Graiæ — —	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Sequani Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Graiæ et Pœninæ — —	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Pœninæ et Graiæ Lugdunensis tertia [18] Lugdunensis Senonia [18]	Belgica prima Belgica secunda Germania prima Germania secunda Maxima Sequanorum Lugdunensis prima Lugdunensis secunda Alpes Graiæ Lugdunensis tertia Senonia
Diocese of Vienna (L. Ver.) = Aquitania (Fest., Amm.) = Provinciæ septem (Notit. Gall.) = Diocese of the Gauls (Not., Pol.).	Viennensis Narbonensis prima Narbonensis secunda Novem populi Aquitanica prima Aquitanica secunda Alpes maritimæ	Provincia Viennensis Narbonensis — [19] Novempopulana Aquitania Aquitania Alpes maritimæ	Viennensis Narbonensis — [19] Novem populi Aquitanica [19] — —	Viennensis Narbonensis prima Narbonensis secunda Novem populi Aquitania prima Aquitania secunda Alpes maritimæ	Viennensis Narbonensis prima Narbonensis secunda Novempopulana Aquitania prima Aquitania secunda Alpes maritimæ

[16] These names seem to be connected with the Cæsar Flavius Constantius (Chlorus) who won back Britain in 296 A.D.
[17] Formed 369 A.D. In Polemius Silvius an interpolator added Orcades, suggested, as Mommsen observes, by Eutropius, 7, 13.
[18] Appear in the notit. Galliarum.
[19] The mention of a single Narbonensis by both Festus and Ammianus, and of a single Aquitanica by Ammianus, must be regarded as merely errors.

	List of Verona.	*Notitia Dignitatum.*	*Polemius Silvius.*
Diocese of Italy.	Venetia Histria	Venetia	Venetia cum Histria
	Flaminia	Flaminia et Picenum annonarium	Flaminia
	Picenum	Picenum suburbicarium	Picenum
	Tuscia Umbria	Tuscia Umbria	Tuscia Umbria
	Apulia Calabria	Apulia Calabria	Apulia Calabria
	Lucania	Lucania Brittii	Brittia Lucania
	Corsica	Corsica	Corsica
	Alpes Cottiæ	Alpes Cottiæ	Alpes Cottiæ [22]
	Rætia	Rætia prima	Rætia prima
	—— [20]	Rætia secunda	Rætia secunda
	——	Campania	Campania
	——	Aemilia	Aemilia [23]
	——	Liguria	Liguria
	——	Samnium	Samnium
	——	Sicilia	Sicilia
	——	Sardinia	Sardinia
	——	Valeria [21]	——

[20] There is an accidental omission in the Ms., for the Italian provinces are introduced by the words *Diocensis Italiciana habet provincias numero xvi.*; but we cannot tell how many provinces are omitted. For in the case of the other dioceses the copyist has sometimes counted rightly, sometimes wrongly. If his enumeration is correct here, seven provinces are lost; if he has counted each name as a province, only three. Probably his reckoning was based partly on the right, and partly on the wrong principle. As Valeria must have been formed by Diocletian, we can supply with certainty: Campania, Samnium (or Campania et Samnium), Sicilia, Sardinia, Valeria, and Aemilia et Liguria (which formed a single province in 385 A.D., C Th. ii. 4, 4). If we could assume that Rætia was already subdivided, the number xvi. would be correct.

[21] The Italian Valeria had a habit of vanishing and reappearing, being sometimes separate from, sometimes united with, Picenum. Thus: (1) instituted by Diocletian; (2) it disappears in 364 A.D., C. Theod. ix. 30, 1; (3) reappears in 399, C. Th. ix. 30, 5; (4) disappears in 400 C. I. L., 6, 1706; (5) reappears in the Notitia; (6) disappears in 413, C. Theod. xi. 28, 7, and is not mentioned in Polemius (interpolated in some Mss.), see Mommsen, Chron. Min i. p. 532. Ohnesorge, holding that Flaminia and Picenum formed one province in 297 and were not divided till 364, places the separation of Valeria from Picenum suburb. after that date, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and 10

[22] An interpolator of sixth or seventh century added Alpes Appenninæ. I wonder at the appearance of this province in Sieglin's atlas, in the map of the Empire under Diocletian. Liguria came down to the sea coast.

[23] The same interpolator added Nursia and Valeria.

	List of Verona.	*Festus.*	*Notitia Dignitatum.*	*Polemius Silvius.*
Diocese of the Spains.	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarraconensis Mauritania Tingitana	Bætica Lusitania Karthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarraconensis Mauritania Tingitana	Bætica Lusitania Carthaginiensis Gallæcia Tarraconensis Tingitania Baleares	Bætica Lusitania Carthaginensis Gallæcia Tarraconensis Tingitana insulæ Baleares
Diocese of Africa.	proconsularis Zeugitana Byzacena Numidia Cirtensis Numidia miliciana [24] Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania [Sitifensis] [25]	proconsularis Byzacium Numidia Tripolis Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis	Africa Byzacium Numidia Tripolitana Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis	proconsularis Byzacium Numidia Tripolis Mauritania Cæsariensis Mauritania Sitifensis

[24] It is a question whether Numidia Miliciana is a name, or corruption, for Tripolitana, or is a distinct province which afterwards became obsolete (Tripolitana being accidentally omitted). The latter view is adopted in Sieglin's new Historical Atlas, and in the map of the Empire in this volume.

[25] In Ms.: Mauritania Tabia insidiana.

12. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE ARMY UNDER THE NEW SYSTEM—(P. 176 *sqq.*)

Mommsen has brought light and order into the subject of the new military organization which was introduced in the epoch of Diocletian and Constantine by his article entitled Das römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian, which appeared in Hermes in 1889 (vol. xxiv. p. 195 *sqq.*). The following brief account is based on this important study.

Under Diocletian the regular army seems to have fallen into two main divisions: the troops who followed the emperor as he moved throughout his dominion, and the troops stationed on the frontier. The latter were called *limitanei*, the former were possibly distinguished as *in sacro comitatu* (cp. C. I. L. 3, 6194). But early in Constantine's reign the troops *in sacro comitatu* were broken up into two classes, the *comitatenses* and the *Palatini* (before 310, for the *comitatenses* existed then, cp. C. I. L. 5565; *palatini* occurs first in a law of 365 A.D., Cod. Theod. vii. 4, 22). Thus there were three great divisions of the army: 1, (*a*) palatini, (*b*) comitatenses, and 2, limitanei. Thus Gibbon's use of *palatines* to include the *comitatenses* is erroneous.

The other most important changes introduced by Constantine were: the increase of the comitatenses (who were under the command of the magister militum) at the expense of the limitanei, who had been increased by Diocletian; and the separation of the cavalry from the infantry.

1. *Limitanei* (commanded by *duces*). The statement that Diocletian strengthened the frontier troops (Zos. ii. 34) is borne out by the fact that if we compare the list of the legions in the time of Marcus (C. I. L. 6, 3492) with the Notitia Dignitatum, we find in the former twenty-three legions, in the latter the same twenty-three and seventeen new legions (leaving out of account Britain, Germany, Africa, for which we have not materials for comparison). And if we remember that Constantine drafted away regiments (the pseudo-comitatenses) to increase his comitatenses, we may conclude that Diocletian doubled the numbers of the frontier armies.

The limitanei consisted of both infantry and cavalry. (1) The infantry consisted of *legiones*, *auxilia* and *cohortes*. (*a*) The legions are of two kinds. The old legions of the Principate retain their old strength of 6000 men; while the new legions correspond to the old legionary detachments, and are probably 1000 strong. But the larger legions are usually broken into detachments which are distributed in different places, and the præfectus legionis consequently disappears. (*b*) The *auxilia* are of barbarian formation, and as such are thought more highly of than the rest of the frontier infantry; they are found only in the Illyric provinces. The size of the *auxilium* is probably 500. (*c*) The *cohortes*, 500 strong as under the Principate, are found everywhere except in the duchies on the Lower Danube. (2) The (*a*) *cunei equitum* probably differ from (*b*) *equites*, by being of barbarian formation and of higher rank. The (*c*) *ala* is generally 600 (not as before 500) strong.

Constantine's new organization reduced the limitanei to second class troops, as compared with the Imperial troops of both kinds.

2. Imperial Troops. (*a*) Comitatenses (under Masters of Soldiers) consist of infantry and cavalry: (*α*) The legion is of the smaller size, about 1000 strong; (*β*) the *vexillatio* of horse is about 500 strong. Connected with the comitatenses but of lower rank are the *pseudo-comitatenses*, drawn from the frontiers (eighteen legions in the west, twenty in the east). (*b*) Palatini (under Masters of Soldiers *in præsenti*) consist of infantry and cavalry: (*α*) the legion of 1000; (*β*) the *vexillatio* of 500.

In connexion with the Palatini, the *auxilia palatina* demand notice. These are troops of light infantry, higher in rank than the legion of the *comitatenses*, lower than the *palatine* legion. They chiefly consist of Gauls and include Germans from beyond the Rhine (but virtually no orientals). Mommsen makes it probable that their formation was mainly the work of Maximian (p. 233). They were perhaps the most important troops in the army.

The *scholae*, which seem to have been instituted by Constantine, must also be mentioned here (cp. Cod. Theod. 14, 17, 9). They were probably so called from having a hall in the palace to await orders. At first they were composed of Germans (but in fifth century under Leo I., of Armenians; under Zeno, of Isaurians; afterwards of the best men who could be got, Procop., Hist. Arc. c. 24). There were at first five divisions of 500 men; then seven; finally under Justinian eleven. The division was commanded by a tribune, who was a person of much importance (*e.g.*, Valentinian I.). They ultimately lost their military character, and the excubitores (first introduced by Leo I.) took their place.

Gibbon considers the question of the size of the army under the New Monarchy. On one side, we have the fact that under Severus at the beginning of the third century there were thirty-three legions, which, reckoned, along with their adjuncts, at the usual strength, give as the total strength of the army about 300,000. On the other side we have the statement of Agathias quoted by Gibbon, which puts the nominal strength of the army in the middle of the 6th century at 645,000. Taking into account the great increase of the troops under Diocletian, the record that the army was further strengthened by Valentinian (cp. Amm. Marc., 30, 7, 6, Zos. 4, 12), and a statement of Themistius (Or. 18, p. 270) as to the strength of the frontier forces under Theodosius the Great, we might guess that at the beginning of the fifth century, when the Notitia was drawn up, the army numbered five, if not six, hundred thousand. These *a priori* considerations correspond satisfactorily with the rough calculation which Mommsen has ventured to make from the data of the Notitia. His figures deserve to be noted, though he cautions us that we must not build on them.

Limitanei .	. Foot, 249,500; Horse, 110,500 . .	Total 360,000
Comitatenses Palatini (with aux.)	Foot, 148,000; Horse, 46,500 . .	Total 194,500
		Total 554,500

A word must be said about the *gentes*, who, outside the Roman provinces and formally independent, but within the Roman sphere of influence and virtually dependent on the Empire, helped to protect the frontiers and sometimes supplied auxiliary troops to the Roman army. (Thus in Amm. xxiii. 2, 1 we read of *legationes gentium plurimarum auxilia pollicentium;* Julian refuses such *adventicia adiumenta.*) The most important of these *gentes* are the Saracens on the borders of Syria, and the Goths on the right bank of the Danube. They are *fœderati;* and their relation to the Empire depends on a *fœdus* which determines the services they are bound to perform. Under the Principate the theory was that such *fœderati* were tributaries, but in return for their military services the tribute was either remitted or diminished. But under the new system, they are considered rather in the light of a frontier force and, like the regular riparienses, are paid for their work. Consequently the amount of the *annonæ fœderaticæ* is the chief question to be arranged in a *fœdus*. The Lazi of Colchis were an exception to this rule; though federates they received no annonæ (Procop., B. P. 2, 15). The inclusion of the federates in the Empire is illustrated by the treaty with Persia in 532 A.D., in which the Saracens are included as a matter of course, without special mention (Procop., B. P. 1, 17; 2, 1). See Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 215 *sqq.*

13. PROTECTORES AND DOMESTICI—(P. 187)

The origin and organization of the imperial guards, named Protectores and Domestici, who so often meet us is our historical authorities from the time of Constantine forward, have been elucidated, so far as the scanty material allows, by Mommsen in a paper entitled Protectores Augusti, in the Ephemeris Epigraphica, v. p. 121 *sqq.*

In the second half of the third century there existed protectores of two kinds: protectores Augusti, and protectores of the prætorian prefect. The

latter (whose existence is proved by epigraphic evidence, cp. C. I. L. vi. 3238) naturally ceased when, under Constantine's new *régime*, the prætorian prefect ceased to have military functions.

The earliest instance of a protector Augusti whose date we can control is that of Taurus, who was consul in 261 A.D., and held the office of prætorian prefect. An inscription (whose date must fall between 261 and 267 A.D.) Orelli, 3100) mentions that he had been a protector Augusti. Mommsen calculates that he must have held that post before 253 A.D., and infers that protectors were instituted about the middle of the century, by Decius or possibly Philip. The full title of the protector was *protector divini lateris Augusti nostri* preserved in one inscription found at Ocriculæ (Orelli, 1869); for this form cp. Cod. Theod. vi. 24, 9. The abbreviation *protector Augusti* is the regular formula up to Diocletian; after Diocletian it is simply *protector*.

The protectors were soldiers who had shown special competence in their service, and were rewarded by a post in which they received higher pay (they were called *ducenarii* from the amount of their salary) and had the expectation of being advanced to higher military commands. Gallienus hindered Senators from serving as officers in the army, and from that time the service of the protectors became a sort of military training school (Mommsen, l. c. p. 137) to supply commanders (*ad regendos milites*, Ammianus). From Aurelian's time (*ib.* 131) the protectors seem to have been organized as a bodyguard of the Emperor, with a captain of their own. (The earliest mention of the service in legislation is in a law of 325 A.D., Cod. Th. vii. 20, 4.)

Constantine completely abolished the prætorian and the military functions of the praef. præt. With this change we must connect his reorganization of the protectores (*ib.* 135). The nature of this reorganization was determined by his abrogation of the measure of Gallienus which excluded senators from military command. A body of guards was instituted, called Domestici or Houseguards, which was designed to admit nobles and sons of senators to a career in the army. Thus there were now two corps of palace guards, that of the Protectors who were enrolled for distinguished service, and were consequently veterans, and that of the Domestics who were admitted *nobilitate et gratia*, through birth and interest. But the two were closely connected and jointly commanded by captains called Counts of the Domestics; and the two names came to be interchangeable and used indifferently of one or the other.

It cannot indeed be strictly demonstrated that Constantine organized the Domestics, who are first mentioned in a law of 346 A.D. (Cod. Th. xii. 1, 38); but this hypothesis is far more likely than any other. At the same time the pay of the guards was probably increased—a necessary result of the new monetary system of Constantine.[1] The epithet ducenarii was given up, and became attached to the schola of *agentes in rebus*. The rank of a guardsman was *perfectissimus*, but the first ten in standing (decem primi) were *clarissimi*.

By a law of Valentinian (Cod. Th. vi. 24, 2) veterans were enrolled in the guards gratis, while all others had to pay. The ultimate result was that veterans ceased to be enrolled altogether, and the post of domesticus or protector was regularly purchased. The traffic in these offices in Justinian's time is noticed by Procopius, Hist. Arc. c. 24.

14. THE TRAGEDY OF FAUSTA AND CRISPUS—(P. 208 *sqq.*)

The attempt of Gibbon to show that Fausta was not put to death by Constantine was unsuccessful; for the text on which he chiefly relied has nothing to do with Constantine the Great, but refers to an Emperor of the fifteenth century (see above, App. 1, p. 534); and from the subsidiary passage in Julian (p. 211, n. 25) no inference can be drawn. On the other hand, as Seeck has pointed out, the sign

[1] We may guess that under Diocletian they were still ducenarii, and so profited by his raising the weight of the aureus from 1-70th to 1-60th. Constantine would not have reduced their pay; so that they would no longer be ducenarii.

of the Constantinople mint appears on coins of Constantine I. and II., Constantius, Constans, Helena, Theodore, Delmatius and Hannibalianus, in short all the members of the Imperial family who survived the foundation of the Capital (11th May, 330); but in the Fausta series as in the Crispus series the sign never appears, and in the Trier mint the latest coins of both belong to the same emission. Eusebius, the writer of the Anonymous Valesian fragment, and Aurelius Victor are silent as to the death of Fausta; but this proves nothing, on the principle, as Seeck observes, "im Hause des Gehenkten redet man nicht vom Stricke".

The evidence as to the circumstances of the tragedy is investigated in a suggestive manner by Seeck, "Die Verwandtenmorde Constantins des Grossen," in Ztsch. f. wiss. Theol. 33, 1890, p. 63 *sqq*. He distinguishes four independent testimonies. (1) Eutropius (on whom Jerome and Orosius depend) states simply that Constantine put to death his son and wife. (2) Sidonius Apollinaris mentions (Ep. v. 8) that Crispus was poisoned, Fausta suffocated by a hot bath. These kinds of death were suitable to avoid the appearance of violence. (3) Philostorgius (ii. 4) assigns causes. He says that Crispus, calumniated by Fausta, was put to death, and that she was afterwards found guilty of adultery with a cursor and killed in a hot bath. (4) A common source, on which the Epitome of Victor, the account of Zosimus, and that of John the Monk in the Vita S. Artemii (Acta Sanct. 8th October) depend, stated that Fausta charged Crispus with having offered her violence; Crispus was therefore executed; then Helena persuaded Constantine that Fausta was the guilty one, and induced him to kill her by an overheated bath. Then Constantine repents; the heathen priests declared that his deeds could not be expiated; Christianity offered forgiveness and he became a Christian. Seeck points out that this unknown source agrees with Philostorgius in three points: the manner of Fausta's death; her guilt in causing the death of Crispus; her connexion with a story of adultery. In the details (which Gibbon, p. 210-11, combines) they differ.

Seeck argues for the view that the drama of Fausta and Crispus was a renewal of that of Phædra and Hippolytus. It is certainly by no means impossible that this is the solution; the evidence for it is not absolutely convincing (especially as the Vita Artemii is of extremely doubtful value; cp. Görres, Z. f. wiss. Theol., 30, 1887, 243 *sqq*.). Seeck conjectures that Constantine's law of 22nd April (C. Th. ix. 7, 2) which confines the liberty to bring accusations of adultery to the husband's and the wife's nearest relatives, and in their case converts the liberty into a duty, &c., was partly occasioned by the Emperor's own experience.

But I cannot regard as successful Seeck's attempt to show that the younger Licinius (1) was not the son of Constantia, but the bastard of a slave-woman whom Constantia was compelled to adopt, and (2) was not killed in 326, but was alive in 336; by means of the rescripts Cod. Theod. iv. 6, 2 and 3. Cp. the criticisms of Görres in the same vol. of Z. f. wiss. Theol. p. 324-7.

15. DIVISIONS OF THE EMPIRE, A.D. 293 to 378—(P. 214, 224)

The chief interest of the divisions of the Empire in A.D. 335 and 337-8 lies in their connexion with the general subject of the lines of geographical division drawn by Imperial partitions in the century between Diocletian and Arcadius. The divisions in the first half of this period (A.D. 285-338) present various difficulties, from the circumstance that the statements of our best authorities are not sufficiently precise, and those of secondary authorities are often divergent. Here I would lay stress upon a principle which has not been sufficiently considered. Later writers were accustomed to certain stereotyped lines of division which had been fixed by the partitions of A.D. (364 and) 395; and they were determined by these in interpreting the geographical phrases of earlier writers. It is therefore especially important in this case to consider the testimonies of the earlier writers apart from later exegesis. It is also clear that names like Illyricum (which came to be distinguished into the diocese [Western] and the prefecture [Eastern]), Thrace (which might mean either the diocese or the province, or might bear, as in Anon. Val., its old sense, covering the four provinces south of Mount Haemus),

Gaul (which might include Spain and Britain), were very likely to mislead into false and various explanations.

I. Division of A.D. 293. (1) *a*, Maximian: Italy, Africa, Spain; *b*, Constantius: Gaul and Britain. (2) *c*, Diocletian: Dioceses of Pontus and the East, including Egypt; *d*, Galerius: Dioceses of Pannonia, Dacia, Macedonia, Thrace and Asia.

As to (1), a passage in the De Mort., our earliest authority, is quite decisive in c. 8, Africa vel (=et) Hispania, are assigned to Maximian. Against this, we cannot entertain Julian's ascription of Spain to Constantius (Or. ii. p. 65); an error which would easily arise from the inclusion (under Constantine) of Spain in the Prefecture of Gaul. Under Diocletian the division of the west is drawn across the map, by Alps and Pyrenees, not downward. (Victor, Cæs., 39, 30, does not mention Spain; his Galliae might = Gaul + Britain, or = Gaul + Britain + Spain. Praxagoras mentions neither Africa nor Spain.) As to (2), our authorities are Praxagoras and Victor, and the truth has been obscured by following the statements of later writers. Praxagoras assigns to Galerius τῆς τε Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῆς κάτω Ἀσίας καὶ Θρᾴκης; to Diocletian τῆς τε Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Now in this enumeration a rough principle may be observed. *He enumerates countries which mark the lines of division.* Less well informed as to the west, he does not commit himself about Spain. Beginning at the north, he gives Britain to Constantius (Κ. Βρετανίας ἐβασίλ.), and Italy to Maximian; implying that Maximian's realm began, where Constantius's ended. Thus Gaul is implicitly assigned to Constantius; Africa to Maximian. From the extreme south, Diocletian's part reaches to Bithynia, which implies the Dioceses of Pontus and the East; while Thrace and Asia (ἡ κάτω Ἀσία, to designate the diocese, not the province) mark the line of partition on the side of Galerius, whose realm in the other direction stretches, it is implied, to Italy. (Hellas is mentioned, doubtless, because the writer was an Athenian.) There is no good reason for rejecting this evidence; the same assignment of Asia is repeated (on the same authority) at the later division of 315. It is at least not contradicted by the not precise statement of Aur. Victor (*ib.*): Illyrica ora adusque Ponti fretum Galerio; cetera Valerius retentavit. Later writers, accustomed to the later division of the Prefectures of Illyricum and the East, could hardly realize this cross division; the utmost their imaginations could compass would be to connect Thrace with Illyricum instead of Asia Minor. That the statesmen of Diocletian's age did not regard the Propontis as a necessary geographical boundary, and that a part of Asia could be as easily attached to Europe as a part of Europe could be attached to Asia, is proved by the next division on incontestably good evidence.

II. A.D. 305. (1) *a*, Severus: Maximian's portion with Diocese of Pannonia; *b*, Constantius: as before, with Spain (?). (2) *c*, Maximin: Egypt, the East; Pontus (?) except Bithynia; *d*, Galerius: as before, with Bithynia, but without Pannonia.

Anon. Val. iii. 5. Maximino datum est orientis imperium: Galerius sibi Illyricum Thracias et Bithyniam tenuit. (*Thraciæ:* the point of the plural is probably to include Moesia ii. and Scythia; as, in 18, the singular excludes them. See below.) Victor, with his usual vagueness (40, 1), gives Italy to Severus; quæ Iouius obtinuerat to Maximin. Anon. Val. 4, 9. Severo Pannoniæ et Italiæ urbes et Africæ contigerunt.

III. A.D. 306 (on death of Constantius). (1) *a*, Constantine: Britain and Gaul; *b*, Severus (Maxentius): as before, with Spain. (2) *c*, *d*, As before.

It is clear that, since (according to Anon. Val.) the Cæsar Severus had Diocese of Pannonia, he could not have also had Spain; for his realm would have been quite out of proportion to that of the Augustus Constantius. We may therefore assume that on Maximian's resignation Constantius took over Spain, but that after his death it was claimed by Severus, as Augustus, and actually held for a time by Maxentius.

IV. A.D. 314. Constantine now has all the dominions that from 293 to 305 were held by Constantius, Maximian and Galerius, with the exception of Thrace. Licinius has Diocletian's part, along with Thrace. The important point in this

rangement is the beginning of an administrative connexion between Thrace and e East; they would now be governed by the same Prætorian Prefect.

Praxagoras (F. H. G. iv. p. 3): Ἑλλάδος τε καὶ Μακεδονιάς καὶ τῆς κατω (*ita leg.* ο κατά) Ἀσίας were acquired by Constantine. Anon. Val. 18; Licinius: orientem, siam, Thraciam, Moesiam, minorem Scythiam.

V. A.D. 335. [The arrangement of this year was not a division of the Empire, t partly a confirmation of the assignment of administrative spheres, already ade to his sons, and partly a new assignment of administrations to his phews. Constantine did not directly sacrifice the unity of the Empire, which as still realized in his own sovereignty, though he adopted a policy which might any moment endanger it. "Von einer Erbtheilung ist dabei nicht die Rede, ndern nur von einem Antheil an der Verwaltung" (Ranke, Weltgeschichte, 2, 270).]

(1) Constantine had Gaul, Britain and Spain (= the later "Prefecture of aul"); (2) Constantius, Asia and Egypt; (3) Constans, Italy, Africa, and yricum (including Thrace). For Delmatius the *ripa Gothica* was cut off from e portion of Constans; Hannibalian had (at the expense of Constantius) a kingdom" composed of principalities in the regions of Pontus and Armenia.

The question is, what were the limits of the province of Delmatius? Is ripa othica [I have not seen noticed a parallel expression in De Mortibus, 17, where alerius reaches Nicomedia, *per circuitum ripæ strigæ*, where the emendation *trigæ* is doubtless right] to be interpreted as Eastern Illyricum (=dioceses of acia, Macedonia, and Thrace)? So Schiller (ii. 235), Ranke, Burckhardt and hers. But the Epitome of Victor (41, 20) includes in the share of Constans Dalmatia, Thrace, Macedonia and Achaia". Ranke supposes that *Dalmatiam* re is a scribe's mistake for *Dalmatius*, and that we should interpret the *ripa othica* of the Anonymous by the words thus amended. If we adopted this view, would be better to read: Dalmaci<us Daci>am Thraciam Macedoniam haiamque.

But a view that necessitates tampering with a text which in itself gives perfect nse cannot be accepted as satisfactory. There is a further objection here. The xt of the Epitome agrees remarkably with the statement of Zonaras, xiii. 5, hich assigns to Constans Italy, Africa, Sicily and the islands, Illyricum, Mace- onia, "Achaia, with the Peloponnesus". The Epitome was not a direct source Zonaras; but the agreement is explained by the fact they both (the author of e Epitome directly, Zonaras indirectly) drew from a common source (probably mmianus: cp. L. Jeep, Quellenunt. zu den gr. Kirchenhistorikern, p. 67). Thus e assumption of a textual error in the Epitome means the assumption of an error the text of an earlier authority; and therefore becomes decidedly hazardous d unconvincing. Add to this that the interpretation of *ripa Gothica* to include to imply Macedonia and Greece is extremely forced. The natural meaning of e expression is: the provinces of Dacia, Moesia I. and II. and Scythia,[1] and erhaps Pannonia and Noricum. The actual testimonies of the two best authori- es, that are explicit, concur in showing that the main division of A.D 335 was ipartite—between the Emperor's three sons—and that only subsidiary (though ghly responsible) posts in frontier regions were given to the two nephews. This ew is also more in accordance with Zosimus, ii. 39, who distinctly marks a triple vision.[2] Nor is it contradicted by Eusebius, Panegyr. ch. iii., which only proves at Delmatius (unlike Hannibalian) was a Cæsar, and thus co-ordinate in gnity with his cousins.

VI. A.D. 337-8. (1) Constantius: as before, along with the kingdom of Hanni- alian, and the four provinces of D. Thrace, south of Haemus;[3] (2) Constans: as

[1] Chron. Pasch., p. 532, ed. B. gives Mesopotamia to Delmatius (Godefroy accepted the atement). I conjecture that Μεσοποταμιαν may have arisen from Μυσιαν παραποταμιαν Moesiam ripensem.

[2] He pretends to mark it as it existed at the death of Constantine (before the destruction Delmatius); though he seems really to give the subsequent division.

[3] The dates in the early edicts of the C. Th. are not certain enough to permit us to draw an ference from xi. 1, 4 (professedly issued by Constantius at Thessalonica in November 337).

before, along with *ripa Gothica*, including Moesia II. and Scythia; and without (?) Raetia or part of Africa; (3) Constantine: as before, along with some part of Africa or of the Diocese of Italy (?).

We have not data for determining the details of this partition. The problem was to divide the provinces held by the two nephews into three parts. To secure geographical continuity Constans would naturally take the *ripa Gothica*, and hand over some part of his western dominions to Constantine; he likewise resigned Thrace south of Haemus (not Moesia and Scythia, I infer from Zos. ii. 39, who gives to Constans and Constantine τὰ περὶ τον Εὔξεινον ποντον) to Constantius. The war which broke out between Constans and Constantine was probably connected with the question of the territorial compensation to be received by the latter; seeing that Zos. ii. 41, ascribes it to a dispute about Africa and Italy.

Gibbon (with Tillemont) has accepted from the Chron. Alex. of Eutychius curious notice (under Ol. 279) that Constantine the younger reigned for a year at Constantinople. The only possible support I can see for this statement must be derived from the passage of Zosimus. He groups together the lands of Constantine and Constans, as if they ruled jointly over an undivided realm, in which he includes "the regions of the Euxine". A defender of Eutychius might urge that for some months at least Constans did not assert his independence, that his elder brother may have governed for him, and that the transference of Thrace to Constantius may have been subsequent. But without further evidence it is better to leave the Eutychian notice aside; and I may call attention to Ranke's remark that there is a *tendency* in the account of Zosimus, who desires to justify Magnentius is hostile to Constans and anxious to throw on him the blame for the war with Constantine.

The division of 338 A.D. is given as follows in the Life of St. Artemius (Acta Sanct., Oct. 20)—a document which merits more criticism than it has received:—

(1) Constantine: αἱ ἄνω Γαλλίαι καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἄλπεων (an expression often used to include Spain), αἵ τε Βρεττανικαὶ νῆσοι (Britain and the Orcades, etc.? cp Eutropius 7, 13, and the interpolation in the Laterculus of Polemius Silvius, see above, App. 11), καὶ ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου ὠκεανοῦ. (2) Constans: αἱ κάτω Γαλλίαι ἤγουν αἱ Ἰταλίαι (Italy with its adjuncts, Sicily, Africa, etc.), καὶ αὐτη ἡ Ῥώμη. (3) Constantius: τὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς μέρος, Βυζάντιον, τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ (implying that Illyricum went to Constans) μέχρι τῆς Προποντιδος ὁπόσα ὑπήκοα τοις Ῥωμαίοις τήν τε Συρίαν καὶ Παλαιστίνην καὶ Μεσοποταμίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ τας νήσους ἁπάσας.

The Vita Artemii (the Greek text was first published by A. Mai in Spicilegium Romanum, vol. iv.) was composed by "John the Monk," and professes to be compiled from the Ecclesiastical History of Philostorgius and some other writers. Eusebius, Socrates and Theodoret are also referred to. There is evidence that Philostorgius was largely used, and consequently the Life of Artemius becomes an important mine of material for the restoration of the history of that Arian writer. The story of Gallus is, I presume, derived from him, and I conjecture that the statement of the partition of the Empire among the sons of Constantine comes from the same source. If so, both passages ultimately depend on Eunapius, who was doubtless the source of Philostorgius.

From the same source is certainly derived the statement of the partition in Constantine Porphyrogennetos, de Them., ii. 9 (ed. Bonn, p. 57). The portion of Constantine is described in exactly the same words as in the Vita Artemii (τὰς ἄνω Γαλλίας καὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Ἄλπεων ἕως τοῦ ἑσπερίου Ὠκεανοῦ,, except that instead of "the British Isles" the imperial geographer says "as far as the city of Canterbury itself" (Κάνταβριν). The expression αἱ κατω Γαλλίαι is also used, but, in expanding the concise expressions of his source, Constantine falls into error and assigns Illyricum and Greece to Constantius.

VII. A.D. 364. (1) Valentinian i.: Prefectures of Gaul, and of Italy and Illyricum; (2) Valens: Prefecture of the East, including D. of Thrace.

VIII. A.D. 378. (1) Gratian and Valentinian ii.: Prefectures of Gaul and of Italy, including Western Illyricum: (2) Theodosius: Prefecture of the East, along with Dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia (Soz. vii. 4).

This partition, which drew a new line of division between East and West,

robably established definitely the system of four prefectures which Zosimus ttributed to the express enactment of Constantine. Up to this time three pr. refects seem to have been the rule, four an exception. But now, instead of dding Eastern Illyricum to the large Prefecture of the East, Theodosius instituted new Prefecture.

16. THE SARMATIANS—(P. 216)

It is often asserted that "Sarmatian" was a generic name for Slavonic peoples. t is certain that a great many Slavonic tribes must have been often described nder the name, but it is extremely doubtful whether any of the chief Sarmatian eoples—the Basternae, the Roxolani (? Rox-alani) or Jazyges—were Slavonic. believe that Šafarik, in taking up a negative position on this question, was ight (Slawische Alterthümer, ed. Wuttke, i. 333 *sqq.*). But I cannot think that e has quite made out the Slavonic race of the Carpi (*ib.* 213-4), though this is ccepted by Jireček (Gesch. der Bulgaren, p. 77); he has a more plausible case, erhaps, for the Kostoboks. On the other hand it is extremely likely, though t cannot be absolutely proved, that in the great settlements of non-German eoples, made in the third and fourth centuries in the Illyrian peninsula by the Roman Emperors, some Slavonic tribes were included. This is an idea which was developed by Drinov in his rare book on the Slavic colonization of the Balkan ands, and has been accepted by Jireček. There is much probability in the view hat Slavonic settlers were among the 300,000 Sarmatae, to whom Constantine ssigned abodes in 334 A.D. It is an hypothesis such as, in some form, is needed to account for the appearance of Slavonic names before the beginning of the sixth entury in the Illyrian provinces.

Safarik tried to show that the Alani, Roxolani, Bastarnae, Jazyges, &c., were of Iranian race, allied to the Persians and Medes,—like the Scythians of Herodotus.

17. BATTLE OF SINGARA—(P. 227)

I have shown in the Byzantinische Zeitschrift (vol. 5) that we should accept Julian's notice as to the date of this battle (and place it in A.D. 344), instead of following Jerome's date (adopted by Idatius), A.D. 348. One might be tempted to guess that there were two battles at Singara, and that the *nocturna pugna* was placed in the wrong year by an inadvertence of Jerome; this might be considered in connexion with Forster's reconstruction of the corrupt passage of Festus, Brev. ch. 27: Verum pugnis Sisaruena, Singarena, et iterum Singarena praesente Constantio ac Sicgarena, &c. The *νυκτομαχία* is described below as: nocturna Elliensi prope Singaram pugna. *Elliensi* is mysterious.

The events of the Persian wars of Constantius and Julian are briefly narrated by General F. R. Chesney in his Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris, vol. 2, p. 430 *sqq.* (quarto ed.).

18. SOURCES AND CHRONOLOGY OF ARMENIAN HISTORY UNDER TRDAT AND HIS SUCCESSORS—(C. XIX.)

Some works bearing on Armenia have been mentioned in connexion with general oriental history in vol. i. Appendix 13. In addition to these must now be mentioned (besides St. Martin's Mémoires sur l'Arménie and the notes to his edition of Lebeau's Bas-Empire): Ter Mikelian, Die armenische Kirche in ihren Beziehungen zur byzantinischen (saec. 4-13), 1892; Chalatianz, Zenob of Glak (in modern Armenian; known to me through Stackelberg's summary in Byz. Zeitschrift, 4, 368-70), 1893; and above all Gelzer's highly important essay, Die Anfange der armenischen Kirche (in the Ber. der kön. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss.), 1895.

1. Sources. (*a*) Faustus. For Armenian history in the fourth century after death of Trdat (Tiridates), A.D. 317, our only trustworthy source is Faustus, who

wrote his History of Armenia in Greek (before the Armenian alphabet was intr
duced; the Greek original is quoted by Procopius, Pers. i. 5), probably in fir
years of King Vram Šapuh, who reigned from 395 to 416 (Gelzer, p. 116). Th
work is marked by enthusiasm for the clergy, and a certain prejudice against th
policy of those who were loyal to the kings, also by chronological error
"Faustus is completely a national Armenian; therein lies his strength and h
weakness" (*ib.* 117). He consulted official documents in the royal archives (*ib.*
and made use of old songs. It is announced that H. Gelzer and L. Babajan wi
issue a translation of Faustus, and Gelzer's name is a guarantee that it will b
trustworthy. (*b*) Agathangelos, who lived about half a century later, contains
work which is our only good source for the reign of Trdat. His work (preserve
both in Armenian and in a Greek translation, which mutually check each othe
has been dissected by A. von Gutschmid (Kleine Schriften, 3, 395, *sqq.*). It
contains an earlier Life of St. Gregory (perhaps originally composed in Syriac
Gelzer, p. 114) and an Apocalypse of Gregory written between 452 and 456 by
priest of Valaršapat. The latter is valuable as throwing indirect light on th
church history of the fifth century, but worthless for the history of Trdat. (*c*
The conclusion of Carrière (mentioned in vol. i. App. 13) that the date of Mose
of Chorene is very late (beginning of eighth century) is accepted by Chalatian
and Gelzer, and seems to be established. (*d*) The worthlessness of the History
of Taron by Zenob of Glak has been shown by the investigation of Chalatians
(*op. cit.*). Hitherto supposed to have been written in Syriac in the fourth century
and translated into Armenian in the seventh, it is now shown to be an apocrypha
work of an impostor of the eighth or ninth century. There is a French translation
by Langlois, F. H. G. vol. v.

2. Chronology. The student who consults the translation of Langlois (Agathangelos and Faustus; *op. cit.*) must be warned that the chronological indications in the notes are set down at random and contradict one another. And, if he has read the note in Smith's edition of the Decline and Fall, vol. ii. p. 369, which is taken from St. Martin's edition of Lebeau, and compares it with the chronological list of kings in the same scholar's Mémoires, he will find that the two accounts diverge. (In the Mémoires, p. 412-3, the dates are: death of Trdat, 314; interregnum; accession of Chosroes II., 316; Tiran II., 325; Arsaces, 341; Pap, 370. According to the old view, which appears, though not consistently, in Langlois' collection, and seems to be assumed in Ter Mikelian's *op. cit.*, Trdat reigned from 286 to 342.) The following reconstruction seems most probable:—

Death of Chosrov I., accession of Trdat,		261 A.D.
Accession of Chosrov II.,		317 "
" Tiran,		326 "
" Aršak,		337 "
" Pap,		367 "
	to	374 "

There are not sufficient data for determining the dates of the Catholici; the statements of Moses will not bear criticism, see Gelzer, p. 121 *sqq.* The only certainties we have are that Aristakēs, son and successor of Gregory, attended the Council of Nicæa, 325; and that Nersēs was poisoned by King Pap before 374.

3. Trdat and Constantine (Gelzer, 165 *sqq.*). Officially the Armenian kings adopted the style "Arsaces" (just as the Severian Emperors adopted Antoninus), and he appears in Cod. Theod. xi. i. 1 (Constantine and Licinius A.D. 315) as *Arsacis regis Armeniæ*. In the previous year, he and Gregory visited Constantine in Illyricum ("the land of the Dalmatians" in the Armenian Agathangelos) in "the royal city of the Romans," probably Serdica. There the alliance mentioned by Faustus (iii. 21; Langlois, p. 232) was concluded, which endured till 363. The authenticity of the account of Agathangelos (doubted by Gutschmid) has been successfully vindicated by Gelzer.

On Trdat's death the Romans intervened to put Chosrov on the throne, and Tiran likewise owed his elevation to Constantine. In 337 he was betrayed to the Persians by his chamberlain, seized by the governor of Atropatene, and blinded. The armed intervention of Constantine and Constantius led to the elevation of

šak, the son of Tiran, who declined to resume the sovereignty. Aršak first rried Olympias, a Greek lady connected with the Constantinian house; and erwards a daughter of the Persian king. His policy was to hold the balance tween Rome and Persia throughout the wars of Constantius and Julian.

4. In Eusebius, H. E. vi. 46, 2, we find this notice: καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν αύτως περὶ μετανοίας ἐπιστέλλει ὧν ἐπεσκόπευε Μερουζάνης. Gelzer (p. 171 *sqq.*) ints out that this bishopric of Meruzanes cannot have been in the Roman pro- nces called Armenia, and therefore was in Great Armenia; and he seeks to ow that it may have been in the south-eastern corner, the district of Vaspura- n. The words in Eusebius are from a letter of Dionysios of Alexandria (248- 5), and the inference seems to be that Christianity was introduced into an out- ng district of Armenia in the fifties of the third century.[1] But the formal nversion of Armenia began about 280 under the auspices of King Trdat, through e labours of Gregory the Illuminator. The destruction of the temples of the ds, in spite of strong opposition from the priests, was one of the first parts of e change, and preceded Gregory's journey to Cæsarea (between 285 and 290 ording to Gelzer) to be consecrated by Leontius. The Armenian Church was pendent on the see of Cæsarea, and under Greek influence for nearly a century. ter the death of the Patriarch Nersēs, it was severed and made autocephalous King Pap (*circa* A.D. 373-4. Cp. Ter Mikelian, p. 31). During the fourth cen- ry the seat of the Catholicus and the spiritual centre of Armenia, was Aštišat in e southern district of Taron, as has been well brought out by Gelzer. It was erwards removed to Valaršapat, when no longer dependent on Cæsarea, and en the priests of Valaršapat invented stories to prove the antiquity of their seat d the original independence of the Armenian Church. In the fourth century, e chief feature of the domestic history of Armenia is the struggle between the narch and the Catholicus, between the spirit of nationality and the subjection to reign influences. It culminated in the reign of Pap, who solved the question poison.

In regard to the conversion of Armenia, its progress was partly determined by e feudal condition of the country (Gelzer, 132). The nobles were easily won er by the personal influence of the king; the priests were naturally the most stinate opponents. The new faith seems to have been slow in taking root ong the people, and it is noteworthy that women, even in high rank, clung naciously to the old religion (like the wife of Chosrov, Faustus, iii. 3, and the ther of Pap, *ib.* 44).

I have read with interest the remarkable study of N. Marr, O nachalnoi istorii rmenii Anonima, in Viz. Vremennik, i. 263 *sqq.* (1894). He discusses the aracter of the brief History of Armenia, which is prefixed to Sebeos' History the Emperor Heraclius (Russ. tr. by Patkanian, 1862); and its relation to oses of Chorene. This document (which appears in the collection of Langlois der the title Pseudo-Agathange) he regards as the earliest extant Armenian story of early Armenia; it was worked up by a later (also anonymous) writer, whose composition a large extract has been preserved in Moses of Chorene, . i. c. 8 (in Langlois, under the title, Mar Apas Catina). Moses also used the iginal work. Marr points out a number of resemblances between Faustus and e first Anonymous, and hazards the conjecture (295 *sqq.*) that this history of rmenia may be part of the first two books of Faustus, whose work, as we have begins with book iii.

19. CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY—(C. XX.)

The attitude of Constantine to the Christian religion has been the theme of any discussions, and historians are still far from having reached a general

[1] My friend Mr. F. C. Conybeare is inclined to believe that Gregory the Illuminator ed an Armenian version of New Testament Scriptures made from a pre-Peshito Syriac xt, long before the time of Mesrop. This version may have been due to the Church in aspurakan. Apparently the non-existence of Mesrop's alphabet did not prevent literary mposition in Armenian.

agreement. Burckhardt, in his attractive monograph, developed the view th Constantine was "ganz wesentlich unreligiös," constitutionally indifferent religion, because he was a "genialer Mensch," dominated by ambition; and th in his later years he exhibited personal inclinations rather towards paganism th towards Christianity. H. Richter has some remarkable pages on Constantin *system of parity* between the two religions; and Brieger, in an excellent arti in his *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch.* (iv., 1881, p. 163 *sqq.*), agrees with Gibbon th Constantine's Christianity was due entirely to political considerations. Many the data admit of different interpretations. Those who ascribe to him a policy parity, or the idea of a state religion which might combine elements common enlightened paganism and Christianity (so Schiller), appeal to the fact that t *sacerdotales* and *flamines* in Africa were granted privileges; but it is replied th they had ceased to carry on the ritual and simply, as a matter of equity, had t old rights secured to them, while they no longer performed the old duties. If t "cult" of Tyche at Constantinople is alleged, it is urged that she had no temp service. The temples of Constantinople are explained away; and the "aedi Flaviae nostrae gentis" of the remarkable inscription of Hispellum (date betwe 326 and 337; Orelli, 5580) is asserted not to have been intended for the worsh of the Emperors, but simply as a fine hall for public spectacles.[1] (See V. Schultz in Brieger's *Zeitschrift*, vii. 352 *sqq.*) The indulgence to paganism was simply tl toleration of a statesman who could not discreetly go too fast in the accomplis ment of such a great reformation. And certainly on the hypothesis that Co stantine had before his eyes, as the thing to be achieved, the ultimate establis ment of Christianity as the exclusive state religion, his attitude to paganism wou be, in general, the attitude we should expect from a really great statesma Ranke's remark hits the point (Weltgesch. iii. 1, 532): "Er konnte unmöglic zugeben dass an die Stelle der Unordnungen der Verfolgung die vielleicht noc grösseren einer gewaltsamen Reaction träten".

It seems to me that Seeck, in holding that Constantine had really broken wit the old religion and was frankly a Christian, is nearer the mark than Gibbon o Schiller. From the evidence which we have, I believe that Constantine adopte the Christian religion and intended that Christianity should be the State religion As to a great many details, there may be uncertainty in regard to the fact themselves or their interpretation, but I would invite attention to the followin general considerations.

(1) The theory that the motives of Constantine's Christian policy were purel political, and that he was religiously indifferent, seems perilously like an anach ronism,—ascribing to him modern ideas. There is no reason to suppose tha he was above the superstitiousness of his age. (2) The theory that he was a Deis that he desired to put Paganism and Christianity on an equality, emphasizin some common features, and that circumstances led him to incline the balanc towards Christianity in his later years, is not the view *naturally* suggested by th (*a*) Christian education he gave his children, and (*b*) the hostility of the paga Emperor Julian to his memory. (3) The fact that he countenanced Paganism an did not completely abolish the customs of the old State religion proves nothing the remark of Ranke quoted above is a sufficient answer. In fact, those wh have dealt with the question have sometimes failed to distinguish between tw different things. It is one thing to say that Constantine's motives for establishin Christianity were purely secular. It is quite another to say that he was guide by secular considerations in the methods which he adopted to establish Christianity The second thesis is true—Constantine would have been a bad statesman if h had not been so guided;—but its truth is quite consistent with the falsity of th first.

Schiller (iii. 301 *sqq.*) has conveniently summarized the chief facts, and hi results may be arranged as follows:—

(1) Coins. In Constantine's western mints coins appeared with *Mars*, wit

[1] Compare the words: ne aedis nostro nomini dedicata cuiusquam contagiosae superst tionis fraudibus polluatur, insisted on by Seeck, Untergang der antiken Welt, p. 439.

nius pop. Rom., and with *Sol*, but certainly not in the two first cases, perhaps t in the last case, after 315 A.D. Further, Constantinian coins with *Juppiter* re not struck in the west, but in the mints of Licinius. Thus we may say that tween 315 and 323 pagan emblems were disappearing from Constantine's coinage, d indifferent legends took their place, such as *Beata tranquillitas*.

We also find coins with ☧, as a sign of the mint; and at the end of Constantine's reign a series of copper coins was issued in which two soldiers were represented on the reverse holding the labarum, that is a flag with the monogram ☧.

We see then two stages in Constantine's policy. At first he removes from coins symbols which might offend his Christian soldiers and subjects whom wished to propitiate (this is Schiller's interpretation); and finally he allows to pear on his money symbols which did not indeed commit him to Christianity, t was susceptible of a Christian meaning.

(2) LAWS. After the great Edict of Milan, 312-3 A.D. (which, according to eck, was never issued), the following measures were taken by Constantine to t Christianity on a level with the old religion. (1) 313 A.D., the Catholic rgy were freed from all state burdens. (2) 313 (or 315), the Church was freed m *annona* and *tributum*. (3) 316 (321), Manumissions in the Church were ade valid. (4) 319, (1) was extended to the whole empire. (5) 320, exception the laws against celibacy made in favour of the clergy, allowing them to nerit. (6) 321, wills in favour of the Catholic Church permitted. (7) 323, rcing of Christians to take part in pagan celebrations forbidden. On the other nd, a law of 321 (Cod. Theod. xvi. 10, 1) forbids private consultation of ruspices, but allows it in public. [Cp. further Seuffert, Constantins Gesetze d das Christenthum, 1891.]

(3) EUSEBIUS describes in his Ecclesiastical History (bk. x. 1 *sqq.*) a number acts of Constantine after his victory over Maxentius, which attest not only leration but decided favour towards the Christians. He entertains Christian iests, heaps presents on the Church, takes an interest in ecclesiastical questions. here is no reason to doubt these statements; but Schiller urges us to remember that Eusebius does not mention what favour Constantine bestowed on the gans, and (2) that, when the final struggle with Licinius came and that Emperor sorted to persecution, policy clearly dictated to Constantine the expediency specially favouring Christianity. In general, according to Schiller, from 3 to 323 Constantine not only maintained impartial toleration, but bestowed sitive benefits on both the old and the new religion. The account of Eusebius a misrepresentation through omission of the other side.

One or two points may be added. Eusebius states that after the victory over axentius Constantine erected a statue of himself with a cross in his right hand Rome. This statement occurs in Hist. E. ix. c. 10, 11; Paneg. ix. 18; Vit. i. 40. Is this to be accepted as a fact? A statement in H. E. is more trustrthy than any statement in the Vit. C.; and Brieger thought that in this se the passage in H. E. is an interpolation from that in the Vit. C. (Ztsch. Kirchengesch, 1880, p. 45). But Schultze (*ib.* vii. 1885, 343 *sqq.*) has shown at Eusebius mentioned the statue in question, in his speech at Tyre in 314 A.D., om H. E. x. 4, 16. This adds considerable weight to the evidence.

In regard to the monogram ☧, Rapp in his paper, Das Labarum und der nnenkultus (Jahrb. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, 1866, 116 *sqq.*), showed that it appears on Greco-Bactrian coins of 2nd and 1st nturies B.C. It appears still earlier on Tarentine coins of the first half of the d century. It is not clear that Constantine used it as an ambiguous symbol; r yet is there a well-attested instance of its use as a Christian symbol before D. 323 (cp. Brieger in his Ztschr. iv. 1881, p. 201).

Several examples of the Labarum as described by Eusebius are preserved; I ay refer especially to one on a Roman sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum.

For "Christian emblems on the coins of Constantine the Great, his family nd his successors" see Madden in the Numismatic Chronicle, 1877-8.

For the Tyche, to whom Constantine dedicated his new city, the most recen and instructive study is the brief paper of Strzygovski, in Analecta Græciens (Graz, 1893).

As to the connexion of Constantine with the Donatist controversy, attentio may be drawn to the article of O. Seeck in Brieger's Zeitsch. f. Kirchengeschicht x. 505-568 (Quellen und Urkunden über die Anfange des Donatismus). H fixes the date of the Council of Arles to A.D. 316 (cp. Euseb., V. C. i. 44-45 The general result of his discussion is to discredit the authority of Optatus, who he regards as a liar, drawing from a lying source. The only value of the wor of Optatus is to be found, he concludes, in the parts which rest on the protocol of the Synods of Cirta and Rome, and the lost parts of the Acta of the process o Felix (*viz.*, I., 13, 14, 23, 24, 27, and perhaps the story of the choice o Cæcilian, 16-18).

For Constantine in mediæval legend see the Incerti Auctoris de C. Magno eiusque matre Helena, edited by Heydenreich (1879); Extracts from a popular Chronicle (Greek) given by A. Kirpitschnikow, Byz. Ztsch. i. p. 308 *sqq.* (1892); Heydenreich, C. der Grosse in den Sagen des Mittelalters, Deutsche Ztsch. f Geschichts-wissenschaft, 9, 1 *sqq.* (1893), and Griechische Berichte über di Jugend C. des G., in Gr. Stud. H. Lipsius zum Geburtstag dargebracht, p. 8 *sqq.* (1894). For his father Constantius in mediæval legend see Li contes dou ro Constant l'Emperor, ed. in the Bibl. Elzevir, by MM. Moland and d'Hericault 1856. An English translation by Mr. Wm. Morris has appeared 1896.

20. ECCLESIASTICAL GEOGRAPHY—(P. 315)

The ecclesiastical divisions of the empire, referred to incidentally by Gibbon, are not closely enough connected with the subject to require an editorial note. But, as they sometimes throw light on the political boundaries, and as they have been recently much investigated, some bibliographical indications of literature on the eastern bishoprics may be useful.

Parthey: Notitiæ Græcæ Episcopatuum (along with Hierocles).

H. Gelzer: Die Zeitbestimmung der griech. Not. Episc., Jahrb. f. protest. Theologie, xii. 556 *sqq.*; Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theologie, xxxv. 419 *sqq.*; Byz. Ztsch., i. 245 (on eastern Patriarchates); ii. 22. Also edition of Basil's Notitia (early in ninth century) in "Georgius Cyprius" (edition Teubner, 1890).

W. Ramsay: Articles in the Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1884, 1887; Historical Geography of Asia Minor, 1890, passim.

De Boor: Ztsch. f. Kirchengeschichte, xii. 303 *sqq.*, 519 *sqq.* (1890); xiv. 573 *sqq.* (1893).

Duchesne: Byz. Ztsch., i. 531 *sqq.* (eccl. geogr. of Illyricum).

21. LEGEND OF THE FINDING OF THE TRUE CROSS—(P. 456)

The legend of the discovery of the Cross by Judas for St. Helena has come down in Syriac, Greek and Latin versions. See E. Nestle, Byz. Zeitschrift, iv. p. 319-345, who makes it probable that the original Helena legend was in Syriac, and prints the oldest Greek version extant from a Sinai Ms. of the eighth century copied by Mr. Rendel Harris. (The Greek from later Mss. (1) in J. Gretser's huge treatise, De Cruce Christi (1600), ii. 530 *sqq.*, and Holder, Inventio verae crucis, 1889; (2) in Gretser, *op. cit.*, ii. 543 *sqq.*; (3) Wotke, Wiener Studien, 1891, p. 300 *sqq.*; the Latin (1) in the Sanctuarium (a rather rare book; c. 1479) of Mombritius, and in Acta Sanct., May 4, I., 445 *sqq.*; (2) in Holder, *op. cit.*; (3) in Mombritius, *op. cit.*; the Syriac (1) from seventh century Ms., in Nestle's De sancta Cruce, 1889; (2) *ib.*; (3) in Bedjan's Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum, 1890, p. 326 *sqq.*)

22. ST. GEORGE—(P. 472)

The article on St. George by Zöckler in Herzog and Plitt's Encyclopædia has

been superseded by the discussion of F. Görres in the Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theologie, xvi. 1890, p. 454 *sqq.* "Ritter St. Georg in Geschichte, Legende, u. Kunst." [There is no question that the Acta (in Act. Sanct. 23rd April) are apocryphal and legendary. They are remarkable for the horrible descriptions of scenes of martyrdom, which might serve as a text to elucidate the pictures on the walls of the curious round Church of San Stefano on the Esquiline.] Görres arrives at practically the same conclusion as Tillemont (Mém. eccl., v. 185-9, 658-60). All the details of St. George's martyrdom are uncertain; but St. George existed and suffered as a martyr in the East in some pre-Constantinian persecution. Tillemont established the reality of St. George by the existence of his cult (he was a μεγαλόμαρτυς) in the sixth century; Görres proves that it already existed in the fifth century. (1) The round Church of St. George at Thessalonica is not younger than the fifth century and possibly belongs to the fourth; (2) Venantius (Carm. ii. 12, p. 41, ed. M. H. G.) mentions a Gallic basilica to St. George, founded by Sidonius Apollinaris; (3) the decree of Pope Gelasius *de libris non recipiendis*, at end of fifth century, condemns the Acta of St. George as apocryphal, but confesses his historical existence.

The connexion of his name with a dragon-slaying legend does not relegate him to the region of myth. For over against the fabulous Christian dragon-slayer, Theodore of the Bithynian Heraclea, we can set Agapetus of Synnada and Arsacius, who though celebrated as dragon-slayers were historical persons.

Gibbon's theory which identifies St. George with George of Cappadocia has nothing to be said for it; but Görres points out that it is not open to any objection on the ground that George of Cappadocia was an Arian. For there are examples of Arians admitted into the Martyrologium: he cites Agapetus of Synnada and Auxentius, afterwards bishop of Mopsuestia. (It is to be noted that one recension of the Acta S. Georgii was edited by Arians.)

23. THE CHURCHES OF CONSTANTINE AT JERUSALEM—(P. 455)

In regard to Constantine's Churches at Jerusalem it may be said, without entering upon the question as to the true positions of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, that it is certain that these Churches—(1) the round Church of the Anastasis which contained the Sepulchre, and the (2) adjacent Basilica, dedicated to the Cross—stood on the site of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Injured by the Persians (614 A.D.) they were restored some years later, and a plan of the buildings drawn up, towards the end of the seventh century, by the pilgrim Arculfus is extant, and is of great importance for the topography. Some traces of the old buildings still remain. "The relative position of the Churches is the same; the circular Church of the Anastasis has preserved its form; the south wall of the Basilica can be traced from 'Calvary' eastward, and one of the large cisterns constructed by Constantine has been discovered" (Sir C. Wilson, in Smith's Dict. of the Bible, new ed., 1893, p. 1654). Mr. Fergusson's theory which identified the Church of the Resurrection with the mosque known as Kubbet-es-Sakhrah, the Dome of the Rock (within the so-called "Haram area"), is now quite exploded.

The Dome of the Rock has its own question, but has nothing to do with Constantine. Is it of Saracenic origin dating from the end of the seventh century—built perhaps by a Greek architect? or was it originally a Christian Church, and converted into a mosque? It has been identified by Professor Sepp with a Church of St. Sophia built by Justinian. Sir C. Wilson thinks that it stands on the site of St. Sophia, which was destroyed by the Persians; "that it was rebuilt with the old material by Abdul-Melik who covered it with a dome, and that it was again repaired and redecorated by El Mamûn" (*ib.*, p. 1657).

The adjacent mosque el-Aksa occupies the site of the mosque of Omar. It was built by Abd al Malik, "out of the ruins of Justinian's Church of St. Mary" (Wilson, *ib.*), which is fully described by Procopius; but there is a difference of opinion whether the Church was on the same site as the mosque or

(so Fergusson and others) in the south-eastern corner of the "Haram area," where there are vaults apparently of the Justinianean age.

For further details see Sir C. Wilson's article Jerusalem, cited above; Mr. T. H. Lewis' essay on the Church of Constantine at Jerusalem in the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1891; Sepp, Die Felsenkuppell eine Justinianische Sophien-kirche; various papers in the Palestine Exploration Fund publications.

24. THE TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES—(P. 495)

The recent publication of a geographical description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād by an Arabic writer, Ibn Serapion, of whom nothing is known except that he wrote in the early years of the tenth century, by Mr. Guy Le Strange (with translation and commentary, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1895, January and April; cp. addenda in July, and 1896, October), is of considerable importance.

It shows that since the tenth century great alterations have taken place in the course of the Tigris and Euphrates, and shows what these alterations were; it gives a clear account of the canal system which drew the overflow of the Euphrates into the Tigris; and it supplies most important data for the reconstruction of the topography of Baghdād.

Before the Caliphate, the River Tigris followed its present course, from Kūt-al-Amarah (about 100 miles below Baghdād) flowing in a south-easterly direction to its junction with the Euphrates. But during the middle ages—in the tenth century for example—it flowed almost due south "running down the channel now known as the Shatt-al-Hay, and passing through the city of Wāsit" (Le Strange, *ib.*, Jan., p. 3). The changes in the Euphrates are thus summed up by Mr. Le Strange (p. 4): A little above Al-Kūfa "the stream bifurcated. The branch to the right—considered then as the main stream of the Euphrates, but now known as the Hindiyya Canal—ran down past Al-Kūfa, and a short distance below the city became lost in the western part of the great Swamp," which also swallowed up the waters of the Tigris. "The stream to the left or eastward called the Sūrā Canal—which, in its upper reach, follows the line of the modern Euphrates—ran a short course and then split up into numerous canals whose waters for the most part flowed out into the Tigris above Wāsit." The great Swamp in which the streams of both Tigris and Euphrates lost themselves was drained by the Tidal Estuary which reached the sea at Abbadān, "a town which, on account of the recession of the Persian Gulf, now lies nearly twenty miles distant from the present shore-line".

It should be carefully remembered in reading the account of the events after Julian's death that the Tigris has also altered its course to the north of Ctesiphon since the tenth century. From a point below Samarrā to a point above Baghdād, it followed a shorter and more westerly channel than at the present day.

As to the canal Nahr-al-Malik (see above, p. 503), Mr. Le Strange says (*ib.*, Jan., p. 75), that "roughly speaking it followed the line of the modern Radhwāniyya Canal".

It may be added that the geographical work of Abu-l-Fidā, mentioned by Gibbon, p. 495, n. 54, is not very valuable, being neither good nor early. The authoritative Arabic text is that of Reinaud, 1840, and there is a French translation by S. Guyard, 1883. On early geographical works in Arabic, see Le Strange's Palestine under the Moslems (Pal. Explor. Fund).

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ADDENDA

. 304, l. 17, the luminous trophy of the cross, placed above the meridian sun. [I cannot forbear to mention here the ingenious and plausible suggestion communicated to me by Professor Flinders Petrie that what Constantine saw was the phenomenon of mock-suns (not uncommon in northern, but rare in southern, latitudes). The real sun, with three mock-suns, might have appeared to his eyes as a cross.]

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